DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 040 941 24 SP 003 982

AUTHOR	Culbertson, Jack; And Others
TITLE	Preparing Educational Leaders for the Seventies. Final Report.
INSTITUTION	University Council for Educational Administration, Columbus, Ohio.
SPONS AGENCY	Office of Education (DHEW), Washington, D.C. Bureau of Research.
BUREAU NO	BR-8-0230
PUB DATE	Dec 69
GRANT	OEG-0-8-080230-2695(010)
NOTE	591p.
EDRS PRICE	EDRS Price MF-$2.25 HC-$29.65
DESCRIPTORS	Business Responsibility, *Educational Administration, *Educational Innovation, *Educational Research, Federal Programs, Field Experience Programs, Instructional Innovation, Management Development, Negro Attitudes, Personnel Selection, *Program Content, Program Evaluation, *School Superintendents, Teacher Militancy

ABSTRACT

Different program design concepts which are needed for the preparation of school superintendents in the 1970s are suggested in this study. Two approaches were used, one involving an analysis of forces judged to have had an important impact on education in the 1960s, and the other based on the perceptions of superintendents and professors about trends and needs in preparation. Six currently significant forces shaping educational organization and leadership were identified as: the federal thrust in education; the Negro protest movement; the changing character of the business education interface; the increase in teacher militancy; the diffusion of special management technologies in education; and the growth of research and development in education. The literature on administration preparation was reviewed and a questionnaire administered to a sample of 180 chief school officers and personnel in 46 University Council for Educational Administration member universities, to determine the characteristics of current preparatory programs, changes made in the past 5 years, perceived strengths and weaknesses in the programs, and desirable changes for the next decade. Data from both the force analyses and the survey were analyzed to determine the major change needed. Recommendations were developed for program content and structure, recruitment and selection, instructional approaches, field related experiences, program evaluation and development, and departmental functions and staffing. (Author/MBM)

ED040941

FINAL REPORT

Project No. 8-0230

Grant No. OEG-0-8-080230-2695(010)

PREPARING EDUCATIONAL LEADERS FOR THE SEVENTIES

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION
THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL OFFICE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

Jack Culbertson
Robin H. Farquhar
Alan K. Gaynor
Mark R. Shibles

University Council for Educational Administration
29 West Woodruff Avenue
Columbus, Ohio 43210

December, 1969

The research reported herein was performed pursuant to a grant with the Office of Education, U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Contractors undertaking such projects under Government sponsorship are encouraged to express freely their professional judgment in the conduct of the project. Points of view or opinions stated do not, therefore, necessarily represent official Office of Education position or policy.

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

Office of Education
Bureau of Research

SP003982

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS v

SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS I

SECTION I: INTRODUCTION

Chapter 1: Outline of the Study: Problem, Purpose, and Procedures 1
  Statement of the Problem 1
  Purpose and Design of the Study 4
  Procedures Used in the Study 8
  Summary 15

SECTION II: FORCES SHAPING EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATION AND LEADERSHIP

Chapter 2: The Federal Force in Education 18
  The Federal Force in Education during the Last Decade: Its Nature and Scope 18
  Impact of the Federal Force upon the Organization and Administration of Schools during the Last Decade 26
  The Federal Force in Education during the Next Decade 37
Chapter 3: The Business-Education Interface 58
  The Changing Nature of the Business-Education Interface 58
  Some Immediate Effects of the Changing Relationships between Business and Education 68
  The Business-Education Interface and the Future 82
Chapter 4: Research and Development in Education 108
  The Nature of the Force 109
  The Future of the Force 117
  Non-Educational Research 139
  The Probability of Impact 140
  Specific Implications for School Organization 144
  Summary 147
Chapter 5: Management Technologies 155
  Systems Concepts 156
  Management Technologies: Concepts and Trends in Applications 161
  Interpretation of the Force 179
  Implications for Educational Organization and Administration 182
Chapter 6: Negro Protest and the Public Schools 195
  Backdrop to Protest: The Consciousness of Deliberate Cruelty 195
  Negro Protest: Historical Development 199
  Spirit in Transition: The Psychology of Militancy 210
  The Politics of the Protest Movement 216
  Negro Demands Upon the Public Schools 228

Table of Contents Cont'd. Page

The Implications of Negro Demands for the Public Schools ... 239
Summary ... 243
Chapter 7: Teacher Militancy and Public School Organization ... 254
Historical Background ... 254
Salient Features of the Force ... 255
Causal Factors ... 264
Projections of the Force and Its Implications for School Organization ... 272
Summary ... 278

SECTION III: PROJECTED IMPACTS OF FORCES ON SCHOOL ORGANIZATION AND LEADERSHIP
Chapter 8: Societal Forces and School Organization in the Seventies 283
The Times - They've Been A-Changing ... 284
Schools Under Stress: Organization In Transition ... 286
General Implications for the Superintendent of Projected Trends in School Organization ... 299
Summary ... 302
Conclusion ... 304
Chapter 9: Leadership in the School Superintendency during the 1970's ... 307
The Changing Environment of Leadership ... 308
Leadership as a Force among Forces during the 1970's ... 313
The Style and Quality of Educational Leadership in the 1970's 326
Summary ... 329

SECTION IV: PERCEIVED TRENDS AND NEEDS IN PREPARATORY PROGRAMS ... 332
Chapter 10: Review of the Recent Literature ... 335
Program Content ... 336
Program Structure ... 346
Recruitment and Selection ... 350
Instructional Approaches ... 356
Field-Related Experiences ... 358
Student Research ... 362
Requirements for Graduation ... 364
Program Evaluation and Development ... 365
Departmental Functions and Staffing ... 367
In-Service Programs ... 371
Chapter 11: Results of a Questionnaire Survey ... 390
Methodology ... 390
Results ... 399
Chapter 12: Observations and Implications ... 442
Observations ... 442
Implications ... 484
Conclusion ... 491

Table of Contents Cont'd. Page

SECTION V: CONCLUSION
- Chaper 13: Preparing School Superintendents for the 1970's 501
  - Critical Behaviors of Effective School Superintendents 501
  - Guidelines for Program Change 503
  - Conclusion 520

APPENDIXES
- Appendix I: Pre-test Instrument and Letter 532
- Appendix II: Letters Requesting Lists of Superintendents 535
- Appendix III: Superintendents' Version of Questionnaire and Letters 539
- Appendix IV: Universities' Version of Questionnaire and Letters 553

ERIC REPORT RESUME 570

LIST OF TABLES

Table

1 Utilization of Content External to Education as Reported by School Superintendents (N=180) 430

2 Utilization of Content External to Education as Reported by University Personnel (N=46) 430

3 Amount and Choice of Coverage of Selected Topics 434

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many persons have contributed to the study described in this report. Those who participated in the interviews on the different forces studied provided valuable insights and we acknowledge the important assistance of the following persons: Dwight Allen, Dean, College of Education, University of Massachusetts; James E. Allen, Commissioner of Education[1]; Terrel Bell, Chief State School Officer, Utah; Norman Boyan, Dean of the School of Education, University of California, Santa Barbara[2]; Charles Brevin, Fels Institute of Local and State Government, University of Pennsylvania; Paul Briggs, Superintendent of Schools, Cleveland, Ohio; Roald Campbell, Dean of the Graduate School of Education, University of Chicago; Forrest Conner, Executive Secretary of the American Association of School Administrators; William Ellena, Deputy Executive Secretary, AASA; Nolan Estes, Superintendent of Schools, Dallas, Texas[3]; Bernarr Furse, Education Department, State of Utah; Hendrik Gideonse, Director, Program Planning and Evaluation Staff, USOE; Ronald Havelock, Center for Research on Utilization of Scientific Knowledge, University of Michigan; Will Hawkins, Superintendent, Norwalk-LaMirada School District, Norwalk, California; Roger Kaufman, Director, Institute of Instructional System Technology and Research, Chapman College; Joseph McGivney, Assistant Professor, Syracuse University; Robert Marker, Vice President, Westinghouse Learning Corporation; Sidney Marland Jr., President, Institute for Educational Development[4]; Wendell Pierce, Executive Director of the Education Commission of the States; Mark Shedd, Superintendent of Schools, Philadelphia; Clifford Springer, General Learning Corporation; E. C. Stimbert, Superintendent of Schools, Memphis, Tennessee; and Grant Venn, Associate Commissioner, Vocational and Technical Education, USOE.

A number of persons provided critical reactions to early drafts of different sections of the report. Among the persons providing helpful input were the following: Max G. Abbott, Director, Center for the Advanced Study of Educational Administration, University of Oregon; George Brain, Dean of the School of Education, Washington State University; James Bruno, Assistant Professor of Education, University of California, L.A.; Francis Chase, Visiting Professor, University of Texas[5]; Norman Drachler, Superintendent of Schools, Detroit, Michigan; John Fischer, President of Teachers College, Columbia University; Neal Gross, Dean of the School of Education, University of Pennsylvania; Harry Hartley, Professor of Education, New York University; Thomas James, Dean of the School of Education, Stanford University;

---

[1] At the time of the interview, Chief State School Officer in New York.

[2] At the time of the interview, Acting Associate Commissioner of Research, USOE.

[3] At the time of the interview, Associate Commissioner of Education, USOE.

[4] At the time of the interview, Superintendent of Schools, Pittsburgh.

[5] At the time of the interview, Visiting Professor, Ohio State University.

Jules Kolodny, Professor of Education, New York University; David Lewis, Urban Design Associates, Pittsburgh; Edgar Morphet, Project Director, Improving State Leadership in Education; Raphael O. Nystrand, Associate Professor of Education, Ohio State University; Richard E. Schutz, Director, Southwest Regional Educational Laboratory; Michael P. Thomas, Professor, University of Texas; and June Shagaloff, Director of Education Program, NAACP.

Although greatly assisted by information from a larger number of individuals, the authors maintain responsibility for the content and organization of materials. We are indebted to the substantial numbers of school superintendents who took the time from very busy schedules to respond to the questionnaire on preparatory programs. The same is also true for professors in UCEA member universities who likewise provided needed questionnaire data.

Special gratitude is expressed to James Mahan, Administrative Assistant and Margaret Tossey, UCEA, for their assistance in analyzing questionnaire data. Deep appreciation is expressed to Cindy Crowl, Harriet Ferrell, Marilynn Host, and Margaret Tossey for typing earlier drafts of sections of this report as well as the final report, and to Mark Schweickart for reproducing and collating the final report.

J.A.C.
R.H.F.
A.K.G.
M.R.S.

SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

Data presented in the final chapters of this study indicate clearly that programs of preparation have not remained unchanged during the sixties even though universities have been somewhat more shielded from societal forces than have the public schools. However, those in universities still face basic issues and challenges in attaining the organizational adaptations necessary to equip school superintendents for the 1970's. Recommendations suggesting directions for change in program, developed at greater length in the final chapter of this study, are summarized as follows:

General Recommendation

During the 1970's distinctions between those leadership behaviors which are to be sought largely through recruitment and those which are to be developed principally through programmed learning experiences during preparation will need to be made much more explicit than they are currently. Among the kinds of behaviors significant to leadership which are likely to be relatively stable by the time students enter graduate preparatory programs are the following: displaying courage: inspiring confidence in others; communicating a sense of social mission, displaying charismatic qualities; expressing a high degree of intelligence; showing a commitment to social improvement and reform; tolerating ambiguity and stress; displaying social sensitivity; and expressing marked energy and drive. Recruitment and selection procedures must do a better job of identifying and assessing the extent to which prospective school superintendents possess these behaviors before they are admitted to programs.

Recommendations about Recruitment

1. During the 1970's those responsible for preparatory programs will need to concentrate more upon the non-cognitive aspects of leadership in recruitment and selection than they did during the 1960's. Data developed in this study indicate clearly that both professors and superintendents recognize that to rely only upon traditional cognitive measures in selecting candidates for preparatory programs is not sufficient. Such measures ignore such important leadership qualities as courage, charisma, vision, energy and moral fitness. In the projected environment of the 1970's which will be filled with conflict, ambiguity, change, and risk, non-cognitive qualities in leaders such as those just noted will be essential.

2. As clearer distinctions are developed between relatively stable and changeable leadership behaviors, those responsible for recruitment will need to delineate more specific situational and action indicators of stable behaviors in order to make reasonable judgments concerning whether or not candidates

possess these behaviors before they enter preparatory programs. Given the list of relatively stable behaviors noted above, how can those responsible for programs identify these in recruitment and selection activities? While it is not now possible to assess the presence or absence of these behaviors in any absolute way, improvements in current practice can be achieved. To do this, systematic efforts to develop more specific situational indicators of behaviors will be required to provide bases for judgment.

3. Universities will need to make special efforts to identify and recruit outstanding leaders from among minority groups. Leaders from Black, Chicano, and other minority groups will need to be aggressively recruited during the 1970's. The need to have minority group personnel in school leadership positions to advance equality of learning opportunities and to help improve the quality of learning in ways which majority group members cannot now do in many communities is increasingly recognized. In order to recruit minority group members more effectively, universities will need to be more flexible in the use of intelligence test scores and measures of verbal abilities since these tend to discriminate against members of minority groups. They will also need to develop special commuciation arrangements which link university personnel and leaders of the NAACP, the Urban League, Store Front Schools, CORE, and related organizations. Links with ad hoc community organizations will also likely be needed for effective recruitment efforts.

4. Those responsible for preparatory programs should create special arrangements for identifying and recruiting prospective educational leaders from among undergraduate college populations during the 1970's. There are already many visible leaders in the large undergraduate populations in higher education institutions. The large majority of these leaders are concerned about problems of public policy, including those associated with education. They probably possess as high a degree of commitment to social change as any preceding generation of undergraduates. Those concerned with leadership development in education face unprecedented challenges and opportunities in encouraging and attracting young college leaders into education. Perhaps for the first time in history education can move into a more favored position in competing with the private sector for leadership talent.

5. Universities should allocate more resources and devote greater staff efforts to recruitment during the 1970's. Few institutions have actually allocated special staff and resources to ensure effective recruitment efforts. This fact helps explain why professors and superintendents judge current recruitment efforts to be unsystematic and unaggressive. In the future as the quantity of school superintendents required declines, the significance of the quality of leaders entering preparatory programs will have to be recognized more clearly. When this occurs resources which have typically gone into supporting expanding numbers of students and staffs will need to be allocated to ensure effective search for fewer candidates of higher quality.

III

Recommendations about Program Differentiation

1. Departments of educational administration in the 1970's will need to differentiate more sharply than in the past between and among programs for preparing researchers, synthesizers, developers, and educational administrators, including school superintendents. The future development of educational administration is dependent upon skilled specialists who use knowledge effectively in different ways: researchers who use knowledge to create new knowledge; synthesizers who order existing knowledge in new, enlightening, and useful ways; developers who use knowledge to project and invent solutions to general administrative and leadership problems; clinicians who can use knowledge to diagnose and inform specific practices; and administrators who use knowledge to improve "everyday" decisions and to shape intermediate and long-range policies. If university programs are to develop effectively these differing skills, greater differentiation in learning experiences for personnel pursuing different specializations will have to be achieved.

2. Specific learning experiences should vary considerably from individual to individual depending upon a student's educational background, experiences in education or in other institutions, intellectual interests, and career aspirations. Put differently, students should participate in decisions about particular learning options to be pursued and the most appropriate learning resources to be used in achieving program purposes. Let us assume, for example, that those responsible for a given program make a decision that each student should be able at given stages in his preparation to suggest clear relationships between selected societal ailments and the purposes of educational institutions. Clearly, there would be a range of societal ailments from which to select and a variety of learning resources both in the university and in field settings which students could use in studying the ailment(s) selected. These resources could be combined in many ways for individuals depending upon their previous learnings, the "societal ailments" of greatest interest to them, and their learning styles. In order to achieve such flexibility, greater use will have to be made of seminars, block-of-time arrangements, field settings, and electives in structuring programs.

3. In order to encourage students to take greater responsibility for their own learning, professors should design instructional arrangements in which students can pursue their interests and motivations in situations where professors and students are co-learners. Independent study arrangements, for example, could be developed which place major responsibility on students for the structuring of their learning and, at the same time, provide professors opportunity for helping guide learning activities. Still another approach is the seminar arrangement which could provide prospective leaders opportunities to structure and develop their own learnings in relation to more general program objectives.

IV

Recommendations about Program Integration

1. At the same time that specialization will require greater differentiation in programs for prospective researchers, synthesizers, developers, clinicians, and administrators, there will also be a greater need for structuring program elements to ensure that programs to prepare these specialists are guided by some common objectives. Specialization is paradoxical in the sense that it increases the need for inter-independence and communication among personnel at the same time that it encourages independence and the development of unique skills in these personnel. Programs have a special responsibility to develop common bonds of knowledge and communication so that different specialists in the field of educational administration can function effectively as colleagues. Fundamental common bonds have to do with needed understandings bearing upon the purposes of education and upon the relationships of these purposes to societal needs. In other words, all specialists need to see how their own immediate purposes are related to the larger purposes of educational institutions and the society served by these institutions. Therefore, content to highlight and illuminate the purposive aspects of education should shape core learnings for administrators, researchers, developers, clinicians, and synthesizers.

2. Helping prospective administrators understand values --- both their own and those of various reference groups in the schools --- represents another significant strategy for achieving integration in preparatory programs. Most components in programs should aim at developing an awareness of the changing nature of values over time, with reference to both society generally and to major interest groups specifically. Understandings should be sought about how such fundamental human values as the following evolve from and support education: individuality; independent thought; creativity; compassion; freedom; and self-renewal.

3. Content from the humanities designed to illuminate questions of value and purpose bearing upon education and leadership should be studied by school superintendents, especially during their first year of preparation. It is clear that science can produce knowledge but scientists are not fully competent to tell society's educational institutions how to use it. Political scientists, for example, can help educational administrators understand "power structure" concepts, but they cannot provide final judgments about the human and educational ends toward which power should be directed nor can they authoritatively delineate the most ethical uses of power. Historians, philosophers, and students of literature, on the other hand, do come to grips with basic human values which are directly related to the purposes and processes of educational institutions and to the "human conditions" affecting these institutions. They do, for example, address the values associated with freedom, the "good" man, the "good" society, compassion, humaneness, and education. They also address basic value conflicts and dilemmas affecting educational leaders: law vs. conscience; virtue vs. power, personal vs. social benefit; truth vs. manipuliation; and so forth. Content from the humanities can help administrators understand, and discriminate among values and to apply these learnings in problem solving situations.

4. Those responsible for preparatory programs should provide students special learning opportunities through the establishment and activation of "learning teams." Examples of "learning teams" follow: students pursuing differing educational careers related to research, development, and administration and working on common problems bearing upon these differing careers, students from different professional schools in the university who are preparing for government, health, social work, business, education, or related careers and who are concentrating upon alternative solutions to problems which cut across the careers of team members, and teams of educational administrators (e.g., elementary principals, secondary principals, personnel administrators, and superintendents) who are working upon problems which cut across these various positions in school systems.

Appropriate experiences in graduate programs for "learning teams" could facilitate the future introduction and effective use of management teams in school systems and communities. Interchange among students with different knowledge and perspectives should also offer unique opportunities for learning. Finally, such teams could concentrate upon cross-role and inter-organizational problems and could help school superintendents gain "boundary spanning" skills which will be needed by them and other administrators during the 1970's.

Recommendations about Programs for Administrators

A. Recommendations about Selected Performance Objectives for Administrators.

1. Preparatory programs should be structured to do more than to foster knowledge acquisition; they should also provide prospective superintendents opportunities to demonstrate creative uses of knowledge in diagnosing and in seeking solutions to educational and societal problems. Since effective school superintendents will be required to demonstrate flexible and effective uses of knowledge in projecting and in implementing strategies of change, program structure should facilitate and develop creative problem defining, problem solving, and decision-making on the part of prospective educational leaders.

There are many areas in educational administration which offer opportunities for creative work. One example is represented in the conflicting expectations and values associated with the Negro protest movement, with federal involvement in education, with teacher militancy, and with other forces impacting upon educational organization and administration. Another area has to do with the need for change in educational policy and programs, especially in the big cities. Still another has to do with inventing ways to attain greater human and financial resources to support education. If creative behavior is to be effectively expressed *vis-a-vis* areas such as those just noted, flexible programming which reinforces self-initiative and independent activity on the part of students will be required.

2. Content should be incorporated into preparatory programs which will enable prospective superintendents to be future-oriented and more visionary in their thinking. To fulfill this guideline, it will be necessary to draw upon content which illuminates projected trends in society and which highlights alternative educational and societal futures. A variety of courses and seminars already exist in universities which can be drawn upon by students to obtain content of this type. Special seminars or independent study arrangements can also be developed. Such seminars and study arrangements might incorporate content emerging from educational policy centers. Not only should such content help prospective school superintendents think concretely and constructively about such matters as urban congestion, technology, governmental structures, and population growth, it should also provide them clues about how the "good" school can be effectively related to the emergent needs of society.

3. Content designed to illuminate organizational behavior and the processes in which school superintendents engage should be included in preparatory programs. There is a range of content on the processes of administration and on organizational behavior available for use in preparatory programs. Some of the content is in the form of such well-known classics as those produced by Frederick Taylor, Chester Barnard, and Herbert Simon. Other content on organizational behavior is found in more recent theories and research findings produced by social scientists. Such content should be used to help prospective leaders understand such basic processes as decision making, communication, motivation, change, and planning.

B. Recommendations about Content to Achieve Selected Performance Objectives for Administrators.

1. Content selected from the disciplines of political science and economics should assume greater importance in preparatory programs for school superintendents. The federal force in education, the business-education interface, and the emergent management technologies all highlight the significance of economic concepts and modes of inquiry as they relate to the leadership challenges likely to face school superintendents in the 1970's. Since school superintendents are interacting more and more with municipal leaders and with leaders in state and federal levels of government, political science concepts and research findings for helping prospective superintendents understand the formal structure and processes of government are clearly relevant. The need to understand the interaction between economic and political variables is suggested by issues involving such questions as the relationships of desired policy ends to economic conditions and political acceptance; the economic characteristics of a school district and political strategies to gain satisfactory financial support for schools; the economic rationality of planning modes and the political realities of public policy decision-making; and political strategies and budgetary processes.

2. A range of reality-oriented materials which can provide common bases for students and professors to analyze and make decisions should be developed and used by those responsible for preparing school superintendents. Cases, simulated materials, and management games can provide valuable tools not only for the exploration and understanding of values which shape decisions but also for the testing of theoretical concepts against the "facts of administrative life." Such materials can provide bases for bridging theory and practice. They can also encourage students to develop and take positions on significant issues and to articulate their assumptions about the consequences of given courses of action. In a relatively risk-free environment, they can provide opportunities for prospective leaders to practice informed decision-making and to obtain feedback on choices made. Clearly, existing instructional materials are not sufficient for preparing school superintendents for the seventies. There is a great scarcity of materials related to urban school administration and to the changing economic and governmental contexts of educational administration. Professors of educational administration face a major challenge in updating readily-oriented materials to meet emergent instructional needs of programs preparing school superintendents.

3. Field experiences should be used throughout the period of preparation to promote interaction between theory and practice. Traditionally, internships and other kinds of field experiences have tended to come near the end of preparation programs. However, preparation should not be sharply limited to academic experiences during the first part of preparation. Students should be able to go back and forth between academic and the field throughout the preparation period and explicit strategies should be developed to promote such interchange. Such strategies might serve such purposes as the following: to help motivate and focus theoretical study on the part of students; to provide opportunities to observe and examine administrative processes; to study relationships between the purposes of school systems and community needs and problems; to test and apply theory and research in leadership settings; to observe outstanding leadership behavior; and to prepare case materials.

4. Universities should experiment with options which would encourage prospective superintendents during their last year of preparation to substitute special field experiences for the traditional doctoral dissertation requirement. The major function of school superintendents is to act toward the end of improving education. Their function is not fundamentally that of producing knowledge. It logically follows, then, that culminating experiences should be designed to improve action within a context of applied decision making. Alternatives to the dissertation for school superintendents are: (1) supervised rotating internship programs complemented by independent study and seminar activities and (2) group development projects oriented toward defining policy problems in a selected district and toward projecting alternative strategies designed to help resolve these problems.

The recommendation that school superintendents should not be required to meet the traditional dissertation requirement does not mean that dissertations should be eliminated. They should be maintained for prospective researchers in educational administration and they should require even more sophisticated approaches to the advancement of knowledge than are currently being used.

5. As the number of institutions involved in education increase, multiple opportunities for learning about leadership can and should be provided in field situations. Illustrations of opportunities which have become more visible during the last decade and which suggest learning opportunities are: private-sector sponsored and managed learning activities; research and development activities in school districts; new types of educational institutions such as are represented in the "street academies", for example; situations in which leaders are involved in controversial decisions and in confrontation activities; and so forth.

Special opportunities are also available in local, state, and federal government agencies.

Selected internship experiences could be developed in agencies concerned with such functions as welfare, model cities programs, poverty programs, and other activities which are clearly related to education. "Living in" experiences in agencies concerned with minority group education (e.g., the NAACP and the Urban League) also offer potential for advancing learning.

Recommendations about Departmental Staffing and Functions

1. In helping students plan learning experiences designed to enable them to understand societal needs and the implications of these needs for educational purposes and programs, professors will need to draw upon the total resources of the university. Content, especially during the first year of preparation, should help prospective school superintendents develop competence in purpose setting. Social scientists in a variety of departments can provide content on the emergent needs and problems of society which have significant implications for education and its purposes. Humanists throughout the university and students of educational philosophy are concerned with important perennial and emergent value issues which face man and society. Only by studying with outstanding professors in a range of departments can prospective school superintendents develop the broad perspective needed to function in an increasingly specialized and pluralistic society.

2. Professors of educational administration will need to develop the depth specializations needed to illuminate organizational dynamics and leadership processes bearing upon and inherent in educational administration. Professors of educational administration are needed who have a depth of

understanding of the politics of education. The same is true for the economics of education, including issues of school finance. Others are needed who can illuminate the dynamics of organization, especially as expressed through the processes of pattern maintenance and institutional change. Specialists are needed to guide learning vis-a-vis such important group interaction and such basic processes as decision making, morale building, communication, and planning. Finally, professors who can illuminate important internal forces (e.g., student militancy) and administrative technologies (e.g., systems analysis) are also needed.

SECTION I

INTRODUCTION

Chapter One

Outline of the Study: Problem, Purpose, and Procedures

> Time, said St. Augustine, is a three-fold present: the present as we experience it, the past as present memory, and the future as a present expectation. -- Daniel Bell

In the "Guidelines" of the recently enacted Education Professions Development Act, educational administration is one of several important training priorities which are highlighted.[1] This expression of public policy at the national level is testimony to the fact that the importance of educational leadership is gaining increased recognition in this country. The policy statement is significant in another way in that it highlights the tremendous need to improve educational leadership and to see that educational institutions improve preparatory programs for leaders.

Only as responsible persons in training agencies actually achieve more promising ways of preparing educational leaders will the policy objectives of the Education Professions Development Act be fulfilled. In addition, programs breaking with the status quo will be based upon different concepts than those which have shaped current preparatory programs. Therefore, two related and important questions now arise which present important challenges to those interested in designing new preparatory programs: What concepts will enable designers to view existing programs differently? What generalizations will point the way to inventive preparatory programs for the future? These questions are central to the objectives of the study described in this report.

Statement of the Problem

Stated in general terms, the problem of the study is the discrepancy which exists between the professional training opportunities which are prospective educational leaders and the training opportunities which are currently available to them. Discrepancies between training needs and training opportunities, many observers would agree, are substantial.[2] This condition is due in part to the radical changes which have occurred in society and education during the last decade and to the growing need for highly talented leadership in school systems. Like many other leaders in society, those responsible for preparing educational administrators anticipated fully neither the character of the major societal changes of the last decade nor the forces which propelled these changes. Even though significant innovations in the study of administration and in the preparation of administrators have evolved during the last fifteen years, these have not begun to match the much more substantial changes in society; nor have they been systematically related to these societal changes and the changing needs of administrative practice. Some observations about developments in preparatory programs, especially as these have evolved during the last decade, will make the point clearer.

Dwight Waldo in 1955 wrote: "Indeed no discipline is without relevance for administration---and administrative study is relevant for every discipline."[3] Waldo's idea, along with others generated at the time, gave impetus to a search for a broadened concept of administration and to a desire to escape from a view of administration which was predominantly oriented to such technical problems in educational administration as "bonds, buses, and buildings." In this search for a broadened concept of administration there was substantial exploration in a number of established disciplines for cogent bodies of knowledge to illuminate administration and factors which bear upon or are inherent in it. The disciplines upon which the search was largely centered were sociology, social psychology, political science, anthropology, and economics. Fields of administration other than education also became targets for exploration as theories of organizational behavior and studies of administration were examined in business government, hospital, and related fields of administration.[4] The fact that there have been positive outcomes resulting from the widespread search for a broadened concept of administration during the last fifteen years is widely recognized; therefore, these outcomes do not need to be documented or treated here. Rather, only those aspects of the search which have implications for the specific problem at hand need to be highlighted.

First, it should be noted that the search for content during the last fifteen years was conducted largely within the university community. Efforts, in other words, were directed toward the identification of research findings already existing in the repositories of institutions of higher education. Determining the extent to which and the manner in which the concepts, theories, and findings identified in the search were actually related to significant leadership problems in education became a secondary matter. Judgments about relevance tended to be intuitive and to be arrived at outside the context of administrative practice.

It is also significant that in the early stages of the search for a broadened and more theoretically oriented base for administration, sharp distinctions were made between the so-called "is" and "ought" dimensions of administration. Scholars and theorists were not to prescribe what administrators "ought" to do. Rather, they were to lay aside the hortatory lists of "principles" of administration, trademarks of previous decades, and were to concentrate upon empirical study and the development of "value-free" theory.[5]

The sharp distinction made between facts and values tended to turn scholars still further away from significant issues of policy in educational administration---issues involving important value questions. Significant for the present discussion is the ironical fact that the "is" and "ought" distinctions began to influence scholars in educational administration shortly before some of the most important "ought" or value questions in the nation's history became highly visible. Most of these issues, which were sometimes expressed in violent ways, were intimately related to education and leadership. This was certainly true of issues bearing on such matters as integration, civil rights, poverty, militancy, and unemployment.

Thus, the extensive search for content in a variety of fields and disciplines and the "is-ought" distinction which influenced it tended to turn leading scholars inward rather than outward. Because of their orientation, it is understandable that they did not anticipate the unheralded events which began to unfold in the late 1950's and continued to crescendo during the 1960's. In a sense, they were caught "looking the other way" while the signs of radical change were emerging.[6]

The problem of attaining relevant content in preparatory programs, particularly in relationship to urban school systems, has been further complicated by staffing patterns in universities. Almost all professors of educational administration now responsible for preparatory programs have had their educational and administrative experience in rural and suburban school districts rather than in the large city environment. In addition, in the early 1960's there were no black professors of educational administration in universities who could help prospective leaders understand difficult problems associated with the disadvantaged and the racially segregated.

The statement of the problem with in this study, then, can be summarized as follows: there now exists a perceived discrepancy of substantial proportions between the training needs of practicing and prospective educational administrators and the professional training opportunities available to them. Put differently, there is a quality of obsolescence inherent in the curriculum and content of existing preparatory programs; further, different program design perspectives and concepts than those now available are needed to cope with this obsolescence.

Purpose and Design of the Study

The purpose of the study reported in this document was to develop concepts and generalizations basic to the restructuring of preparatory programs. The generalizations developed were designed to be of use to program planners who are interested in reducing the discrepancy between perceived training needs and available training opportunities. Due to limitations in time and resources, the preparation of school superintendents was selected as the focus for study; however, many of the generalizations produced should also have implications for the preparation of other kinds of administrators.

Force Analysis

The design of the study encompassed both deductive and inductive approaches to the gathering of data and to the development of generalizations. Central to the deductive approach to developing generalizations was the explication and use of a method called "force analysis." A "force" was defined as a set of events, pressures, or technologies which the organization of administration impact significantly upon schools and which in specific ways impel educational institutions toward change. On the basis of interviews held with educational leaders and the data obtained from a study of available literature, six societal forces were selected for analysis. The forces selected were judged by the staff to be among those which have had an important impact upon the organization and administration of schools during the last decade; further, it is believed that the ones selected will likely continue to have significant impacts during the next decade. Although it is not argued that the forces chosen encompass all of the major ones affecting the organization and administration of schools, they are believed to be among the most significant forces and to offer strategic bases for examining the relationships between societal change and administrator preparation. Since all the forces are well known they need only a brief identification at this point.

1. The federal thrust in education. During the 1960's the term "creative federalism" achieved considerable notice. Among other things, the term symbolized new, national approaches to social change and the need for special intergovernmental adjustments to facilitate change. In the 1960's, the federal programs and federal influence on education grew rapidly. In 1961, for example, state departments of education administered approximately three-quarters of a billion dollars in federal funds. Five years later the amount had increased to approximately three billion and the number of federal by supported programs administered by stated had increased from ten to twenty. The new federal thrust in education brought new structures, new personnel, and new operations

into the public school arena. It also brought educational administrators new pressures, new issues, and new opportunities.

2. The growing pressures to meet more effectively the needs of the racially segregated, the poverty-stricken, and the disadvantaged. Some of the nation's severest problems, which have roots in the big cities, have become very visible during the last decade. The millions who are still "ill-clothed," "ill-fed," and "ill-housed," and who still suffer the pangs of discrimination and educational disadvantage are an important part of these problems. Clearly, the rising aspirations of leaders in this group for better conditions, including more effective educational opportunities, constitute a powerful force for change. There seems little doubt that the inextricable links among poverty, race, and education which the 1960's have dramatized will continue to be significant for the future. The impact on educational organizations has already been notable and future implications for educational leaders interested in advancing quality and opportunity are many.

3. The changing character of the "business-education interface." The inelegant phrase, "business-education interface," which was created in the 1960's, clearly highlights another force impinging upon the organization and administration of schools. During the last decade leading business leaders have talked more about the social responsibilities of the firm and have demonstrated a greater concern for public sector problems. At the same time education has come to be viewed by businessmen as one of America's greatest growth industries; further, some of the nation's most powerful and prestigious companies have made preparations to capitalize on the education market. With government support, companies have implemented Job Corps programs, conducted research and development projects in education, created new bases for instructional technology, and initiated cooperative endeavors with public school districts. Terms like "operations research," "systems analysis," and "PERT," have begun to be infused into education from the private sector. A school superintendent, according to press reporter, said that the locus for educational change was moving from colleges and superintendencies to the "corporate executive suite." Such perceptions created apprehension among school personnel and their undoubtedly helped to explain why businessmen representing the new "education industries" entered into a dialogue with educators at public meetings in ways and to an extent never experienced before. Thus, new conditions faced educational administrators during the 1960's as a result of the growing interface between education and business.

4. The increase in teacher militancy. Few individuals in the 1950's could have predicted the strength or the growth of the teacher militancy movement in the 1960's or its substantial impact upon educational

administration. Capitalizing on malaise in the big cities, leaders of the movement achieved major early victories in the urban settings. By using the strategy of establishing new state legislation, dedicated leaders in the movement extended their influence to non-urban school districts and from one section of the country to others. Salary levels and related issues served as major foci for action in the early days of the movement. However, more and more issues were added to the agenda for negotiation, as the force developed and became more powerful. The conflict between administrators and teachers grew as the latter demanded a firm voice in legally deciding issues related to class size and instruction--issues which traditionally had been considered the preserves of school boards and administrators. This brought new discomforts to school administrators and greater ambivalence concerning the role they should play toward teachers and their representatives. No force seemed to be more troublesome to school superintendents in the 1960's.[7]

5. The diffusion of special management technologies into education. It is well known that technology is both a bearer and a harbinger of change. During recent years concepts associated with systems analysis, systems planning, and systems design have begun to be diffused into education. Personnel in educational organizations have become more interested in new management techniques. In addition, computers and management information systems are beginning to be developed to support the application of the new management techniques. Both business and government have played and are continuing to play an important role in encouraging greater use of special management technologies in education. During the next ten years it is likely that the movement toward greater use in education of more rational planning and decision technologies will grow. This will continue to pose new questions for educational administrators. Consequently, those updating current preparatory programs need to understand and to examine the new management technologies and to project their implications for needed restructuring of preparatory programs.

6. The growth of research and development in education. During the last decade interest in research and development in education and in activities associated with these processes has achieved a new status and an enhanced role in American education. Research and development centers and regional educational laboratories, funded through federal programs, have emerged to facilitate inquiry and application of research results. Numerous development projects have been initiated in school districts and greater attention has been devoted to the use of research and development products by educational administrators. Special ways of retrieving and disseminating information on research and development projects have been implemented. Federally supported projects have

created new forces for change in school districts which have sometimes caused internal conflict between those responsible for these projects and those responsible for on-going operations. Such developments have pared new questions and issues to educational administrators. Issues bearing upon personnel recruitment and training, specialized functions to be performed, and relations with government agencies and universities are among those which educational administrators must confront in new ways.

Several general steps were pursued in examining the various forces identified for analysis. The first step was to describe the nature of a force, particularly from the perspective of the last decade. Then an effort was made to describe major impacts of the force on the organization and administration of school systems during the 1960's. The third task undertaken in each case was setting forth assumptions about the nature of the force and its projected impace on organization and administration during the 1970's. These assumptions and the information on which they were based provided important bases for developing generalizations about preparation needed by school superintendents in the future.

Superintendents' and Professors' Perceptions

The other approach used for developing generalizations was more inductively oriented. Central to this approach was a questionnaire study of the perceptions which superintendents and professors have of trends and needed changes in preparatory programs. A careful review of the more recent literature on preparatory programs was conducted prior to the questionnaire survey.

Ten different dimensions of preparatory programs were chosen to serve as foci for this aspect of the study: program content, program structure, recruitment and selection, instructional approaches, field-related experiences, student research, requirements for graduation, program evaluation and development, departmental functions and staffing, and in-service programs. Plenary Session representatives in UCEA member universities were asked to reflect their departments' dominant views by describing on a questionnaire changes in the various program dimensions which had occurred at their institutions during the 1963-68 period. They were also asked to make an assessment of the strengths and weaknesses of their programs and to suggest changes needed to meet the challenges of the next five- to ten-year period.

Superintendents who had received doctorates in UCEA member universities during the 1963-68 period were provided a similar questionnaire dealing with the same dimensions of preparatory programs. They were asked to suggest the major strengths and weaknesses of the doctoral programs which they had experienced and to anticipate future desirable changes in preparatory programs. The data obtained from professors and administrators were used as an important source of information for developing generalizations designed to guide program change.[8]

In sum, then, the design for the study involved two different approaches to developing generalizations about needed changes in preparatory programs for school superintendents. One approach, which was more deductive in character, concentrated upon analyzing six forces which were judged to have had an important impact upon the organization and administration of schools during the last ten years and which were also considered as likely influences of significance during the next ten years. These forces were: the federal impact; the complex of factors associated with poverty, race, and the disadvantaged; the business-education interface; teacher militancy; new management technologies; and research and development in education. The other aspect of the study, which was more inductive in nature, involved a thorough review of the literature on administrative preparation in education and a questionnaire survey of the perceptions which school superintendents and professors have of preparatory programs, their strengths, and their limitations. By generating data through a study of significant forces impacting on education organization and administration, and by using the questionnaire responses from superintendents and professors as well as the results of the review of literature on administrative preparation in education, bases were obtained for developing generalizations about needed changes in preparatory programs for school superintendents.

Procedures Used in the Study

Procedures were substantially different for the two approaches used in the study. However, both approaches were employed in parallel fashion. Each of the approaches deserves detailed description.

Procedures Used in "Force Analysis"

Procedures used in "force analysis" may be summarized as follows:

1. During the second half of 1968 and the winter of 1969 literature pertinent to each of the six forces was read and analyzed. References chosen for review were limited largely to those published during the 1959-69 period and the large majority of the sources studied were published between 1964 and 1969. Data were sought which would

shed light upon the nature of each force, its impact upon the organization and administration of schools during the last decade, and the projected character of the force and its impact upon organization and administration during the next decade. Such questions as the following helped guide the search for data to describe the nature of each of the six forces:

(a) What are the salient features of the force (including trend lines)?

(b) Are there significant and identifiable factors which have made the force especially visible during the last decade?

(c) Are there relationships between the force and dimensions of its environment which have special implications for assessing impact on the organization and administration of schools?

(d) Has the force had demonstrable impacts on the organization and administration on non-educational institutions?

(e) What is the force's essential mode of impact or influence?

(f) At what points on or within the administrative system has the force had its greatest influence?

(g) What are some of the major unresolved and emergent issues posed by the force?

The second aspect of the analysis concentrated upon describing, in general terms, the presumed impact of the forces upon the organization and administration of schools during the last decade. In examining the impact upon organization, a list of questions was developed to guide inquiry. It should be made clear, however, that the list was developed to serve as a general guide for investigation. Since the forces differed in character and since the amount and quality of data available varied for each force, not all of the questions were addressed for every force. The general list of questions used to guide study follows:

(a) Has the force changed the formal organization of school districts with regard to such variables as size, number of hierarchical levels, divisions, nature and number of subunits, span of control, or bases of authority? If so, in what ways?

(b) Have school organizations been influenced either quantitatively or qualitatively through changes in such variables as rules and procedures, diffusion of status, task interdependence, and informal organization?

(c) Have new staffing patterns been created, or have existing staffing patterns been altered by the force?

(d) Are there perceived new relationships between schools and/or school systems and organizations within or beyond the immediate community which are related to the force's influence?

(e) Has the force helped create special demands for new curriculum offerings, personnel services, control and regulation of student and staff behavior, or participation in decision making? If so, describe.

(f) Has either financial or moral support for school districts on the part of external organizations, interest groups, or community leaders changed as a result of the force? If so, how?

(g) Have new communication structures and/or patterns of interactions between the school organization and agencies in its environment arisen as a consequence of the force? If so, what are they?

(h) Has the dependence of the school organization on the political authority of local, state, and federal governments changed because of the force? If so, how?

(i) Have new procedures for recruiting students and staff and for socializing them into the organization appeared? If so, how do they differ from past procedures and how are they related to the force?

(j) Have new types of organizational stress been created either through "overloads" on public school systems or through highly intense internal conflicts in these systems? If so, describe.

(k) Have new kinds of organizational adaptations been achieved to cope with stress or to respond to new problems resulting from the force? If so, describe.

Questions were also developed to help guide inquiry concerning the impact of each force on administration. Again not all questions could be used in analyzing each of the six forces. However, the following served as general guides for data gathering and analysis with regard to this aspect of the study:

(a) Is the administrator faced with different kinds of decision problems as a result of the force?

(b) Are the sources of conflict which the administrator must resolve either intensified or of a different character?

(c) Have there been changes in the nature of policy making resulting from the force?

(d) Have new administrative functions arisen because of the force?

(e) Have there been changes in the nature of internal administrative processes (e.g., decision making, communication, coordination, planning, programming, evaluating, and so forth)?

(f) Does the administrator allocate his time differently with regard to internal and external demands and/or is there a different "mix" of administrative functions to which he must devote his attention?

(g) Does the administrator relate differently to the administrative environment as a result of the force?

The various questions listed above served as guides for inquiry. The data generated pertinent to them provided bases for describing and analyzing forces within the context of the last decade. In addition, clues were generated by the questions which were of assistance in clarifying assumptions held by other concerning the future character of each force and its presumed impact on the organization and administration of schools during the 1970's.

2. Following a review of the literature and, in some cases, during the period of literature review, interviews were conducted with knowledgeable leaders in school districts, government, industry, universities, and related organizations who were judged to have special insights into and/or experience with the various forces. (Names of the persons interviewed with regard to each of the forces are listed

in the "Preface" to this report.) In the interviews data were obtained on the organization and administration of schools, and the assumptions held by respondents about future impact. The questions listed above served as general guides for interviews.

3. The data obtained from the literature and the interviews were summarized and generalizations were developed for each of the forces. Each staff member involved in force analysis approached the task of developing generalizations from his own perspective, which varied somewhat from individual to individual, in part because of the variation in the nature of the forces. After a critical analysis by each project staff member of the various force papers, they were revised and twelve scholars were selected to review the force papers. Two scholars with different perspectives reviewed each manuscript critically. (Names of the scholars who reviewed the force chapters are listed in the "Preface" to this report.) On the basis of these reviews, revisions were made in each of the force analyses. Chapters Two, Three, Four, Five, Six, and Seven contain the final generalizations about each of the six forces.

4. During staff review of the various manuscripts on each of the six forces, a concerted effort was made to identify key interactions among the forces and to assess the implications of these interactions for projecting assumptions about future changes likely to result in organization and administration.[9] These interactions and their implications were reported, examined, and recorded for the benefit of authors responsible for preparing Chapter Eight on "School Organization during the Seventies" and Chapter Nine on "Educational Leadership during the Seventies."

Procedures Used in the Study of Perceptions

Procedures used to gather data on the perceptions of school superintendents and professors are summarized as follows:

1. During the spring of 1968, the literature directly relevant to preparation programs in educational administration was reviewed to determine what had been written recently concerning trends and needs in preparation programs for school administrators. With only a few exceptions, the books and articles reviewed were limited to those published[10] within the 1963-68 period and, where the distinction was meaningful, to those related to the preparation of public school superintendents at the doctoral level.

2. During the spring, summer, and autumn of 1968, a questionnaire was developed, tested, and administered. The main purpose of the question-

naire was to solicit the views, both of those in university departments of educational administration and of current public school superintendents, concerning trends and needs in administrative preparation programs. One form of the questionnaire (the Universities' Version) was mailed to the UCEA Plenary Session representative in each of the fifty-seven universities then holding membership in the Council; this individual was asked, in responding, to reflect as accurately as possible the dominant views of the department of educational administration as a whole in his university. The other form of the questionnaire (the Superintendents' Version) was mailed to all current public school superintendents who had received doctorates in educational administration from UCEA member universities within the past five years (i.e., during and since 1963-64); the target sample was limited to those whose names and addresses were supplied by professors in UCEA member universities. The items in the two questionnaires were almost identical. In each case, responses were sought concerning selected aspects of present administrator preparation programs, opinions about strengths and weakenesses of current programs, and predictions concerning changes in preparation programs which will likely become desirable during the next five-to-ten years. In addition, the Universities' Version of the questionnaire sought information on changes which have been implemented in administrator preparation programs during the past five years.

Included in the above process were the following steps:

(a) A list of the names and addresses of all current public school superintendents who had received doctorates in educational administration within the past five years was requested from each UCEA member university.

(b) The questionnaire was designed, examined by the UCEA Central Staff, and revised according to staff reactions.

(c) Clearance for the questionnaire was sought and received from the U.S. Office of Education.

(d) The Universities' Version of the questionnaire was pre-tested by administering it to six randomly selected UCEA member universities; generally positive feedback justified proceeding with the study.

(e) Both versions of the questionnaire were administered by mail; addressed and stamped return envelopes were enclosed in all cases.

(f) Follow-up letters were sent to all persons and institutions that had not responded within a month after the initial administration of the instrument.

3. During the winter of 1968-69, the results of the literature review and the questionnaire responses were analyzed to seek answers to the following questions.

(a) What are the changes in administrator preparation programs which have been proposed or recommended during the past five years, and what rationales underlie these proposals or recommendations?

(b) What changes have been implemented in administrator preparation programs during the past five years, and what trends seem indicated by these changes?

(c) How effective are current administrator preparation programs perceived to be, and what are some of their judged strengths and weaknesses?

(d) What changes in administrator preparation programs are likely to become necessary or desirable within the next five-to-ten years?

4. On the basis of the above analysis, generalizations were developed concerning trends and needs in preparation programs for public school superintendents at the doctoral level. Findings resulting from this portion of the study are presented in Chapters Ten, Eleven, and Twelve of this report.

The bases from which generalizations were derived about needed changes in preparatory programs for school superintendents can now be made explicit. The generalizations were based upon: (1) data describing and analyzing six significant forces impacting on schools (Chapters Two through Seven); (2) explicit assumptions about the organization and administration of schools during the 1970's (Chapters Eight and Nine); and (3) data and generalizations on trends and needs in preparatory programs as perceived by "occupational experts" in educational administration (Chapters Ten, Eleven, and Twelve). Generalizations judged to be basic to the restructuring of preparatory programs for school superintendents are set forth in Chapter Thirteen.

Summary

The purpose of the study reported in this document was to produce generalizations basic to the restructuring of preparatory programs for school superintendents. The timeliness of the study is suggested by the fact that, in the "Guidelines" of the recently enacted Education Professions Development Act, educational administration is listed as one of several important training priorities. The need for the study is highlighted by the fact that great forces have wrought major societal changes during the 1960's which have changed leadership requirements in education. However, preparatory programs, in the perception of knowledgeable observers, have not adapted sufficiently to supply the new leadership required.

Two approaches were used for developing data on which to base generalizations for the restructuring of preparatory programs. One involved an analysis of six forces which were judged to have had an important impact upon the organization and administration of schools during the last decade and which will likely continue to have an important impact during the next decade; from these analyses, assumptions concerning the nature of school organization and administration in the 1970's were drawn. The other involved the attainment of superintendents' and professors' perceptions about trends and needs in preparation. From these generalizations and assumptions were deduced implications for restructuring preparatory programs.

Notes

[1] The Preparation of Proposals for Educational Personnel Development Grants 1968, 1969, 1970 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, June 1, 1968), p. 17.

[2] For data on the perceptions which school superintendents and other educational leaders have of these discrepancies, see Keith Goldhammer et.al., Issues and Problems in Contemporary Educational Administration (Eugene, Oregon: Center for the Advanced Study of Education Administration, 1967).

[3] Dwight Waldo, The Study of Administration (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Inc., 1955), p.55.

[4] For a more detailed discussion of the point, see Jack Culbertson, "Trends and Issues in the Development of a Science of Administration," in Perspectives on Educational Administration and the Behavioral Sciences (Eugene, Oregon: Center for the Advanced Study of Educational Administration, 1965), pp. 3-24. Also see Chapters Ten and Eleven in this report for descriptions of some of the results of the search.

[5] For examples of how this view pervaded the work of scholars, see Roald Campbell and Russell Gregg, Administrative Behavior in Education (New York: Harper and Bros., 1957).

[6] Those responsible for preparatory programs who were not successful in anticipating and helping leaders deal with problems such as those associated with race, poverty, teacher militancy, civil rights, and federal involvement in education should not be judged too harshly. The scholarly community in general did not anticipate problems such as those just noted nor were government leaders or businessmen prepared to deal with them.

[7] Keith Goldhammer et.al., op. cit., pp. 19 ff.

[8] For a copy of the questionnaire sent to Plenary Session representatives, see Appendix IV. For the questionnaire sent to school superintendents, see Appendix III.

[9] The staff was keenly aware of the difficulties involved in making future projections about subjects as complex as the one treated. In making projections the following statement by Edgar Morphet served as a guide: "How can we plan education for a world we cannot forsee? The dilemma appraently is not as serious as it may seem. One authority has pointed out that those engaged in long-range planning need not try to predict the exact course of events. Instead, their purpose should be to make reasonable assumptions about the future based on the best evidence available." See Edgar Morphet with the assistance of David Jesser, "The Future in the Present," Cooperative Planning for Education in 1980, Eds. Edgar Morphet and David Jesser (Denver: Bradford Printing Co., 1968), p. 3.

[10] A few exceptions to the "published" restriction were made: all UCEA member universities were asked to provide reports of any studies which had examined their administrator preparation programs within the past five years, and the reports received were included in the literature reviewed; in addition, certain written materials developed and disseminated under UCEA anspices, but not formally published, were incorporated into the literature review.

SECTION II

FORCES SHAPING EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATION AND LEADERSHIP

Chapter Two

The Federal Force in Education

> The question of the relation of the states to the federal government is the cardinal question of our constitutional system... It cannot, indeed, be settled by the opinion of any one generation, because it is a question of growth, and every successive stage of our political and economic development gives it a new aspect, makes it a new question. --Woodrow Wilson

In the late 1950's President Eisenhower highlighted the significance of education when he spoke of its important role in ensuring the defense and security of our nation. In the early 1960's President Kennedy described education as the "keystone in the arch of freedom and progress." President Johnson in the mid 1960's added to the eloquent presidential testimony when he described education as "first in all our plans and hopes" and as the "cornerstone of the Great Society." President Nixon more recently has observed that the "destiny of American is inseparable from education." These views expressed by American presidents during the last decade strongly attest to the rising significance of education in the modern society. They, and the evidence on which they are based, have also helped to pave the way for an enhanced federal role in education.

What is the nature of the federal force in education? Why has it come to the forefront and are its origins? What are its dynamics and what impace has it had on the education program, and on the organization, administration, and financing of schools? Is it likely that the federal force will be altered during the next decade? If so, in what ways? This chapter, in treating questions such as those just noted, will examine the federal force largely in terms of its political expressions. The programmatic aspects of the federal force will be treated in more detail in the chapter on "Research and Development in Education."

The Federal Force in Education During the Last Decade
Its Nature and Scope

The generalizations immediately following are based upon a study of events of the last decade, and they are designed to illuminate the nature and scope of the federal force. The second set of generalizations describes major impacts of the federal force upon the organization and administration of state and local educational agencies. Presumed characteristics of the federal force and assumptions about its impact on the organization and administration of schools during the next ten years are set forth in the last part of the Chapter.

Education and Public Policy.

The dynamic of the expanded federal force in education during the 1960's was rooted insignificant and emergent public policy objectives related to the war on poverty, economic growth, civil rights, national defense, and other imporimportant national goals. Increasing federal investments in education during the last decade have been based upon the assumption that when educational programs funded by Congress are implemented they will help achieve important public policy objectives.[1] The American school system, in other words, cam came to be viewed, more than ever before, as an instrument for achieving high publicized and significant national goals. Practical leaders saw in education a versatile and potentially effective weapon in the war on poverty; a force for helping to break down the walls of segregation and a medium for resolving conflicts between the races; a ladder for the culturally deprived to climb to higher status and greater opportunity; a developer of the manpower skills and the "conceptual capital" necessary to fuel an ever-growing and technologically advanced economy; and a major contributor to the increasingly intricate security and defense systems of the nation.

Federal education programs developed at the national level and designed to achieve high visible national objectives have created a powerful dynamic for the federal force. The aspirations and hopes for goal attainment, initially strong and pervasive, enhanced the federal force, In addition, the force had its origins in sources external to school systems which resulted in powerful external demands on these systems. At no time in America's national history have the expectations for education been oriented so clearly toward using education to achieve highly visible societal goals.

Creative Federalism.

The federal force in education during recent years has been shaped by new governmental concepts associated with "creative federalism." Several features of "creative federalism" which were made explicit in the mid-sixties have provided a new rationale for federal government action. At least three features of the new federalism which have guided and shaped government programs generally and programs in education specifically can be identified and described.[2]

New Resources for Federal-Local Programs. When former President Johnson first used the concept of "creative federalism" in his May, 1964 address at the University of Michigan on urban problems, he highlighted the concept of federal-local programs and the idea of by-passing the states in dealing with local problems. Later, in discussing the solution of local government problems, he emphasized the need to bring a range of resources to bear on these problems, including those of state government, business, labor, and private institutions. Further elaboration of the concept made it clear that one of the most significant features of "creative federalism" was its intent to join private and public agencies in programs designed to solve societal problems. Thus, President Johnson called upon private enterprise for direct assistance in helping solve problems associated with such matters as transportation, water pollution, poverty, and education and President Nixon has also accepted this policy. Federal funds have been awarded to private agencies to participate in such differing activities as the operation of job retraining centers for disadvantaged youth and the conduct of research and development contracts in education.

Increased Problem-Solving Capacity. A second feature of "creative federalism" relates to the concept of power. Traditionally, it has often been assumed that the total amount of power in society is constant. From this assumption it follows that if the federal government increases its power, state and local power will be automatically reduced. Creative federalism was based upon the argument that the total amount of power is not constant but that it is expanding rapidly in the private and public sector and among individuals and organizations. Thus, power in relation to creative federalism was defined in a special way and one of its major features was described as effective problem-solving ability. An important role of the federal government, in other words, was to offer alternative approaches to solving local problems. By increasing the number of alternatives available to people and organizations and by increasing the resources for implementing chosen alternatives, the federal government, it was argued, could increase power and know-how at all levels of government.

To increase power in the total political system a major objective of the federal government became that of achieving maximum and steady growth in the economy. Maximum and consistent economic growth meant that the problem-solving capacity of society generally would tend to be increased and that expanded "know-how" at all levels of government would tend to be applied in solving societal problems. Professor Scheiber commented on this aspect of "creative Federalism," from the perspective of the Johnson Administration, as follows:[3]

> Thus one of the principal architects of the urban programs in Congress asserts that the "unifying thought" behind expanded Federal activity in the cities is "the effort to shore up the local tax basis." Similarly, the President has declared that enlarged federal grant-in-aid programs will increase "the tempo of effort at all levels of government." And the Budget Director has cited sustained overall economic growth as the most important single component of "the framework around which the great society is built." In the manner of John Kenneth

> Galbraith, then, the Johnson administration is stressing the possibilities of affluence. It regards the revenue "pie" as one that is growing, and that must be helped to grow; and not as one that is static, so that slicing it in different proportions diminishes governmental power at one level while it enhances power at another.

Education was clearly related to the attainment of power at all governmental levels. The skills it develops increase economic productivity. Science and technology, products of education, are essential to a growing economy. Education is an investment which increases society's economic base and its problem-solving capability.

New Administrative Planning Methods. A third facet of creative federalism was its emphasis upon new administrative and planning methods. Developed initially in the Defense Department in the early 1960's under the label of planning-programming-budgeting-systems (PPBS), the new tool for planning began to be established and used in government agencies outside the Defense establishment in 1965. In announcing the decision to use PPBS more widely in government, President Johnson emphasized the fact that the planning system should help government find new ways to do jobs faster, to do jobs better, and to do jobs less expensively. He also emphasized the tool's potential for helping meet the needs in government to obtain more accurate information for decision making and to pinpoint more clearly programs the government ought to expand as well as those which it should de-emphaisze. In a bulletin which subsequently set forth reasons for shifting to PPBS, the inadequate planning arrangements of government, the lack of clarity of program objectives, and the limited ways of measuring program accomplishments were all emphasized.[4] PPBS was to help remedy these limitations in government by placing greater emphasis on the processes of:[5] (1) defining objectives, (2) measuring the anticipated "output" of alternative programs to attain these objectives, (3) determining the "total system costs of our programs on a multi-year basis" ; (4) reviewing frequently the alternative programs possible; and (5) providing "a systematic flow of information on outputs and costs for department heads and under them their bureau chiefs."

Thus, a new administrative and planning methods were borrowed from the private sector and were applied to problems in the public sector. They were designed to increase the alternatives for decision making and the power of decision makers. Power in the new sense was associated more with problem-solving capability and less with traditional political connotations. It is perhaps significant that cabinet officers in the Nixon administration have publicly endorsed the new planning and problem-solving methods.

Local and State Government Responses

The expanded federal force in education developed in part because of (1) the inadequate responses of state and local government to educational and social needs and (2) the new "national leadership" in education. Critics of state and local government have been legion. The epithets produced have at times been harsh to the point of describing these governments as "anachronisms of the nineteenth century." Most of the criticisms have been general and would apply to various dimensions of state and local government, including those associated with education. Among the criticisms leveled against state and local government are the following: the unrepresentativeness of boards responsible for decision making; the notorious anti-urban bias of many state legislatures; the monolithic power structures which operate in many communities; the parochial, if not reactionary, perspectives of state and local government in a period of "jet age federalism"; the general resistance to welfare legislation, to the need for more school expenditures, and to the desire for governmental reform; the low quality of state and local bureaucratic personnel and inadequate salary schedules; and the unreasonable constraints associated with local and state financing. These various criticisms, which have been expressed in the popular press, undoubtedly helped set the stage for the federal force to increase its role in education. It became relatively easy under these circumstances for the executive branch of government to develop educational programs designed to achieve important national objectives through education, and for the Congress to approve these programs.

Another factor which influenced the development of the federal force was the new "national leadership" in education. This leadership, which began to emerge early in the 1960's, was expressed at the top level largely by persons outside of or marginal to professional education. Consisting of such personnel as Francis Keppel and John Gardner, the new guard had had limited public school experience. They were not closely allied with the educational establishment nor rooted in the traditions of national educational organizations. This more limited experience with educational tradition undoubtedly enabled the new leadership to look at problems and issues in education in somewhat different ways. The new leadership also accepted the tenets of creative federalism and worked with verve and skill to increase the federal force in education.

Research, Development, and Innovation

A clear articulation of the need for improved research and development to support educational innovetions provided an important rationale for increased federal investments in education. Much of the testimony before Congress, especially with reference to the precedent-breaking Elementary and Secondary Education Act, involved concepts of research and development. Arguments for increased investments in educational research and development were based largely upon three somewhat related theses. First, research and development is an important tool for change and this has been demonstrated in a number of sectors of our society. It was argued, for example, that agriculture, which has received substantial government support for research and development purposes, has used the support to increase its productivity phenomenally. With relatively fewer farmers than in earlier years, agriculture has been able, through the results of research and development, to produce great surpluses of foods.

A second thesis advanced in support of the argument was that investments in research and development in education can in no way compare to investments in other fields. Thus, Francis Ianni, as Director of the Division of Educational Research in the U. S. Office of Education in 1965 made the following statement:[6]

> Unlike business, industry, agriculture, and medicine, education has never had access to substantial funds for research and development. Yet education today is America's largest industry--with 125,000 schools, forty-seven million elementary and secondary pupils, almost two million teachers, 100 thousand administrators and supervisors, and 144 thousand local public school board members. In an interprise of this magnitude, costing $32 billion a year at all levels, we now spend about $2 out of every thousand--or less than one-fifth of one per cent of our educational funds--on research. Even within the government, the funds allocated for research in education are almost minute compared to other areas.

The third part of the rationale for increased federal investment in research and development involved the concept of "lag" in education and the great need for increased experimentation and innovation in schools. In order to achieve sound innovations it was argued that the findings of research and the products of development are required. Since such findings and products are now substantially limited, increased investments in research and development were viewed as essential. In addition, special arrangements for disseminating the results of research and development were deemed necessary, as the following statement implied:[7]

> These last ten years of research have not brought about the far-reaching changes in practice we hoped for because neither the efforts to innovate nor the arrangements for diffusing innovation have been developed on a scale that even approaches the need.

Thus, lag in experimentation was associated not only with the limited number of research findings and development products available but also with an "information gap" between researchers and school men concerning those actually available.

Federal Expansion

The federal force in education has become more expansive in scope, more diverse in purpose, and more direct in its impact on education. The broadened scope of the federal force in education can be measured in various ways. It is clear, for example, that the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of the federal government have all wielded substantial influence on education during the last decade and that the combined impact of the various branches of government has been unprecedented. Also, when the federal force is viewed in terms of numbers of programs supported, it is clear that the number in the 1960's was considerably greater than that in the 1950's. Edith Green in the early 1960's revealed that the departments of Defense, Agriculture, Commerce, Interior, Justice, Treasury, and Health, Education, and Welfare were all involved in supporting educational programs.[8] In more specific terms, 42 departments, agencies, and bureaus of the government were involved to some degree in education at the time the inquiry was conducted. Since Mrs. Green's study in 1961, the scope of the federal force in education has been substantially expanded through a variety of regulations including the Vocational Education Act, the Economic Opportunity Act, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, and the Education Professions Development Act.

The increasing scope of federal programs can also be delineated by describing increases in amounts of federal funds appropriated for education. Thus, state departments of education in 1961 administered approximately three-quarters of a billion dollars in federal funds. In 1966, the amount had grown to approximately three billion and the number of programs administered had increased from 10 to 20. To take another measure, the federal government in 1963-64 provided 4.4 per cent of the funds expended on education; by 1966-67 the amount had increased to 8 per cent. It is significant that the scope of expenditures has been increased during the last decade not only in amounts but also in their scope to include both public and nonpublic schools.

The wide range of federal legislation affecting education is testimony not only to the increasing scope but also to the increasing diversity of the federal force. The Higher Education Facilities Act, the National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities Act, the Cooperative Research Act, the National Defense Education Act, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, and related legislation provide evidence of program diversity. In these legislative acts, widely differing purposes were stated; further, the programs projected to achieve stated purposes, have differed substantially as have the clientele in public school systems and in higher education affected by the programs.[9] The emphasis on science, mathematics, and languages in the National Defense Education Act has been broadened to encompass such goals as vocational education in more recent legislation. The increasing emphasis on improving education through research, development, and training is a relatively new federal concern as is the federal interest in achieving more effective education for the disadvantaged and poverty stricken.

Recent developments have made clear that the federal force during the past decade has been directed more sharply at the educational process than previously. In 1961, for example, the three largest federal programs associated with education were those having to do with surplus property, school lunch, and milk.[10] These programs clearly were indirectly related to curriculum content and instruction. Most of the programs encompassed in the more recent legislative acts have more direct relationships with teaching and learning.

Special-Purpose Grants

Financial grants to enable state and local agencies to establish special-purpose programs constitute the chief influence mechanism deployed by the federal force. All of the federal education programs provided for states and localities involve the incentive of money. This incentive is often strengthened by requirements for matching grants. The purposes for which grants are made are categorical and, as already noted, are related to important national problems and objectives. Since the problems for which money is appropriated are national and pervasive, widely differing state and local agencies can quality for aid from most federal programs.

In the early and mid-sixties, then, those designing federal programs to cope with societal problems placed great emphasis upon the importance of money in achieving solutions to these problems. In the latter part of the sixties the significant role that non-financial variables and constraints play in affecting the solution of problems came to be more clearly recognized. In addition, it became more evident than earlier that much of the federal force was being directed toward solving extremely difficult, residual problems in American society and American education of a type that local and state agencies, for decades and even a century or more, have failed to meet.

Impact of the Federal Force upon the Organization and Administration of Schools during the Last Decade

Much of the impact of the federal force so far has been upon the external or political environments of state and local education agencies and upon the internal organization of these agencies. This is true even though many of the federal programs are directed specifically at improving the learning of students or at research, development, planning, or training designed to enhance student learning. The generalizations set forth below are limited to impacts of the federal force upon the political and organizational contexts of education and educational administration. Information on other aspects of the federal force's impact will be provided in subsequent chapters dealing with the business-education interface, research and development in education, and new management technologies in education.

Inter-governmental Conflict

The federal force has stimulated considerable conflict between and among leaders in local, state, and federal educational agencies. State department leaders have traditionally viewed their governmental unit as the one basically responsible for education and they have had strong legal arguments on their side. Local school districts, on the other hand, have operated throughout their history on a concept of local autonomy. Consequently, the expanding federal force in education has challenged traditional and basic beliefs of leaders in both state and local educational agencies. The challenge has aroused deep concern and has led to open and, at times, intense conflict.

An Example of Conflict. A celebrated illustration of federal-local conflict developed in 1965 when Francis Keppel, then Ckmmissioner of Education, threatened to withhold funds from the Chicago City School District because of practices which were thought to be contrary to federal legal requirements on "*de facto* segregation." Both the significance of local autonomy and the depth of federal-local conflict are reflected in the following statement, quoted in the *Chicago Tribune* of October 3, 1965, and made by Benjamin Willis, who was Superintendent of Schools in Chicago at the time: "While I am sorry this happened in Chicago, perhaps it is a blessing in disguise. It may serve to alert the public to the capricious and autocratic actions emanating from the federal education office." This example, which was resolved in favor of the local unit, illustrates one of many conflicts related to the implementation of civil rights and "desegregation" legislation.

Conflict has also been generated at the point where local districts decide to apply for federal funds. Since the purposes of grants are set forth in Congressional legislation, local education agencies have had only the option of deciding whether or not they wished to make application for grants. Federal "guidelines," even though typically developed with much advice from state and local personnel, have helped highlight further issues of control. Such conditions have made more vivid the spectre of federal control among local leaders.

Within the context of state-federal relations, state leaders have used the concept of "states rights" to counter the federal thrust. They have argued that since the states have legal responsibility for education, the federal government has no right to control state programs through special-purpose grants; further, if the federal government desires to provide funds to states, these should be made available for general purposes and each of the diverse states should determine the specific programs to which federal funds might best be allocated.

State-federal conflict has been aroused in other ways. In some instances, for example, the federal government has by-passed the states and has entered into direct contracts with local school districts, a practice that has been encouraged by leaders in the large cities. Special organizations such as federally initiated and funded regional educational laboratories have come into being and have been perceived as a competing federal force by many state leaders in the same manner that federally supported educational programs implemented by private industry have been viewed as competing institutions by local educational agencies.

Results of Conflict. The conflict has caused all educational agencies to examine their roles and to assess more carefully their programs and activities. It is also evident that more effective working relationships among federal, state, and local agencies in education have been achieved in recent years and that the spectre of federal control is now seen as less ominous by those in state and local agencies than was the case in the mid-sixties.

Not all of the interaction between federal, state, and local education agencies has been typified by conflict. Serious efforts on the part of the federal government to obtain advice from local and state leaders have resulted in much constructive communication. In 1967, for example, the Commissioner of Education had twenty-five formally established advisory committees specifically related to the conduct of federal educational programs.[11] In addition, dozens of groups have met in the various agencies of the U. S. Office of Education informally during the 1960's.

There has been a substantial flow of information from the federal government to local and state governments concerning opportunities provided by federal programs and procedures to be followed by those applying for grants. Extensive amounts of information from school districts and state education departments about proposed programs and reports on operating programs have flowed to the federal education agencies. Many program ideas have been stimulated both in state and local agencies. Information flow has been further generated by the interchange of personnel among the various levels of educational government.

Expanded Communication Network

The federal force has broken down barriers and has stimulated communication between administrative personnel in educational agencies and those in other governmental agencies at the local, state, and federal levels. Traditionally, local, state, and federal educational agencies have tended to view themselves as independent and somewhat isolated from the political arena which surrounds them. This view has been reinforced by the fact that the large majority of school districts are fiscally independent while most other agencies of government are fiscally dependent. State education departments have also been somewhat isolated from the larger context of state government as scholars such as Masters has observed:[12]

> ...in the majority of states, and especially in the more populous states, state educational agencies have not been an important and significant arm of the Governor in the preparation of his educational budget. In a number of states, communication between the Governor's office and the budgetary officials of the state educational agency has been virtually non-existent.

The U.S. Office of Education has traditionally seen its role as a dispenser of information largely to professional educators, and not so much as an aggressive influencer of legislation in the Washington political arena.

Communication at Federal Level. The federal force in education during the 1960's has altered the institutional patterns of relative isolation and has caused educational institutions at all governmental levels to be much less detached from the political context. At the federal level of government the U.S. Office of Education has taken a much more active role in proposing legislation to the executive and legislative branches of government. In the process, the relationships of the Office to the professional community have been altered in at least two important ways. First, educational associations such as NEA have played a less dominant role in the shaping of federal legislative programs, as implied in the following statement by Masters: "Without passing judgment on past commissioners or the National Education Association, we should point out that under Keppel the USOE began to escape from the previous characterization as a low-key NEA dominated agency."[13] Under the new leadership, educational associations in Washington have had more competition and there has been wider political involvement in the formulation of federal legislative ideas than previously.

In part as a result of intensified efforts to influence Congress and to achieve new legislation, another change has resulted. The publication programs of the U. S. Office of Education, which traditionally had been directed toward the professional community, have been sharply curtailed and altered. This move was encouraged by the fact that the Office, as a result of new legislation, has had to expend much energy in awarding grants to school districts, in dispensing federal funds, in monitoring funded projects, and in advising and informing Congress. Clearly, these more recent activities have many more significant political overtones than the earlier publication emphases.

Communication at State and Local Levels. Personnel in state departments of education have been compelled, as a result of the federal force in education, to interact more with legislators and members of the executive branch of state government than formerly. The Education Commission of the States at the national level has been an important mechanism for facilitating communication between educators and members of state government. Thus, the various conferences which the Commission has produced have involved professional educators, legislators, governors, and other members of state government. There are those who believe that the federal force in education was instrumental in the creation of the Education Commission of the States and that the Commission represents a "counter-thrust" to the federal thrust.[14] In any event, the Commission's work underlines the point that the federal force has encouraged a trend toward greater communication between educational personnel and state government officials and a movement to break down barriers between state education agencies and other agencies of government.

School superintendents have had to enter into new relationships with mayors and other members of municipal government because of the federal force in education. Programs, for example, associated with the Model Cities Program, even though not primarily concerned with education, have brought many superintendents into new relationships with city halls. Manpower training programs and educational programs sponsored by the Office of Economic Opportunity and conducted externally to school districts have caused superintendents to be less isolated and less independent than formerly. Many federal programs conducted inside school districts, such as those associated with Title I and Title III of ESEA, have also required both formal and informal liaison relationships with governmental and community agencies external to school districts.

Need for Coordination. The expansion of federal programs and the increased communication between personnel in education and other agencies of government, have highlighted the need for better coordination of educational decision making horizontally at all levels of government and vertically among educational agencies. At the federal level the increased concern for horizontal coordination led to the creation in 1965 of a new assistant secretary's post in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. First appointed to this post was Francis Keppel whose major task was that of bringing into clearer relationships the various federal programs bearing upon education and of coordinating more effectively the work of these programs.

At the state level there has also been a search for more effective coordination. This search has been evident in the larger political arena in which governors and their assistants increasingly are seeking, in planning processes especially, to integrate education more clearly with other functions of state government. In addition, a number of federal acts affecting education require state commissions to be appointed by governors to facilitate the implementation of federal programs. These state commissions perform both advisory and coordinating functions.[15]

Federal grants to state education agencies are also bringing about more effective communication among state education and other state government officials. A significant example of this type is reflected in the work of Edgar Morphet and others.[16] This work, which is concerned with coordinated planning for education in eight states, is involving legislators, governors, educators, and citizens from various walks of life.

At the local level, strong demands for coordination have developed. Problems of coordination have arisen internally because of the increasing number of federally funded programs. In addition, special demands are created by needs to relate efforts to and to exchange information with those in research, development, and training agencies external to school districts. Some school districts have responded to this challenge by appointing personnel who have specific responsibilities for horizontal and vertical coordination.

Changes in Organization and Staffing

Demands made by federal programs have required substantial adaptations in staffing and organizational patterns in state education departments and school districts. According to surveys which have been conducted in recent years, school administrators almost universally have been concerned about the special demands which federal programs have placed upon existing organizations; one term used to describe the demands is "administrative overburden." Since the large majority of funds for these programs are channeled through state education departments, these organizations have also been faced with major adjustments, and the adjustments they have made have in turn required organizational adaptations in local education agencies.

One of the more obvious changes resulting from the federal force has been the creation of new administrative posts, both in local and state agencies, which are directly related to the intent of federal programs. Thus, one aspect of the National Defense Education Act, which was designed to produce more adequate statistical information in education, has led to the appointment, especially in larger districts, of computer experts and data specialists. Assistant superintendents in charge of state and federal relations were appointed in some of the larger school districts as early as 1962 and this type of appointment has grown rapidly since that time. The Vocational Education Act of 1963 led to appointments of personnel in many school districts with special responsibilities for administering new vocational programs and for relating them to field settings. Projects funded under ESEA, Title I, Title III, and others have called for the appointment of new types of personnel to give direction to these programs.

Major staffing adjustments were also required in state education agencies. In a study of one large state department in 1966, for example, the following findings were reported:[17]

> Of the twenty-six departments with line responsibilities, four departments are working entirely with federally sponsored programs; three more departments devote over half of their time to these programs; and another nine departments spend substantial time, though less than half, on federal programs. In terms of individual employees, sixty-four of the one hundred thirty-five professionals in SDE office buildings work almost exclusively on federally sponsored programs.

The demand on staffing can be illustrated further in relation to Title V of ESEA. During 1965, 634 new positions in state education departments were created by this Act. That this demand resulted in special difficulties is suggested by the fact that only 387 of the positions created were filled during the first year.[18]

Staffing adjustments were not easy because of extreme shortages in personnel, unrealistic imitations in salaries in many states, and the competition for personnel at all levels of educational government. New structures such as regional educational laboratories were often able to "outbid" local and state agencies for personnel because they were not constrained by the usual salary schedules. In addition, personnel recruited for new development posts often did not have formal training or extensive experience pertinent to their new assignments and this created needs for further adjustments beyond those required in staffing newly created positions.

The Federal force has had another significant impact in that it has caused school districts to create dual organizations which administrators sometimes describe as "a system within a system." One part of the administrative organization of local education agencies, in other words, has become principally responsible for federally supported programs; the rest of the organization has remained largely responsible for those educational efforts which are locally supported.

Still another factor affecting organizational adaptation has been an important shift in the educational purposes which school districts are seeking to achieve. The traditional ways of stating purpose in terms of the development of individuals, the nurturing of unique talens, and the achievement of self-actualizing tendencies in students have given way to statements of purpose which highlight, as already noted, the use of education for achieving *national* goals. Since the contrast in the two perspectives for articulating purpose is marked, the shift has created another dynamic requiring organizational adjustment.

Educational Planning and Assessment

The federal force has encouraged local and state educational agencies to develop more effective planning capabilities and it has highlighted the need for more systematic evaluation of educational and organizational performance. The federal force has set in motion a number of activities and projects specifically oriented toward the development of more effective planning processes for education. The installation of planning-programming-budgeting-systems throughout the various federal agencies in 1965 by order of former President Johnson has had an impace far beyond the national Capital. This action, which was highlighted in the national press, dramatized the need for more effective governmental planning and gave publicity to a planning method which caught the attention of many state and local agencies, including those with responsibilities for education. In addition to dramatizing the need for governmental planning and publicizing tested planning technologies, the federal government, through the U.S. Office of Education, has influenced educational planning by supporting a variety of training and development programs. A few examples of how the federal force has influenced the trend toward more effective local and state educational planning will serve to underline the point.

Programs for Planners. Training grants to provide educational personnel specific planning skills and competencies have been awarded by the federal government in recent years. For example, the U.S.O.C. has supported a number of seminars to enable personnel who have responsibilities for administering federally supported research and development projects to learn new management planning techniques. One of the most popular techniques treated in these seminars has been the program evaluation and review technique (PERT).[19] Several hundred persons have been trained in the use of PERT techniques on the assumption that the concepts acquired and the skills developed would assist them in planning and scheduling research, development, and administrative activities during the conduct of federal projects. Grants to support in-service programs such as the ones just described have also been supplemented by several training grants to universities to develop pre-service programs for educational planners.

The U.S.O.E. has also supported projects to enable educational administrators to acquire planning concepts and skills which they could use in developing and administering ESEA Title III projects and in executing more general administrative tasks. Operation PEP, for example, a statewide project for preparing educational planners in California, has concentrated on providing middle management and top leadership in California school systems new planning skills and concepts. The project has been designed to help educational administrators not only to understand a number of the concepts associated with operations research, planning-programming-budgeting-systems, and general planning technologies, but also to apply these concepts in school districts. Therefore, intermittently scheduled seminars have been supplemented by field experiences.[20]

Development of Planning Capabilities. Federal grants have also been provided to enable school districts to develop and implement programming-planning-budgeting techniques. Thus, those in the Dade County, Florida school system, with federal support, are currently engaged in developing and applying PPBS concepts in their planning operations. This is complemented by another project, also supported by the U.S.O.E., and undertaken by the American Association of School Business Officials, to produce generalizations useful to school districts with special interests in implementing PPBS concepts.

State education agencies have received federal grants to help improve planning processes affecting education both within and outside these agencies. The project headed by Edgar Morphet, referred to above, is one important example of an effort designed to improve state planning for education.[21] Concentrating upon both the content and process of planning, this pioneering project has involved the actual planning of educational futures within a 1980 framework in each of the eight Rocky Mountain states as well as the development of inter-state coordination and interchange among these states.

Another way in which the federal force has influrnced planning processes in education is in the actual administration of federal programs. Guidelines for state education departments, for example, encourage the various states to develop comprehensive state plans which coordinate the various improvement efforts in a given state and which "package" administrative funds so the interrelationships among projects can be highlighted and interrelationships between the plans of the various local education agencies can be made more evident. In a state such as Texas, for example, "packaging" is based upon regional concepts which , in turn, involve a number of local education agencies. Purposes of this approach are to decrease administrative demands upon personnel, minimize overlap in projects, and realize effective coordination of plans.

National Assessment of Education. The federal force has also been one of several forces highlighting this need for more systematic assessment and evaluation of educational and organizational performance. One expression of this force has been requirements for evaluating projects supported through federal legislation. Thus, the late Robert F. Kennedy was instrumental in amending the Elementary and Secondary Education Act to require an evaluation of the actual effects of Title I projects of ESEA. This legal requirement has stimulated considerable work on evaluation procedures by personnel receiving grants. In the process, a careful examination of a number of complex issues bearing upon evaluation has resulted.[22]

Another influence on evaluation is found in the concept of "national assessment," which earlier was indirectly related to the federal force and more recently has been directly related. Leaders in 1964, some of whom were in federal positions, helped influence the Carnegie Foundation to support a project concerned with the national assessment of education. Called the "National Assessment of Educational Progress," the efforts involved a national measurement of what students, drop-outs, and graduates of schools and colleges have learned. Sampling encompassed such categories as boys and girls, four geographical regions (Far West, Mid West, Northeast, and South), four social environments (rural, small-city, suburban, and large city) four age groups (30, 17, 13, and 9) and two groups with different economic backgrounds. The first stage of the project was designed largely to develop and test assessment instruments. It is significant that the federal government has supported and continues to support the National Assessment Project. It is also notable that the Education Commission of the States has recently accepted responsibility for implementing the "national assessment project". Assessment, according to present plans, will be repeated at regular intervals of three-to-five years. The data obtained on the effects of education and the relationship of effects to current instructional practices will be intended to assist educational planners in improving school quality.

The U.S.O.E. has established in recent years a division which has as its major objectives the advancement of educational evaluation and the study of relationships between input and output in education. In the division in a National Center which gathers statistical information and a staff which develops concepts and techniques for studying input-output relationships in education. The division will sample school districts throughout the United States to obtain needed data.

Organizational Strain

The federal force has helped create "organizational strain" in school districts. In the mid-1960's, especially, while the federal force was increasing substantially, the organization of school districts began to undergo special strain. Some of the strain derived from the fact that a substantial portion of school board members were opposed to the federal force in education and were contending with those in favor of federal aid. In the words of one school superintendents: "A good part of the community is against the Great Society and the amount of money being spent. On the other hand, many feel that here is money to be taken and educational support is needed."[23]

Developing and Implementing Purposes. Problems have arisen from practical requirements encountered in designing proposals, in meeting deadlines, and in following federal "guidelines." Since school districts have typically not had trained personnel skilled in development work or experienced in the writing of proposals, effective organizational response to federal programs has often been difficult to achieve. The result has been that administrators in many cases have had to spend inordinate amounts of time in stimulating, in supervising, and in actually preparing proposals. This condition has been apparently further complicated by other conditions such as the following reported by superintendents: application procedures have seemed overly elaborate to them; they have encountered "endless" delays in federal decision making concerning proposals; the timing between funding of proposals and their implementations has often been highly inappropriate; and the deadlines for making reports have created frustration.[24]

Another point of strain has come at the stage when proposals are to be implemented. A major difficulty encountered at this point has been the recruitment of new personnel and/or the re-deployment of existing personnel in school districts to administer federally supported projects. Since training institutions have not implemented many programs specifically designed to prepare personnel for research and development posts in school districts, recruitment difficulties have been further enhanced. Thus, school districts have often had to recruit personnel experienced in administration but not in research and development, personnel experienced in research and development but not in administration, or teachers experienced in neither administration nor in research and development.

Dual Organization. Tensions have developed in school districts as a result of the dual system of organization which tends to separate the administration of federally and state-locally supported programs. For example, personnel recruited to work in federal programs have sometimes received higher salaries for somewhat similar positions and this condition has not always been perceived with equanimity by long-time employees of school districts. Problems have also sometimes been created by the fact that those heading new, federal programs have had special funds and decision-making powers which those with more established responsibilities did not have. Finally, differences have been sharpened because administrators of federally supported programs have tended to take on the coloration of the particular funds which furnish their employment."[25]

Underlying dual organizations has been an even more basic fact: differing purposes are represented in the two organizations with the federal aspect much more concerned with creating new educational or instructional methods and the local aspect more concerned with maintaining and improving existing programs and methods. Special projects such as those supported by Title I or Title III of the Elementary and Secondayr Education Act of 1965, for example, are concerned with innovation and with change within the larger school district organization. This purpose is not always shared or appreciated by those oriented toward the conduct of on-going programs with the result that school districts have often had to adapt to internal tensions. Difficulties associated with recruiting effective change agents to head federal programs and the inadequate skills of these personnel as well as those in established administrative positions have at times aggravated the relationships between general administrative systems and administrative systems for special programs.

Visibility of Education. The federal force has helped to make school districts more visible and their leadership less isolated, as the eyes and ears of more and more citizens have been directed toward education and its administration. This has tended to make the inadequacies of administrative structures in school districts much more evident not only to personnel in these districts but also to leaders in the external environment have also helped to highlight some of the limitations resulting from the traditional isolation of educational administration from the larger political arena. In the words of The Honorable Jesse Unruh, Speaker of the California Assembly: "Educators have fed upon their own strengths so long that they are almost unintelligible to the rest of us."[26]

The more visible actions of educational leaders and their increased interactions with our political leaders may well have helped to create what some have described as a "credibility gap" between educators and political leaders. Again, The Honorable Jesse Unruh has spoken to this issue as follows: "I think there is a lag between the needs of education and the educator's ability to portray those needs or to translate those needs into political nomenclature."[27]

The lag, as many school superintendents recognize, is influenced by the fact that they do not always have available adequate information for effectively portraying and interpreting organizational and educational needs. The development of effective management information systems to depict educational needs has proceeded slowly. Institutions of higher learning and school districts have not yet achieved the needed research and development capability to dramatize the need for educational change and to provide knowledge basic to the charting of needed new directions in education. Staffing patterns designed to assist superintendents in the gathering and dissemination of public information are underdeveloped and effective in-service and pre-service training programs which sould enable existing or new administrative personnel to aid school superintendents in the advancement of public understanding have not yet been effectively implemented. Thus, it is understandable why some say the superintendency as now practiced is obsolete. What is meant is that the organizational structure which should support the growing demands on educational leadership is obsolete and, therefore, severaly "strained" by today's challenges.

In conclusion, then it seems clear that the federal force during the last decade has had an important impact upon the organization and administration of schools. This impact is related in part to the nature and purpose of a variety of federally supported programs affecting education. More fundamentally, however, the most significant impact of the federal force may have been that of highlighting basic inadequacies in the administrative structures of school systems.

The Federal Force in Education during the Next Decade

What will be the nature and scope of the federal force in education during the next ten years? This question is fraught with difficulties because of the many influences, both positive and negative, which will be shaping the federal force in the future. Among the variables, for example, which will affect the federal force during the next decade are the following: the economic growth rate of the nation; the degree to which aspirations for improved and expanded education escalate or de-escalate and the extent to which education continues to be viewed as a highly important means for achieving national goals; relative shifts in efforts to support education among the various levels of government; the nature and extent of reform achieved by state and local government, including changes in revenue sources; the extent to which current federal programs in education prove to be effective and the degree to which the costs of education grow during the next decade; shifts in national priorities and/or the emergence of new national goals; and the extent to which education faces increasing or decreasing competition for the tax dollar. Even though precise predictions cannot be made concerning the nature and scope of the federal force during the next decade, some assumptions concerning variables such as those just noted can be made explicit. From such assumptions can be deduced generalizations about the nature of the federal force in education during the next decade.

National Needs Will Require Growing Federal Investments in Education

Education during the coming decade will continue to be viewed by citizens and their leaders as an extremely important instrument for achieving societal goals and this will provide leverage for the further expansion of the federal influence in education. Evidence developed by economists concerning the positive relationships between education and economic growth continues to grow. A number of recent studies have documented clearly that investments in education contribute much more economic growth than had earlier been suspected. Charles Benson summarizes some of the impact of these studies as follows:[28]

> The attitude of economists has changed because, in the first place, it is recognized that changes in output per man-hour reflect changes in labor skills as well as increases in the quantity of physical capital. Accordingly, we can say that economic productivity is affected by the volume of physical capital and human capital that our society possesses. Secondly, the attitude has changed because expenditures on schools are now regarded as an investment in human capital. Better schools mean a more highly skilled work force. Finally, the statistical data indicate that the yield of investment in human capital in the United States at this time is approximately equal to the yield from investment in physical capital. Thus, school taxes promote economic growth--they do not handicap it.

Problems associated with poverty, race, and civil rights are very pervasive and difficult and the need to use education effectively in the search for solutions to these problems is being more clearly recognized and accepted throughout the nation. While it is clear that education in and of itself cannot solve the difficult and residual American problems associated with civil rights, race, and poverty, it is equally clear that these problems cannot be solved without effective education.

Widely recognized is the fact that the complex, diverse, specialized, and growing manpower requirements of the nation can only be met through substantial investments in education. Growing investments in research and development, (R and D), which some scholars expect to more than double during the next decade, suggest one are in which there will be an expanding national need for skilled manpower. It is also notable that as the products of R and D increase, the need for manpower training increases. In addition, the need for special training to equip the educationally deprived, technologically unemployed, and low-skill personnel to be more self-sufficient grows as research and development grow. The case for stepped-up investments in special training of the latter type is dramatically documented in studies of the impact of the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962.[29] According to studies already completed, the first 13,000 persons experiencing training under the Manpower Development and Training Act in the early 1960's will have returned in taxes to the federal government the entire costs of their training by the year 1970. Certainly, the federal government has a special responsibility to see that education meets national manpower needs. Growing investments will be required to fullfil this responsibility.

Effectively relating educational policy to important national needs such as those just noted will not be sufficient during the decade ahead. Achieving actual educational innovation and change in school districts and other educational institutions to meet national needs will be the significant test. In this regard, investments in more effective research and development to page the way to educational change will be necessary. Clearly, the federal government will have a major interest in and a major responsibility for encouraging and financing research and development activities in education. Even though federal programs initiated in recent years to support research and development have not yet had sufficient time to prove themselves fully, it would seem self-evident that the national interest in an enterprise as large and as pervasive as education cannot be sustained without increasing investments in R and D.

Although growing national needs will likely cause expectations for improved education to escalate and the federal force in education to expand during the next decade, it is also clear that certain influences will likely check the federal force. One of these is the nature of the federalist system in this country which assumes that the basic responsibility for education resides in the states. Clearly, a balance of power among local, state, and federal educational governments will be maintained. Already adjustments have been made in favor of States, as witnessed by the recent transfer of programs from the federal to state governments as in the case of ESEA Title III projects. It is also highly probable that the Supreme Court will have less influence on education under Chief Justice Burger than was the case under former Chief Justice Warren. It is significant that the Nixon Administration has been critical of some federal education programs and has expressed an interest in promoting greater state and local autonomy in government. Related to this observation is the certainty that several Supreme Court justices will be appointed during the Nixon Administration and that the "strict constructionist" legal view will influence the selection of these justices.

Another counter-force that could develop might be substantial resistance to the growing and heavy societal demands being placed upon local school systems through public policy directives formulated at the national level. The related concern, already expressed, about the growing tendency to view education more as an instrument of the nation and less as a servant of individuals could also escalate. Finally, assessments conducted of federal programs may tend to be more frequent and more visible than assessments of state and locally funded programs. There may, in other words, be a tendency for local and state personnel to be more critical of federal programs than those under their own asupices.

In spite of developments which could serve as a brake on the federal force in education, it seems assured that there will be stronger and more positive conteracting influences. In the words of Leonard Lecht in his pioneering study of national goals and financial projections for achieving them:[30]

> Widespread diffusion of educational opportunity has been our main channel for diffusing social and economic opportunity, and it has also served as the foundation of our technological dynamism. Education, from this perspective, is a dimension of all our goals. Expanding educational opportunity is the strategic ingredient in our programs for coping with poverty and social discrimination. Assuring our future manpower needs for scientists and engineers for doctors for social workers and for teachers depends upon progress in education. And, the prospects for world peace in a nuclear age demand more widespread understanding of other societies than has ever been the case before.

Categorical Grants to Continue

The chief mode of influence of the federal force during the next decade is likely to continue to be financial grants to achieve categorical purposes in education. There are those who believe that the federal force in education will sometime in the future be expressed more through general than through special grants to states if not to local education agencies. However, the assumption is made here that there will not be a major move toward general or block grants for education during the next decade. Several reasons can be offered in support of this view. First, many of the existing federal programs, even though of a categorical nature, are sufficiently general in nature to provide considerable flexibility for meeting diverse and changing needs. The Education Professions Development Act, for example, is sufficiently broad in intent that, if sufficient funds are appropriated, it can be used to meet the training needs of professional personnel throughout education. "Vocational education" in the new Vocational Education Education Act is defined in much more general terms than in earlier legislation which means that a range of programs could be supported under this legislation that would encompass and go beyond current programs. Or, to take another example, current enabling legislation to support research and development in education is sufficiently encompassing to meet a wide range of needs in this area. Thus, one can predict that much effort during the next ten years will be expended to increase appropriations for existing legislation, to broaden the educational objectives now being sought, and to expand the clientele served by existing federal programs. Certainly, the continued press for all kinds of federal aid within existing legislation will in and of itself be a deterrent to block grants.

A second factor which will likely encourage a continuation of the special grant system will be the emphasis upon planning at the national level. Planning-programming-budgeting-systems, or adaptations of these systems, require a careful analysis of objectives, the projection of alternative programs to achieve objectives, and cost-benefit analyses of the various programs to achieve objectives. Uses of these processes clearly will lead to specificity in program objectives and to a determination of priorities in relation to national needs. The tendency to specify objectives for improving education through federal planning will likely be further reinforced by the continued disposition of many congressmen to respond to critical and well defined rather than general and imprecisely defined needs. Thus, the use of planning methods at the federal level and congressional desires for clearly defined and high priority objectives reinforce further the view that the federal force in education will continue to express itself largely in categorical programs during the next decade.

Daniel Elazar has offered evidence in support of the view that in each generation there is usually a major cluster of federal legislative attainments associated with the special needs of that generation.[31] He maintains that the various federal programs already developed in the sixties represent a major achievement for this generation and that another major legislative thrust at the federal level is not likely to occur again until the needs of the next generation are more clearly perceived and defined. Elazar's thesis offers another reason for believing that major attention during the next ten years will be directed toward implementing, refining, and expanding existing federal programs in education rather than in undertaking a major cluster of new legislative thrusts or in shifting to general grant programs. The need to refine, consolidate, and rationalize existing programs has already been explicated clearly by the Nixon administration through HEW secretary Robert Finch.

Still another deterrent to block grants is the public-non-public support issue. This long-standing problem was partially resolved in the ESEA legislation in 1965 through categorical funding. To move toward block grants could again raise this issue and the intense and latent feelings associated with it. This is undoubtedly one of several reasons why powerful congressmen are not in favor of block grants.

While federal legislative objectives during the next decade are likely to continue to be associated with poverty, the disadvantaged, the racially deprived, and other related needs, planners and legislators will likely extend the number of categorical programs affecting education which are supported by federal funds. These may deal with special purposes associated, for example, with school house construction, the reorganization of metropolitan government, community colleges, and compensatory education. Major attention will be directed toward urban education as reflected by the fact that spokesmen for the Nixon administration are already talking about the development of a new "Urban Education Act." It also seems clear that there will be instances in which more limited categorical acts will be combined into larger blocks. Programs related to such areas as the multiple handicapped, for example, might be combined into larger block programs.

Limited "Peace Dividend" for Education

Until and immediately after the end of the Vietnam War, federal investments in education are likely to remain near current levels or to increase modestly. The first and the most immediate question facing those interested in estimating federal investments in education during the next decade is what will happen to the thirty billion dollar "peace dividend" which will be available for re-distribution when the Vietnam War hopefully ends. The view that the divident to education will be substantial has been widely expressed. However, a more careful analysis of the facts causes one to be less sanguine about how education will fare in the competition for the "peace dividend."[32]

Multiple Demands on "Peace Dividend." First, it seems clear that the Defense Department itself will be making a major case for at least half of the thirty billion dollars to rebuild depleted stocks of military equipment, to strengthen strategic power, to expand curtailed defense research, and to finance related activities. In addition, costs directly associated with the withdrawal of troops and the continued provision of military and political aid to Vietnam will likely be significant.

Many domestic demands made on the "peace dividend" will complement those made by the Defense Department. Thus, a major priority following the end of the war will be the avoidance of a recession. For this reason, there will be strong pressures to lower federal taxes to stimulate the economy. In addition, there are already substantial numbers of individuals and agencies generating "big ideas" related to the guaranteed annual income, pollution controls, housing, space exploration, public works projects, new strategic weapons, federal aid to city slums, and so forth. Thus, it seems that education will have major competition for the "peace divident" and that increases in funds for educational programs immediately after the war ends are likely to be moderate rather than substantial. That federal expenditures for education will be held in check until the war ends seems to be widely accepted.

Federal Expenditures for Education Will Increase

Even though the amount of federal expenditures for education is not likely to increase substantially until and immediately after the Vietnam war ends, there are a number of forces at work which will cause the federal investment in education to increase during the next decade. It is assumed that the Gross National Product will continue to grow in line with the projections made by most economists. Such projections usually approximate a 4 per cent average annual growth rate. At this rate, the GNP should reach one trillion in 1972 uncorrected for inflationary influences. On a corrected basis the trillion dollar mark will be attained in 1975.[33] The trillion dollar projections contrast with a GNP in 1965 of 556 billion. This contrast highlights the dynamism of the American economy and of the technology and leadership which help generate its thrust. The federal government should be able to draw upon growing tax revenues from a developing economy during the next decade which should make increased investments in education likely.

Growing Requirements for Educational Investments. Another factor which will surely influence federal investments is the rising cost of education. The U.S. Office of Education has recently estimated that the nation's investments in its schools will increase by almost 50 per cent during the next decade.[34] This means that for the school year ending in June, 1977, 70 billion dollars will be expended in comparison with 48.5 billion in the year 1966-67. Leonard Lecht has made a somewhat different projection based upon what he calls "aspiration goals" for education, goals which are measured in terms of expert judgments about what will be needed.[35] He estimates that the "aspiration goals" for education in 1975 will be approximately 86 billion dollars. Whether one estimates financial demands for the future in terms of required expenditures, aspirations for expenditures, or factors encompassing both actual and ideal considerations, it seems clear that the costs of education will rise sharply during the next ten years and that major demands will be made upon public funds to meet emerging needs. Since the demands will be major, the press for continued and enhanced federal investments will be great.

Inadequacies in Local and State Support. A key factor influencing the federal force and federal investments in education in the future will be the quality and extent of local and state efforts to meet financial and leadership needs of school systems. While there are differences in view concerning this question, a good case can be made in support of the argument that state and local governments are less likely to improve their revenue resources than is the federal government. This means they will be less able to increase their relative investments in education. Difficulties associated with limited local and state tax bases are well known. Efforts to achieve legislative reform at the state level to meet current criticisms of and inadequacies in revenue resources have not yet been widely successful, even though efforts to achieve reform seem to be expanding in recent years.[36] Constitutional restrictions on taxing and borrowing, developed largely to meet the conditions and requirements of the last century, are not easily changed. Since voters apparently desire to protect themselves against rising taxes and increased taxing powers and since they have more control over state and local decisions of this type than over federal ones, a significant barrier to increased state and local financing for education exists.

It is also significant that the debts of state-local governments have grown relatively more rapidly than have federal debts. Thus, state-local indebtedness more than doubled during the 1955-1965 period and increased five-fold between 1947 and 1965, a rate of increase considerably larger than the more publicized growth of federal debt.[37] The growing amounts of debt incurred by state and local government are likely to have a recessive rather than a dynamic effect on state-local economies. This, in turn, is likely to diminish revenues available to support public policies and programs, including those in education. This condition, along with voter control of state and local tax reforms, further reinforces the view that federal participation in the financing of educational institutions will tend to grow more rapidly during the next decade than will local and state participation.

Competing National Goals. It also seems logical to suggest that education will fare well in competition with other national goals. First, the attainment of most national goals, as already implied, is dependent upon the attainment of effective education. Second, according to Lecht's study of aspirations standards, education ranks high in relation to other goals.[38] Of the sixteen goals for which Lecht projected aspirations standards only four rank higher than education in estimated percentage increases in spending for 1962-1975. These four are manpower retraining, private plant and equipment, natural resources, and space. Lecht's study, then, suggests that education will compete effectively for the resources of the nation.

Will new national goals emerge during the next ten years which will require substantial expenditures? In the 1960's, for example, a new national goal emerged to land a man on the moon by 1970. It is not clear whether new national goals will emerge during the next ten years. However, it seems reasonable to believe that any goal which might emerge, as in the case of space exploration, will reinforce rather than downgrade the need for federal investments in education.

The amounts from which the federal government will invest in education obviously cannot be foretold precisely. Assuming continued economic growth, however, it seems clear that relatively more funds will be invested in education by the federal government during the next ten years. For example, if the current rate of 8 per cent should increase to 16 per cent by 1978 and if total annual investment in education should reach 75 billion by that time, approximately 12 billion of federal funds would be appropriated to support education. This would be more than three times the amount invested in 1967-68.

Continued Inter-Governmental Conflict

During the next ten years the federal force will continue to generate conflict between and among leaders interested in improving education and will raise questions about the control of American education. There are several important sources of potential conflict which will persist during the period ahead. One of these is the conflict between those who exercise control through rational planning and those who exercise control through political decision making. Those using the rhetoric of "creative federalism" have sought to mute this conflict by defining power more in terms of rational problem solving. However, it is clear that the interests and modes of decision making of politicians and planners are different. For this reason there will continue to be problems in using planning methods such as those associated with PPBS in the public arena.

A second source of conflict, which is already well known, arises from the different perspectives and interests of federal, state, and local leaders. State leaders will continue to feel certain proprietary rights and responsibility for education. As the federal government through its planning processes plays leading roles in determining priority needs and as it invests more and more funds in education to meet specific needs, there will inevitably be tension between and among those working at various levels of government. This tension is likely to be increased through demands by the federal government for matching state grants and through other arrangements such as special federal programs to help equalize state programs for financing of education.

Finally, it should be noted that the federal force is likely to intensify conflict at the state level between those who have general responsibilities for state government and those who have special responsibilities for education. Since professionals tend to be committed to the attainment of federal funds to achieve program interests, state educational personnel may have greater reason to identify with the federal government and go counter to the interests of state personnel with more general interests. This potential source of conflict is further enhanced because of education's rising demands on state purses. Already states are expending about 40 per cent of their funds for education which means that this function receives more support than any other state function. The distinct differences in orientation on the part of those with general state responsibilities for education are documented in a recent publication of the Education Commission of the States.[39]

Because of the varied and many sources of conflict, it can be predicted that issues related to the federal force in education will continue to be very visible in the public arena during the next decade. While the conflict will likely not be as severe as that generated in the mid-sixites, it will be frequent. It should help highlight on a continuing basis significant issues in education.

Growing Need for Effective Educational Leadership

Expanding federal programs and requirements associated with their implementation will help highlight society's need for a higher quality of educational leadership during the next ten years. The evidence already presented demonstrates that the nation through a variety of recent federal legislation has expressed and is continuing to express higher aspirations for improved education. Clearly, if federal efforts are to be successful, improvement programs will have to be channeled through and be effectively directed by outstanding leadership in education. Since leadership will be a major determinant of the effectiveness of federal educational policy, increasing attention by federal and state leaders, by professional educators, and by leading citizens will surely be directed during the next ten years toward the quality of educational leadership. This attention is already evident at the highest level of government, as noted in the previous chapter, in the recently enacted Education Professions Development Act. Desires and expectations for a higher quality of educational leadership will grow not only in relation to the superintendency but also in relation to other administrative positions.

As expectations for a higher quality of educational leadership grow, it can be anticipated that criticism of school superintendents who do not meet the public's expectations as these are reflected in federal programs will increase. School superintendents exercising less than quality leadership may experience even more limited tenure than in the past. On the other hand, those giving outstanding leadership to school systems will likely be more highly valued and more highly rewarded than ever before. In a period when expectations for a higher quality of leadership will become more pronounced, critical studies such as those which have been directed at teachers and institutions preparing teachers during the last decade will likely develop and be directed at educational administrators and institutions preparing educational administrators during the coming decade. Thus, it can be predicted that pressures for changing preparatory programs for educational administrators will grow.

Educational Leaders' Role in Policy Making

In the decade ahead state and local school officials will need more than ever before to lead in defining and clarifying educational issues and problems, in setting goals, and in formulating educational policies. Since education will continue to be related to a variety of public policies which go beyond the bounds of schools, educational policies and programs in the future will reflect in microcosm many of society's important issues and conflicts. In this regard Plato's ancient argument, as summarized by Cremin, seems especially relevant today:[40]

> "In order to talk about the good life, we have to talk about the good society; and in order to talk about the good society, we have to talk about the kind of education that will bring that society into existence and sustain it. Hence, there is no vision of the good life that does not imply a set of educational policies; and conversely, every educational policy has implicit in it a vision of the good life."

Educational policies, in other words, reflect man's orientation toward such larger societal problems as poverty, race individuality, order, economic growth, the nature of man, and self-renewal. In the implementation of these policies pervasive societal issues associated with such areas as planning and autonomy, stability and change, justice and injustice, constructive commitment and destrictive nihilism will also be confronted by educational leaders. If educational policies and programs are to reflect man's highest values and aspirations, educational leaders will need to display the highest types of political leadership in helping represent and articulate the public interest *vis-a-vis* teaching and learning. In their important role of helping define the public interest in education, they will need to be articulate not only about such perennial questions as "knowledge for what?" but also about questions such as how education policies can and should be related to economic growth, urban renewal, manpower development, public housing, medical care, and other areas of concern to the federal government.

State and local school superintendents will be expected to lead in coping with a variety of issues which are more specific than those just noted. To what extent should curricula and schools serve public policies of a non-educational nature and to what extent should they serve the individual interests and needs of students? What community or group interests in education are not being met at a given time? What general changes are needed in the curricula to meet societal requirements and to respond to the growth of knowledge? What goals should guide school efforts to equip students for their citizenship roles in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries? How can large organizations be made to serve the unique aspirations and talents of individuals? How can the trends toward more centralized planning be related to the need for decentralized and more autonomous operations? These and many other questions will confront school leaders. The federal role in education will help bring them to the forefront even though they are much broader in scope and origin than specific provisions of the national government.

Expanding Political Context of Education

The actions of local school superintendents will tend to be expressed more and more during the coming decade within the larger political context of school districts. Even for those still clinging to the concept of local autonomy in education, the federal force during the next decade should make ever clearer the obsolescence of this concept. Federal programs already underway, many of which will be receiving increasing amounts of funds, will surely link federal, state, and local education agencies more closely and will require more governmental coordination than has been achieved during the last ten years. The result will be an expanded political environment for school superintendents in which they will be interacting more with leaders at the state and federal levels of government than in the past decade. It would seem likely, for example, as superintendents lead in problem delineation and policy formulation they will be testifying more during the next decade before Congressional committees, state legislative bodies, and local councils than in the past. Participation on state and federal advisory bodies, already having increased during the last ten years, will continue to grow during the next ten years. Growing needs for financial support will require school superintendents and their assistants to relate closely to federal and state officials responsible for support programs. Thus, in a variety of ways, schools and their administrators will be relating to and influencing actions in the larger federal-state-local context of educational government.

The federal force will also continue to help break down the boundaries between school districts and other government agencies and groups. The result will be a larger local government context to which school superintendents will be relating more closely than previously. Public school superintendents and their assistants will be working more with leaders in nonpublic school systems, business leaders with interests in education, members of disadvantaged and poverty-stricken groups, officials in city hall, and personnel in various community agencies and groups. As federal funds to support education and education-related programs are channeled into local communities, the need for a community perspective on the part of school superintendents will continue to grow. Since educational policies and programs will need to be related to various other community policies and programs, the more effective superintendents will become community as well as educational leaders. As school superintendents assume larger roles as community leaders during the next decade, the American Association of School Administrators and state administrators' organizations may develop new kinds of commissions which wil set forth positions on problems and issues which, strictly speaking, are of a non-educational nature but which have important implications for education. Professional associations will face major challenges in providing school superintendents help and support in their larger educational leadership roles.

Changes in the Political Environment

There will be qualitative changes in the political environment during the next ten years which will have significant implications for school superintendents. The trend already initiated by the federal force to achieve a different type of representation in states will continue as the proportion of representatives from metropolitan settings increases and that from the rurual settings decreases. This will make for an environment in which more attention will be directed to the cities. Greater urban representation will make for greater openness to change in state legislation generally. Undoubtedly, there will be redress in programs of financial support for big city school systems at both the state and federal levels.

There is also some evidence that elected representatives in the future will tend to come from more highly specialized fields than in earlier periods when representatives typically came from legal and related backgrounds. As specialization grows and as knowledge continues to accumulate, professionals and citizens generally will find it more and more difficult to grasp problems in their full proportions. This condition will be further complicated by great masses of information and the increasing tendency to use the computer in analyzing, storing, and retrieving the information. The superintendent will increasingly be posed with special challenges in seeking and communiciating a larger perspective to specialists both within and outside school systems. Growing specialization will also likely make for a larger number of interest groups in society and potentially greater competition between and among them. Already, for example, there is evidence that educational legislation at the state level is being shaped by larger numbers of more fragmented groups where formerly professional education associations played leading roles.[41]

As groups in society become more fragmented and as the number and types of federal programs expand and grow, the need for coordination and inter-communication between and among agencies and groups will increase sharply. For this reason, some argue that school districts in the future as well as other special-purpose governmental units will likely be absorbed into larger governmental units. Should this be true, fiscal independence, which most school districts have possessed in the past, could evaporate. It seems likely that legally based changes in the independent status of school districts will not occur widely during the next ten years; however, as already noted, the school superintendent's informal relationships with local government units will change as he is brought into closer communication with officials in these units.[42]

The federal force may well produce changes at the national level during the next ten years which will have implications for state and local school superintendents and for the administration and organization of schools. For example, a new federal cabinet post might well be created during the next ten years headed by a Secretary of Education. This would be a logical next step as more federal funds are invested in education and as the nation continues to place high value upon education.

The structure of state government will also undoubtedly change. From trends already under way it can be anticipated that greater planning capabilities will be developed within state education departments as well as in other departments of state government. Information systems to support planning will surely grow largely in response to federal legislation and to policies already established. The quality of state boards and their manner of appointment will likely improve as will those of chief state school officers. They will be expected to play a more effective leadership role.

Changing Educational Organizations

In order to ensure that adequate planning information is developed to support the superintendent's projected role in policy development and to ensure that important program changes are achieved in school districts, school superintendents will need to exercise major leadership in restructuring educational organizations. In looking toward the year 1980, Laurence Haskew has observed:[43]

> The basic strength of the educational system will be tested as never before. . . . Understaffing, quantitatively and qualitatively, has seriously weakened some agencies (for example,

> local school districts and schools in those districts, special service centers, school program elements such as curriculum supervision, and state departments of education) in many cases to points of near inundation.... The point being made is that the seventies will apparently bring stresses, strains, opportunities, and imperatives for the educational system far greater in force and magnitude than any previous decade has produced. To cope with these, the system as a whole will have to be expanded and strengthened in many new dimensions. But all such additions will multiply the effects of flaws in the basic structure. What is tolerated with groans in the sixties may cause the whole structure to collapse in the seventies.

The warning sounded by Haskew is an ominous one. However, as already noted, the federal force has in fact helped to create substantial "organizational strain" in school districts. Since the federal programs helping to create the "strain" will continue and may well be increased, and since many other forces are placing demands on school systems, there is substance to Haskew's warning. Consequently, school superintendents will need to exercise major leadership oriented toward the creation of new staffing patterns and new ways of organizing schools.

Since school superintendents will be performing enhanced policy making and leadership roles within an expanded political arena during the coming decade, they will need much more adequate information about and analysis of their school districts' policies, programs, problems, and outputs than they have had in the past. Unless they have available such information they will be unable to communicate with diverse groups and describe in specific terms needed directions for change in policies and programs and the achievements realized by given school systems.

Not only will much better planning information be needed but, more important, much better analysis and evaluation of organizational results will be required. Internal information should help school staffs to describe the goals which are being pursued, the extent to which these are being achieved, educational needs which are not being met, alternative programs to meet these needs, cost-benefit analyses of these programs, and other information bearing upon program and policy alternatives. External information should help shed light on new developments in education pertinent to the implementation of programs and provide concepts pertinent to policy development and implementation.

New administrative teams will be required to assist superintendents in the exceedingly important tasks which confron them. These teams will need specialized and complementary competencies, a critical and analytical orientation toward the status quo, and a strong motivation to improve it. In the building of such teams the problem of how the planning and implementation efforts of school superintendents and other central office staff can be related to those of principals and of teachers will require careful consideration. Administrative teams will also have to be supported by more systematic modes of planning and decision making than those now generally in existence. These tendencies will undoubtedly continue to be abetted by existing and emergent federal programs.

School Superintendents to Be Faced by Unprecedented Challenges

The school superintendent will be faced with challenges as great and as important as the greatest of those facing leaders in other governmental and societal positions. The challenge to future school superintendents can be expressed in a variety of ways. Changes requiring greater leadership in an enlarged political arena and demanding communication with a range of diverse groups and agencies will make the role very demanding. As R. L. Johns has noted, communication across organizational boundaries places special demands on leaders:[44]

> It takes more energy and effort to pass information across the boundary of a system than to exchange information within the system.

The superintendent's role will also be challenging because of the complexities to be confronted and intellectual processes required to understand and project educational policies in ways which will lead to new programs and practices. As superintendents seek better understanding of policy, they will need to achieve balance between action and contemplation to support action. This problem is an old one for leaders as suggested by the following quotation from Taylor:[45]

> There are diverse kinds of decisiveness; there is that of temperament, and that of reason, and there is that which is compounded of both; and this last is the best for a statesman. The tendency of the reasoning and contemplative faculty is to suggest more doubts than conclusions, and to comprehend in its dealings with a subject more considerations than the human mind is adequate to bring to a clear issue. Temperament is wanted, therefore, to abbreviate the operations of reason and close up the distances, thereby enabling the mind, where many things are doubtful, to seize decisively those which are least so, and hold by them as conclusions.

During the next decade the problem described by Taylor is likely to assume new and special significance. This is true because of the dual trends leading toward greater political activity on the part of school superintendents, on the one hand, and to the use of more information and more rational modes of decision making, on the other. How, in other words, can school superintendents effectively bring together a high degree of emotional commitment to important values and, at the same time, maintain the detachment and objectivity implicit in activities such as those associated with systesm analysis, data-processing, and computer operations?

It is also clear that school superintendents during the coming decade will be working within a context of continuing social change and within a climate of considerable unrest and dissatisfaction. Student unrest is becoming increasingly prevalent and there seems little reason to believe that teachers will become less militant soon in their demands and attitudes. As a new generation of parents begins to shape educational and other societal institutions during the coming decade there will inevitably be much ferment and uncertainty. School superintendents will have new opportunities to work with groups of parents whose members are, on the average, much younger than in previous groups. It is also apparent that education, organization, and administration will come under more careful scrutiny by these parents and by their representatives in governmental and related agencies than ever before. Thus the need for greater openness to evaluation by community and government leaders and the courage to be beold in the face of ambiguity, uncertainties, and risks will place further demands on school superintendents.

While state and local school superintendents will face new and special challenges, they will have great opportunities for leadership and service. Few, if any, posts in society will be more important than theirs. The potential for influence among those with outstanding leadership should be great.

Notes

[1] For a discussion of the relationships between education and public policy objectives, see Roald F. Campbell et. al., Policy Making for American Education (The National Academy of Education, forthcoming).

[2] For a treatment of "creative federalism," see Harry N. Scheiber, The Condition of American Federalism: An Historian's View (Washington, D.C.: The U.S. Government Printing Office, Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations, 1966), pp. 14 ff. Also see Max Ways, "Creative Federalism and the Great Society," Fortune (January, 1966), pp. 121 ff.

[3] Scheiber, op. cit., p. 16.

[4] The U.S. Bureau of the Budget: Bulletin 66-3, Planning-Programming-Budgeting (October 12, 1965), p. 1.

[5] Scheiber, loc. cit.

[6] Francis A. Ianni, "Research and Experimentation in Education," Phi Delta Kappan, Vol. XLVI, No. 10 (June, 1965), p. 492.

[7] Ibid., p. 489.

[8] Edith Green, The Federal Government and Education (Washington, D.C.: The U.S. Government Printing Office, House Document No. 159, 1963), p. 2.

[9] The major focus of the analysis in this chapter is upon the federal force as it affects the public schools and the office of the superintendency; however, this is not the exclusive focus since it is clear that higher education is related to the public schools at many points, as are state education agencies.

[10] Nicholas A. Masters, "The Expanding Role of Federal Government in Education with Implications for State Education Departments," The Emerging Role of State Education Departments with Specific Implications for Divisions of Vocational-Technical Education, Eds. Dick C. Rice and Powell E. Toth (Columbus, Ohio: The Center for Vocational and Technical Education, The Ohio State University, 1967). p. 142.

[11] Education Commission of the States, Power Play for Control of American Education, Report of the Second Annual Meeting (Denver, Colorado: 1967), p. 116.

[12] Masters, op. cit., p. 148.

[13] Nicholas Masters, "Some Changing Patterns in Educational Policy Making," Educational Administration Quarterly, Vol. II, No. 2, (Spring, 1966), p. 89.

[14] Roald F. Campbell and Donald Layton, "Thrust and Counterthrust in Education Policy Making," Phi Delta Kappan, Vol. XLIX, No. 6, (February, 1968), p. 290.

[15] Masters, "The Expanding Role of the Federal Government in Education with Implications for State Education Departments," p. 150.

[16] Edgar Morphet and Charles Ryand, Eds., Prospective Changes in Society by 1980. (Denver, Colorado: Designing Education for the Future: An Eight-State Project, 1966).

[17] Ralph E. Meyer, "A Large State Department of Education," in Roald Campbell et. al., Strengthening State Departments of Education (Chicago: Midwest Administration Center, The University of Chicago, 1967), p. 129.

[18] Kenneth Smith, "The Impact of Title V on State Departments of Education," ibid., pp. 63-64.

[19] Desmond Cook, Program Evaluation and Review Technique: Applications in Education (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1966).

[20] Donald Miller, "Operation PEP: A Statewide Project to Prepare Education Planners for California." November 7, 1967, (Mimeographed).

[21] Morphet et. al., op. cit.

[22] For a report on the impact of Title I, see Title I-Year II, The Second Annual Report of Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 - School Year 1966-67 (Washington, D.C.: Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1968).

[23] Quoted in Keith Goldhammer et. al., Issues and Problems in Contemporary Educational Administration (Eugene, Oregon: Center for the Advanced Study of Educational Administration, University of Oregon, 1967), p. 13.

[24] Ibid., p. 14.

[25] Ewald Nyquist, "State Organization and Responsibility," Emerging Designs for Education, Eds. Edgar Morphet and David Jesser (Denver, Colorado: Designing Education for the Future: An Eight-State Project, 1968), p. 186.

[26] Education Commission of the States, op. cit., p. 18.

[27] Ibid., p. 24.

[28] Charles Benson, Education is Good Business (Washington, D.C.: American Association of School Administrators, 1966), pp. 30-31. Also see Jon Innes, Paul Jacobson, and Roland Pellegrin, The Economic Returns to Education: A Survey of the Findings (Eugene: Center for the Advanced Study of Educational Administration, University of Oregon, 1965).

[29] Leroy Cornelson, "The Economics of Training the Unemployed," School Life, Vol. 47, No. 1 (October, 1964), pp. 17-18.

[30] Leonard Lecht, Goals, Priorities and Dollars: The Next Decade (New York: The Free Press, 1966), p. 162.

[31] Daniel J. Elazar, "The American Partnership: The Next Half-Generation," Prospective Changes in Society by 1980, Eds. Edgar Morphet and Charles Ryan (Denver, Colorado: Designing Education for the Future: An Eight-State Project, 1966).

[32] For an analysis of the "peace divident" question see the following: Gilbert Burck, "How Big a Peace Divident" Fortune (June 1, 1968), pp. 86 ff.; Richard J. Janssen, "When the War Ends" Wall Street Journal (July 5, 1968), pp. 1, ff.; and "The Promise of Peace," Business Week (July 27, 1968), pp. 56 ff.

[33] Lecht, op. cit., p. 27.

[34] The projections assume that enrollments will continue to increase in both the high schools and colleges and that expenditures per student will continue to rise at all levels of education at approximately the same rate as in the past ten years. See "Projections of Educational Statistics to 1976-1977" (Washington, D.C.: Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office).

[35] Lecht, op. cit.

[36] Ben A. Franklin, "Studies Find Boters Rejected Most Major Plans for State and Local Government Reforms," The New York Times (Monday, November 28, 1966), p. C-25.

[37] Scheiber, op. cit., p. 20.

[38] Lecht, op. cit., p. 38.

[39] Education Commission of the States, op. cit.

[40] Lawrence A. Cremin, The Genius of American Education (Pittsburgh: The University of Pittsburgh Press, 1965), p. 2.

[41] B. Dean Bowles, "The Power Structure in State Education Politics," Phi Delta Kappan, Volume XLIX, No. 6 (February, 1968), pp. 337-340.

[42] Walter G. Hack, "Governance of Public Education: 1985," a paper prepared for the 1986 Committee, National Conference of Professors of Educational Administration, State University of New York at Albany, August 21, 1968, (mimeographed).

[43] Lawrence Haskew, "What Lies Ahead," Cooperative Planning in Education in 1980, Eds. Edgar Morphet and David Jesser (Denver, Colorado: Designing Education for the Future: An Eight-State Project, 1968), p. 24.

[44] R. L. Johns, "State Organization and Responsibilities for Education," Implications for Education of Prospective Changes in Society, Eds. Edgar Morphet and Charles Ryan (Denver, Colorado: Designing Education for the Future: An Eight-State Project, 1967), p. 249.

[45] Henry Taylor, The Statesman (New York: Mentor Books, Inc.. 1958), p. 96.

Chapter Three

The Business-Education Interface

> What is a public institution; what is a private institution? What is a public interest; what is a private interest? This problem is likely to be enormously significant in the next thirty-five years.... by Stephen Graubard

The recently coined term "business-education interface," like many terms used to refer to emergent phenomena, is as yet imprecisely defined. "Interface," as used in this chapter, will refer especially to the interrelationships between business and education and to the influence which each of these enterprises has had or may have upon the other. "Business" will refer to the structures and processes associated with the complex of profit-making orgaizations in society. The "education industry" will include those profit-making organizations which have influenced or have a potential capability for influencing education through new products, processes, services, or policies. Teaching and learning activities which transpire within or under the auspices of public school districts or which involve students of school age are encompassed by the term "education."

The information and ideas presented in this chapter are selected and organized to achieve several objectives. First, a description of the major features of the "business-education interface" will be sought. The emphasis will be upon significant events as have evolved during the last decade, and no attempt will be made to examine business-education relationships prior to 1960. Second, an attempt will be made to delineate some of the principal effects which the interactions between business and education have had upon the "interface" and some of the implications for organization, administration, and teaching in school systems. Finally, an effort to describe major assumptions concerning the characteristics of the projected "business-education interface" during the 1970's will be made, and some observations concerning the presumed effects of the "business-education interface" on public school organization, administration, and teaching during the 1970's will be set forth.

The Changing Nature of the Business-Education Interface

It is now widely recognized that the relationships between business and education have to some degree changed during the 1960's. However, the nature and dynamics of the changes are less widely recognized and understood. They relate to such basic considerations as the shifting expectations which society has of public and private institutions, on the one hand, and to such specific matters as opportunities for profit by business and the need for more effective instructional technologies in school systems, on the other. Several generalizations concerning the more salient and significant characteristics of the "business-education interface" will now be set forth.

Changing Perspectives and the Business-Education Interface

Helping to shape the new "business-education" interface are the changing perspectives for viewing private and public organizational objectives; during the last decade educational organizations have come to be viewed more frequently from perspectives traditionally associated with the private sector while business organizations have come to be viewed more than ever from public policy perspectives. During the early 1960's economists began to look at educational organizations in ways which they have traditionally used to examine business organizations. Economists such as Theodore Schultz conducted studies within a macro-economic framework which demonstrated that funds spent for education constitute an investment which produces significant societal returns.[1] Put differently, he demonstrated that educated and trained personnel contribute to enhanced industrial productivity and economic growth. As economists and educational leaders came to view education in investment terms, the relationships between the input and output of educational organizations received closer scrutiny and societal leaders began to speak about the need to achieve greater "educational productivity." Such concepts in turn raised questions about the efficiency of education which, as a labor-intensive "industry," has traditionally made limited use of research, development, and technology. Whether or not improved management and/or instructional "technologies" might lead to substantial increases in educational "productivity" is still another question which follows from the line of analysis. Suffice it to say that the large and growing public institution of education during the last decade has come to be viewed more and more from an economic perspective, an orientation traditionally used by profit-making organizations.

Growing Interest of Business Leaders in Public Problems. While educational organizations and their leaders during the last ten years have begun to examine education from the perspective of the firm, business leaders have become increasingly concerned about questions of public policy and have initiated a search for a rationale which would enable industrial organizations to contribute in new ways to the attainment of public purposes. As Albrook has noted, they have been wrestling with the question of "social conscience."[2] This, of course, is not a new question, as James A. Norton has noted.[3] However, as great social problems associated with poverty, race, civil rights, and "hard-core" unemployment have come to the fore in the 1960's, the issue has become more pressing. In addition, the business view held by what Monson has called the "traditionals,"[4] namely, that corporations can do the most good for society by increasing profits through a strict concentration upon their own unique products, is being increasingly questioned by progressive business leaders.

Other forces have helped intensify the search for a new rationale for business. For example, as noted in an earlier chapter, the federal government through the concept of "creative federalism" has emphasized the need for the private sector to bring its unique capabilities to the solution of public problems, including those associated with education. In spite of the search for better purposive definitions for business organizations, however, a widely accepted rationale explicitly distinguishing between the profit motive and the motive for social service has not yet been clearly conceived. Asl Albrook has observed, considerable ambiguity still exists on this question:[5]

> Even where everyone in an industry is pushing resources into the cities there is some confusion as to just how far this process may be extended. How much pressure on earning can a "socially responsible" company accept? At what point might there be a disclosure problem -- i.e., a legal requirement to disclose to stockholders the extent to which the operations were being affected by non-economic considerations? How many jobs should a company be prepared to create? For that matter, could it create any at all in a loose labor market?

Although businessmen have apparently not yet achieved a clear and satisfactory rationale to enable them to respond effectively and comfortably to both emergent public and private needs, it is clear that the nature of public needs, including those associated with education, are perceived to be more closely related needs than formerly. That business leaders see more than profit considerations in serving education is suggested by the following observation made by Donald Burnham, President of Westinghouse, in speaking about his corporation's role in education:[6]

> "We are undertaking this educational activity in the belief that Westinghouse has a social responsibility to contribute to this most significant and challenging area."

Some might dismiss remarks such as those made by President Burnham as well-designed public rhetoric, even though profitable operations are not immediately foreseeable for Westinghouse Learning after a number of years of work. In any case, it seems fair to conclude that the organizational objectives of educational and industrial organizations are in fact becoming more closely akin than ever before; further, the general rapprochement in objectives is helping to provide a base for a strengthened "business-education interface."

Education as a Growth Industry

Even while the search for a new rationale which would integrate effectively private and public needs has proceeded, business leaders have examined education from traditional perspectives and have concluded that it represents a growth industry in which increasing profits can be made. Undoubtedly, the work of scholars such as Fritz Machlup helped cause the business community to develop positive views about the profit potential in education. In *The Production and Distribution of Knowledge in the United States*, for example, Machlup made clear the significant role which the "knowledge producing industries" play in the economy.[7] By defining knowledge broadly to include the widest variety of activities, he demonstrated that nearly 30 per cent ($136 billion) of the total national output in 1958 was comprised of the knowledge industry. In addition, Machlup concluded that the knowledge industry grew by approximately 71 per cent between 1956 and 1958. Machlup's conclusions were further extended by Gilbert Burck who later examined the knowledge industry for the period 1958-63 and concluded that it had grown at no less than 43 per cent during this five-year period.[8] Impressions of the growing size of the knowledge industry were further reinforced by the increasing dollar volume in the publishing industry which climbed 400 per cent between 1952 and 1966.[9]

Perceptions about the profit potential in education were influenced not only by past growth records but also by projected future developments. Thus, in January of 1968, Samuel Halperin estimated that there would be 100 million Americans aged five to 24 by the year 1985 and that perhaps four-fifths of these would be students.[10] Such figures helped to highlight further the growth characteristics of the education industry.

Large educational markets were projected not only on the basis of enrollment figures but also on the assumption that the national aspirations for the amount and quality of education would continue to increase. Since there could be no "saturation" point for education, it was maintained that the education market was unlimited. In the words of Gilbert Burck:[11]

> Man's appetite and capacity for buying things may be unlimited, but physical needs are strictly limited. He can eat only so much by weight, can be only one place at a time, and can wear only one outfit at a time. His heed for knowledge, however, is practically unlimited. If education teaches him anything, it is how much he has to learn and how to learn it; and the more he knows, the more he is driven to find out. The educated man is hard put to keep up with what is going on in his world, to say nothing of other interesting worlds.

In view of rapidly growing enrollments and the arguments about insatiable markets, it is understandable that business leaders in looking to the future, concluded that education represented a major growth industry.

Mergers and Acquisitions

In order to be in a better position to respond to profit opportunities in education, industrial leaders during the last five years have created numerous new structural arrangements, the most notable ones being "educational mergers." In the mid-sixites a substantial number of mergers designed to bring together "hardware" and "software" capabilities resulted. These mergers were based in part upon the assumption that if the challenge of providing needed new educational products and services were to be met, books would have to be supplemented by a variety of media. Among the media which seemed necessary to supplement the printed word were films, filmstrips, audio recordings, video tapes, computers, television, and others. The mergers also developed in part because of past experience rather than future expectation, as Heddinger has suggested:[12]

> Cognizant of the difficulties experienced earlier in attempting to produce educational hardware without a corresponding capability for producing software, larger industrial organizations began wooing and marrying textbook producers and other producers of software.

The mergers had other characteristics which deserve to be noted. First, in a relatively short period of time a substantial number of mergers cam to fruition. These mergers were accompanied by an unusual amount of publicity not only in the financial community but also in the larger popular press. The publicity helped to arouse the interests and concerns of leaders in educational institutions.

It should also be noted that some of America's most powerful and prestigious companies were involved in the merger movement. Such large enterprises as IBM, Xerox, Time, Westinghouse, General Electric, Litton Industries, RCA, Raytheon, and the Columbia Broadcasting System were involved in mergers and/or in acquisitions which were designed to increase their capabilities *vis-a-vis* the education market. The stature and proven capability of these companies undoubtedly contributed to the unusual publicity which accompanied the merger movement.

The companies entering the education market were part of what Averitt has called the "center" economy in contrast to the "periphery" economy.[13] Firms comprising the "center" economy, according to Averitt, are characterized by *adaptive* capabilities, strong capitalizations, large size, superior research and development staffs, advanced technology, and highly skilled management. They are, in other words, the more dynamic and progressive corporations of society with established records of growth.

Mergers were also seen by industrial leaders as a mechanism for bringing together and for deploying a range of specialized talent. Some leaders saw the pooling of talent as the most significant aspect of the merger movement:[14]

> What has received less attention is in reality more important; that these mergers are an attempt to merge talent and professional skills for the support of education, talents that before operated largely in isolation from one another. They include the talents of the editor and publisher, the systems analyst and the engineer, the market analyst and the distributor -- all of these as teams to serve the teacher and the school. It is this effort to pool a variety of skills to work on a common task that will prove more significant than the pooling of dollars.

Business Leaders as Change Agents

Industrial leaders approached education with a proven record of unusual organizational adaptability and with confidence that the change processes and technologies traditionally used in the private sector could be effectively applied to teaching and school management problems. Many writers have chronicled and documented the successes of American industry. The widely read book The American Challenge, for example, presents through the eyes of a foreign observer the unusual adaptability of modern American business and its capacities to grow and to succeed.[15] Significant for the present discussion is the fact that the business sector has pioneered in developing special management tools and in using them to achieve its successes; further business believes these tools can be effectively applied to problems of education.

Research and Development. Basic to the tools of modern management are the products of research and development. No institution in society has been so effective in utilizing research and development as have the large industrial organizations, as witnessed by the fact that approximately three-fourths of the nation's total research and development effort is performed by industry.[16] The large majority of R and D conducted in the private sector is carried out in large industries, similar to those that have entered and are entering the field of education. Since approximately two-thirds of the total national research effort is supported by federal funds, a great deal of the costs of R and D are borne by the government. It should be emphasized, however, that R and D has proven to be such a valuable tool that some industries spend as much as 10 per cent of their own gross revenues for research and development. Thus, approximately $9 billion of its own funds were spent by American industry in 1968 on various forms of research and development which likely resulted in 10,000 new technical products.[17]

The success of American industry is rooted much more in development and application skills than in research. Leonard Silk has spoken more specifically to this point as follows:[18]

> ...Europeans did most of the basic work in such major fields as nuclear energy, antibiotics, jet propulsion, radar. The American business advantage comes from the application of significant ideas and discoveries.

Industrial leaders in the modern American corporation have had more experience in administering research and development products and in utilizing the results of R and D than have any other managers in any other types of organization. This experience has given them unique opportunities to understand the limits and values of research and development and to understand how best to use these tools. Some insight is provided by the following observation which suggests the kinds of dialogue which takes place between top managers and those engaged in R and D and engineering:[19]

> We in top management have to do our job better. Now you don't say "You go make me a gimcrack!" you say: "we think these kinds of improvements and innovations would be very, very useful." And then the laboratory guy says: "But sir, you can't have that one because it violates the second law of thermodynamics. But maybe I can get you this one over here. Except, don't kid yourself, it's not going to cost you 3¢, it's going to cost you something like 27¢. Now if you want it for 27¢ maybe we can get it."
>
> It's this kind of dialogue, at the initiation of top management, that often spells the difference between a very effective and a very mediocre technical program.

Systems Analysis. Another tool which has been effectively used by industry, especially in management processes, is that of systems analysis. This tool, which is described in greater detail in a later chapter, is younger than the processes of research and development. Thus, when the first conference was held in this country on systems analysis for business leaders in 1951, there were no available case studies which had been developed in the American business sector.[20] However, during the 1950's very substantial progress was made in the development of systems analysis and in its application to problems of American industry. During this period a range of mathematical formulae were developed and applied to management problems associated with the allocation of resources, the scheduling of work, the keeping of inventories, the routing of personnel and resources, and so forth.

That those in the industrial arena see the relevance of systems analysis to educational development is illustrated in the following observation made by Donald W. Meals as Director of Systems Development and Application for the Raytheon Company:[21]

> A systems approach has florished where there is technological innovation, an increased rate of change, and complexity. These conditions, of course, are dramatically evident within industry, where automation has forced changes in management as well as in systems of production control. That the process of education should escape the influence of major technological change is inconsistent with all modern experience with technology.

Meals has made more specific observations about the implications of the use of systems analysis in education as follows:[22]

> Systems analysis calls upon the educator today to see his activity as a whole...not only the whole child but also the curriculum and the media and the teacher and the management system for putting these and other resources together in a functional system.

That Raytheon personnel were involved in more than idle talk about systems analysis is suggested by the following statement made by Edward L. Katzenbach, who, at the time, was also with the Raytheon company:[23]

> We acquired a system or, the elements of a system: a textbook company which produces, in addition to school and college texts, a variety of audio visual materials; a scientific apparatus company which manufactures the wherewithal to learn by doing; a company which produces a multi-media teaching and student response system which can be used for programmed, automated instruction; and a company which manufactures closed-circuit television systems, language and learning laboratories, and dial access and learning center systems. This industrial complex is capable of providing both intellectual content and a variety of electronic and other means for enhancing and enlivening its presentation.

Advertising and Marketing Capabilities. One other set of tools which has not been highlighted in discussions between educators and business officials or in the writings of business leaders in dealing with the "interface" deserves to be mentioned. This set of tools is associated with the unusual advertising and marketing capabilities of industry. To judge by the amount of expenditures involved, business places more value upon advertising than upon R and D. It is estimated, for example, that in 1968 American industry spent $18 billion to advertise its wares in contrast to $9 billion spent for various forms of R and D.[24] Advertising and the unusual organization associated with marketing have without doubt contributed a great deal to the success of industry. Although this industrial capability has not been emphasized in the public record, there is little doubt that managers see the unique potential of applying marketing and advertising "know-how" in the educational arena.

While research and development processes, systems analysis, and advertising have contributed much to the past successes of business, they are undoubtedly not the most significant strength which industry brings to education. What Servan-Schreiber has called "virtuosity of management" is likely to be much more important in the long range. American management has been extremely successful in the past not only because of the skillful application of tools but also because of a capability to face and to master technological change. Servan-Schreiber has commented on American management from the perspective of the European perspective as follows:[25]

> What threatens to crush us today is not a tyrant of riches, but a more intelligent use of skills. While French, German, or Italian firms are still groping around in the new open spaces provided by the Treaty of Rome, afraid to emerge from the dilapidated shelter of their old habits, American industry has gauged the terrain and is now rolling from Naples to Amsterdam with the ease and speed of Isreali in the Sinai Desert.

In sum, then, business leaders have entered education confident in the belief that the tools which they have deployed with such great success in the private sector can be used effectively within the educational arena. These tools include R and D, systems analysis, advertising, and marketing. Fundamental to the use of these tools, however, is the capability of management and its demonstrated capacity for dealing with change processes. The very fact that it has entered so decisively into the educational arena within a short period of time is a demonstration itself of the entrepreneurial role of the manager and of his willingness to capitalize upon new market opportunities even in the face of uncertainty and risk.

Expectations for Private Sector Contributions

The view that the private sector has the capability to contribute substantially to the improvement of education has come to be accepted by a growing number of leaders in the public sector. As already noted, thore embracing the concept of "creative federalism" had high expectations of the business community. More specifically, government leaders believed that leaders in the private sector could help solve important problems in the public sector, including those associated with education. In the words of President Johnson:[26]

> Government just cannot do it alone. We need the energy, we need the genius, we need the imagination, and we need the initiative of the businessmen of America who have built this great, free enterprise system into the most powerful economy in all the world.

Government officials with responsibilities for education, particularly at the federal level, entreated industry to contribute to the quality of education through its proven development capacities. Thus, Harold Howe, II, in 1967, invited

American industry "to provide innovative and original contributions to the educational process itself." He went on to note that "American industry has an unsurpassed history of effectiveness; yet one of our greatest industries -- education -- has not fully profited from the capacities of industry. Forty million consumers of education and their families await the product of our cooperation."[27]

In order to facilitate industry's participation in educational research and development, federal legislation was established in 1965 to enable profit corporations to receive governmental grants on the assumption that this would lead to the creation of new products and services with potential for improving education. This new legislation was unprecedented in education and it represented a significant vote of confidence in the industrial community and in its potential for helping solve educational problems. Federal legislation was also passed which made it possible for profit-making corporations to receive training grants and to provide educational experiences for disadvantaged youth through Job Corps programs.

Even though many educational leaders did not welcome and were even hostile to industry's entry into education, some saw unprecedented potential in the industrial community's capacity for undertaking significant educational development and for improving teaching, learning, and administration. Myron Lieberman, for example, expressed strong confidence in industry's capacity to improve education early in 1967 when he made the following statement:[28]

> In this observer's opinion however no development has more potential for changing American education than the growing involvement of big business in the production and sale of educational goods and services.
>
> To see why this is so, one must bear in mind the magnitude of the companies -- among them IBM, General Electric, Litton Industries, Raytheon, and Xerox -- which have recently entered the education market. These companies have sales in the hundreds of millions annually. Corporate entities of this size can conduct research, development, sales, and service operations on a scale hitherto unknown in education.... The giant corporations now entering the educational market...have the capability (assisted by federal dollars, of course) of developing educational systems.

The line of thinking projected by Lieberman was also expressed by other American leaders.

Summary

In sum, then, a number of factors have affected the character of the "business-education interface" during the last decade. One important factor underlying the "interface" has been the growing rapprochement. Also contributing has been the increasing tendency among leaders, influenced by the thinking of economists, to view education in terms of investment and organizational output within the context of technology and research and development perspectives more traditionally associated with the private sector.

At the same time that the rapprochement between public and private organizations has been taking place, leaders in some of America's largest corporations have seen new profit opportunities in the educational arena. This, in turn, has led to business "mergers" and to the aquisition of educational industries. These decisions were made by management in the firm belief that the private sector could bring to bear significant tools associated with research and development, systems analysis, advertising, and marketing to improve education. Similar views were held by government leaders and by some leaders in education. These various developments have already changed the "interface" between education and industry and the long-range potential for further alterations has certainly been enhanced.

Some Immediate Effects of the Changing Relationships between Business and Education

Developments within the education industry have as yet had limited impact upon the organization and administration of schools. However, there have been important intermediate effects which have significant long-range implications for the organization and administration of schools. Even though it is not easy during the early phases of the changing "interface" to ferret out these effects, such an effort would seem to be highly desirable. Therefore, a number of generalizations will now be made about what are judged to be some of the more immediate effects of interactions between business and education.

Apprehension within the Educational Community

As industrial leaders, with governmental encouragement, have aggressively sought to strengthen their capabilities vis-a-vis the educational market, apprehension within the educational community has been created. Even though some educational leaders have viewed industry's potential role in education positively, as already noted, the majority of those expressing opinions have taken the opposite view. Clearly, the views expressed have been tinged with apprehensiveness. Frank Keppel has sought to communicate this concern through the "Goliath-and-David" image as follows:[29]

> A picture seems to be forming in the mind of the American educator: Knocking at the door of the little red school house is the giant fist of American business -- big business: International Business Machines, Xerox, General Learning Corporation (the affiliate of General Electric

> and Time Incorporated), Radio Corporation of America, Raytheon, merchants of hardware, makers of electronic computers, of copying machines that can make a million sheets of paper look exactly like the original, and above all makers of money. On the other side of the door is the classroom teacher, facing something unknown and frightening, and protecting children huddled in a corner. In a seeming competition for the mind of the school child, America's tycoons appear pitted against a lonely, underequipped, underpaid, classroom teacher. It is a modern picture of Goliath and David and it is the result far more of fear than fact.

Power and Control. The fear which was generated in the educational community was expressed by representatives of national educational organizations, public school personnel, board members and university people. While specific expressions of concern varied with different groups, apprehensions seemed to be based generally upon assumptions about the power of the business community and its capacity to control curriculum and teacher behavior. Such concerns were enhanced because of the perceived relationships between industrial and governmental leaders. Already somewhat concerned about federal control, educators concluded that a partnership was developing between government and business which made for greater external influence on educational decisions. For example, John M. Lumley, Director of Federal Relations for the National Education Association, in 1966 referred to the "danger" of "control" and in a report by Luther Carter explained his position as follows:[30]

> Federal control, Lumley said, could occur in this way: The Office of Education, through contracts with industry for research and the training of researchers, would make a sharp imprint on the new technology's software, which could come into general use in the schools.

Another source of fear about external control was rooted in the concepts of systems analysis and systems planning. These concepts and the techniques associated with them, which have had highly sophisticated uses in the aerospace and defense industries, were viewed with askance, if not apprehension, by many members of the educational community. As business leaders and their representatives spoke about the development of "total systems of instruction" and the application of systems techniques to research, development, and training, the issue of control again came to the fore, as is implied in the following statement by James Ridgeway:[31]

> ...The education businessmen don't look at their job from the standpoint of just selling one product, but rather with an eye to designing and carrying through several functions: that is, they want to design a school system, provide it with innovative materials and equipment, train the teachers how to use the equipment, and then test the finished product--

> in this case, the student as he comes out of one system and goes into another.

This more encompassing concept of the businessman's activities stirred questions in educators' minds about how well professional freedom and autonomy actually were preserved in education. That the new technologies posed questions of control for the teacher is suggested by the appearance of such articles as the one entitled "Can Teachers Survive the Educational Revoluation?" by John Loughary.[32]

The Profit-Making Motive. Another issue related to control had to do with perceptions about the businessman's orientation to profit-making. Educators, oriented to human values, have traditionally taken a somewhat negative view toward those pursuing profit gains. This negative view toward profit is deeply rooted in history and some scholars believe that it is associated with the change from an agricultural to a commercial economy in which profitable transactions evolved in various sectors of business without visible products. There also seems to be a widely held assumption that those pursuing the profit motive are much more concerned about quantity than quality and more about profitable products than basic problem solving. In view of the perceptions about the profit motive and the concern emanating from perceived threats of control, it is understandable that considerable resentment arose. Such resentment is clearly reflected in the following observation by Paul Goodman:[33]

> There is a lot of government and foundation money for the schools; corporations have hardware, tests, or the produce of printing presses to peddle; by lobbying, promotion, and cooking up nominal connections with the school establishment they can cut in on the melon. The procedure is inauthentic, unprofessional, unscientific, and characteristic of American society at present.

That educators' concerns registered in the business community is indicated, for example, by an observation made by the late Lyle Spencer who, at the time, headed Science Research Associates:[34]

> "There are those who fear that new educational systems involving technology such as computers, video communication systems, and facsimile printing systems will destroy the diversity of our education."

There is ample evidence, then, that substantial fears and concerns were aroused in the educational community. However, the extent to which these were based upon fact and related to objective conditions cannot be easily documented. The uncertainty about what business would in fact do with and through educational mergers undoubtedly added to the general concern. The concern which was created must be viewed as an important factor in the dynamic of the changing "business-education interface."

Growing Dialogue between Educational and Business Leaders

Business leaders with responsibilities in education industries entered into communication and dialogue with educators in ways and to an extent never demonstrated before. Businessmen and educators found themselves more than ever before in the same audience and even on the same platform with one another. In the mid-sixties the American Management Association began sponsoring conferences for educators in which both business leaders and educators were involved. The American Educational Research Association for the first time had listed the names of distinguished business leaders as speakers for its annual programs. Organizations such as ARISTOTLE developed which were designed to promote communication among educational, business, and government leaders. And for the first time in history, the president of an electronics technology corporation, the director of a systems development and application division in a private corporation, a vice president of a large company, and the board chairman of an education industry all wrote articles in the same issue of Phi Delta Kappan, a leading educational journal.

In the resulting dialogue one of the themes which was frequently struck by businessmen had to do with the profit motive. They sought in various ways to deal with the question but generally tried to reassure the education community on the issue. Thus, Edward Katzenbach approached the question as follows:[35]

> While the business and profit opportunities in the education field are now well recognized I believe it is equally well recognized that no company solely motivated by profit can expect to succeed. An equal if not greater motivation must be a strong desire to make significant and creative contributions to the teaching-learning process... there can be no difference between the motive for profit and the motive to serve.

Another theme which was frequently sounded was that of the need for collaboration and cooperation between leaders in education and industry. For example, Frank Keppel, who projected the picture of "David and Goliath" to describe actual education-industry relationships in 1967 concluded that the ideal relationship was represented in a "team" at work on a common task. Rather than the "fist pounding at the school house door," the "clasped hands of fellowship" offered a more appropriate and desirable symbol of needed relationships, in his view.[36]

Themes such as those just noted and the interaction which resulted have helped to promote understanding between and among leaders in education and industry during recent years. It is also significant that understanding has been advanced by increasing personnel interchange between education and industry during the last decade. Thre greatest flow has been from education to industry. However, leaders for the first time in history have come out of industrial settings to take important positions in the U.S. Office of Education. The increasing dialogue and interchange may help to account for the fact that the concern among educators now seems less widespread than was the case in the mid-sixites. However, even though some understanding has been developed, the relationship between industrial and educational leaders is still not easy. To quote Frank Keppel once again:[37] "Both groups have much to learn, and the only safe assumption is that the road to effective collaboration is long and probably rocky."

Learning the Hard Way

There is evidence that industrial leaders underestimated the difficulties involved in achieving profits in education. In his 1968 article, "Learning the Hard Way," Kaplan offered evidence that the large companies which have entered education have encountered or "created" serious problems and that the results so far "have been extremely disappointing."[38] He maintained, for example, that Science Research Associates, which was very profitable when acquired by IBM, was in the red; that Xerox had disbanded Basic Systems; that the Ginn acquisition constituted a problem for Xerox; that General Learning had cut back on technological development and was increasing its service activities; that Westinghouse Learning was expected to remain in the "red" until the 1970's; and that CBS's earnings had been cut back recently as a result of the Holt acquisition.

Why have the education industries not fared as well as they apparently expected? Since there are many factors bearing upon this question, the answer is not a simple one. Obviously, the textbook industry has sagged since 1967 after a decade of growth, in part because of more limited federal funds than anticipated. In addition, observers such as Kaplan maintain that the conservatism of the textbook industry has been underestimated by managers as have the time required to produce texts and the difficulty of "turning around" a company which takes three or four years to produce its products.

The Education Market. There are more basic reasons underlying the problems. One is the very diffuse and decentralized aspects of the educational system which some have labeled a "non-system." The educational market, in other words, is represented in more than 70 federal agencies, 55 state and terrirorial departments of education, more than 2300 colleges and universities, and approximately 21,000 local school districts. What a different procedure is involved in capturing this market than is involved in obtaining a contract for an SST!

It seems that in some quarters the size of the education market was over-estimated. The projections of Fritz Machlup of a $200 billion knowledge industry and the publicity these projections received may very well have been misleading. In the first place, Machlup's definition of the "knowledge industry" encompassed the communication media, professional services, information machines, entertainment, publishing and printing, research and development, as well as education. Secondly, some business leaders were likely not aware of the relatively large amounts of educational funds which are invested in personnel and the relatively small amounts which are invested in instructional and management technologies. A more careful look at the way education allocates its resources has in some cases altered views about the size of the market, as is implied in the following statement by Frank Fox, President of the Raytheon education company:[39]

> "The first thing I did when I got here was to look at the market. Everyone was talking about a $200 billion knowledge industry but the market we're going after, the hard-core market for school materials is more like $1.5 billion."

The Problems of Diversity. Another set of difficulties encountered by business leaders had to do with the pluralistic values associated with educational purposes and the fact that many of these values were not clearly or operationally defined. Traditionally, businessmen have been able to define organizational purposes clearly and provide stockholders a precise picture of management performance in terms of increases or decreases in dividends. The contrasting situation in education undoubtedly caused frustration among some business leaders as is suggested by the following quotation:[40]

> If there has been any agreement among educators about the ends of education, then poor communication has failed to convey them to industry. Educational philosophy, without which methodology is useless, continues to be ambiguous on this side of the school yard fence; and industry has been unable to react in a meaningful way.

Those more experienced in education clearly recognized the diversity of aspirations associated with education. Thus Keppel, shortly after becoming Board Chairman of General Learning Corporation, noted that pluralism is "the name of the game," and the late Lyle Spencer in 1967 made the following observation:[41]

> "None of us, even in his most wildly optimistic moment, feels capable of producing an instructional system so superior that it finds acceptance by the vast majority of educational institutions. There are simply too many significant differences of opinion about what an instructional system should do and what its educational content should be to allow this."

Difficulties in Development. Apart from the problem of achieving clearly stated and widely accepted educational objectives which could guide research, development, and planning, complexities associated with producing useful products and services in education were also confronted by industrial leaders. Special difficulties were encountered in applying systems concepts to education. In addition, the variables bearing upon the effective development of educational products proved to be many and they were difficult to identify, much less to encompass effectively in product design. In contrast to the "hard knowledge" in physics and chemistry, which had helped business become phenomenally successful in producing non-educational products and technologies, the "soft knowledge" of the social sciences further aggravated development difficulties.

From the beginning an adequate balance between "hardware" and "software" in the development of products and services has been difficult to achieve. Experience with teaching machines in the schools has led to largely negative conclusions about "software." Few effective programs were developed initially and most of the ones that were achieved were used for demonstration purposes. Thus, media available for disseminating content seem so far to far outweigh the educational messages programmed for instructional uses. Without relevant and cogent educational messages the plethora of existing machines, communication channels, and media are to no avail. This problem continues to plague both industry and education.

New Educational Tools Emerging

In spite of the difficulties encountered in the educational market by business leaders during the last decade, educational tools are emerging which already have had an impact upon the "interface" between education and business. Education, as already implied, is technologically underdeveloped and this fact is now more widely recognized than ever before. Teachers, administrators, and other educational personnel need more effective concepts and tools. As Frank Keppel has noted in referring to the classroom:[42]

> The teacher is charged with an almost Godlike task of nurturing the minds of these children toward lives of independent, knowledgeable, ambitious, productive adults, What tools does he have? Indeed, like David of the myth, hardly more than a slingshot. The school board has equipped him with a room, a blackboard, and a few textbooks; now and then a movie, a trip to the museum, a peek through a microscope.

Certainly, the last ten years has not resulted in startling developmental results or in the widespread use of new tools of use to the teacher. However, it can be said that some tools have been created and that these tools are beginning to have an impact in selected school systems. Some illustrations of the new tools and their uses will help document the point.

Teaching Machines, Computers, and Audio-Visual Media. Teaching machines using programmed instruction have received increasing attention during the last decade. As already noted, most of the teaching machines provided or offered by industry have been inadequate because of limitations in "software."

However, the theory underlying the teaching machine remains significant and it still offers promise for the future. It, like other tools being developed, can help individualize instruction, a long-standing objective of educators. In addition, it can help relieve the teacher from certain demands in instructional situations. Thus, if the business and educational communities can use past experiences to improve programmed instruction, it can help students develop understanding of ideas step-by-step, provide a system for monitoring student progress, and can inform learners immediately both of errors and achievements.

Another tool which has had some impact on education during the last decade is the computer. This tool has been used in various ways. One use is the "talking typewriter" in which small computers teach three-year-olds how to read and write. A number of the larger cities have used these machines and they seem to be particularly helpful in teaching backward children.[43] The East Palo Alto, California, school system has also made special use of the computer. Personnel there have used computers, for example, to teach mathematics to first-graders. Experience so far suggests that students can proceed at their own individual pace and manner and that teachers can be freed from certain types of drill activities of a more routine character. However, the system is very expensive and it is still in experimental stages.

The computer is also being used experimentally to record the progress of students and to provide diagnostic information of assistance to teacher. Thus, Westinghouse Learning Corporation is now working on a project designed to give the teacher each morning a print-out on the progress of each pupil. In this sense the computer has an ability to act as a management tool for the teacher, as an aid in the diagnosis of learning difficulties, and as a source of data for planning the next instructional steps. An overview of this project was provided in a recent issue of Forbes magazine:[44]

> The project in question is called PLAN (Program for Learning in Accordance with Needs), and involves 4800 elementary and high school students in 14 school districts in California, Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, and West Virginia. All the schools have access at least once daily to a computer in Palo Alto, California.
>
> PLAN students on arriving at school choose their group table or study cubicle. They then select their study material in the form of "TLUs" (Teaching-Learning-Units), which are small, packaged guides of courses in reading, math, spelling, science, and other subjects. The student then uses a tape recorder, film projector, work book and other devices that may be required to help him absorb the material. At the end he takes a "diagnostic quizz." That completed, he selects another TLU in the same subject or another subject.

There are other new or more refined tools which have come into use during the last decade which can be mentioned. Among these are language laboratories, cartirdge tape recorders, special video-taping devices, and new ways for quickly reproducing and transmitting printer information. However, without providing additional detail on these tools, perhaps enough has already been said to make clear that beginnings have been made in the creation and refinement of tools for classroom teachers. These tools have had a number of impacts upon those in education.[45]

The impact upon actual educational processes has been greatest in school systems experimenting with the new tools. Experimentation has brought about an examination of the role of the teacher, current approaches to teaching, purposes of education, in-service education needs, and how the new technology can complement and extend that already being used. Experience gained from use of the tools is also leading to better bases for assessing their strengths and limitations and for estimating the costs involved in their application.

Implications for the Teacher. Much of the assessment of instructional tools that has and is taking place seems to be informal. It tends to take place in the work setting and through the analysis of experience. However, the new tools have also undoubtedly contributed to the interest among scholars in defining the role of the teacher and the educational implications of the new instructional technologies. For example, John Loughary has projected a number of implications for the teacher which, in his judgment, are evolv ing from the development and use of new technology. Implications noted include the following:[46]

(1) Introduction of computer and related technology for classroom uses will bring about a "perpetual obsolescence of professional competencies" on the part of the teacher.
(2) Individual teachers will become increasingly dependent upon support systems involving "instructional resources, information storage and retrieval, and multi-media instructional packages."
(3) Instead of planning and organizing instruction in terms of his own interest and views of the subject being taught, the teacher, utilizing new technology, will be more oriented to serving the individual and group learning needs of students.
(4) Teachers will be expecting and requesting more time for planning and thinking, for developing and refining source materials and systems, for advancing their own education, for imaginatively using prepared instructional components, and for determining the policies and operations of the educational enterprise.
(5) As the tendency toward greater efficiency in education develops through enhanced use of emerging instructional technologies, competition among educators will increase and further speicalization in the educational functions to be performed will result.

Change in Textbooks. The development of new tools and their initial, if limited, use has had an indirect impact upon education in that the new tools have apparently caused publishers to re-examine in light of emergent developments the adequacy of traditional concepts of the basic tool of education, namely, the textbook. Textbooks have undergone changes which have resulted in part from (1) the concept of instructional materials systems and (2) the actual or projected competition arising or likely to arise from an increasing number of media for disseminating content. Changes which have occurred during the last decade, according to Olsen, are the following:[47]

> ...Already there have been many obvious physical changes in the format of textbooks. Careful choice of type, page size, and illustrations have made textbooks more attractive. Maps, charts, and other graphic devices are being more carefully integrated in social studies, math, and science books since pictures visually translate concepts and verbal symbols. In newer text, illustrations take up about 40 per cent of the space.
>
> ...The language of the more recent content materials is being revised to meet the needs of the student on the level of his reading ability. New terms, for example, are carefully introduced and analyzed. Non technical vocabulary is usually one grade below the student's reading level for whom the book is written. Sentence syntax is becoming more simiplified, and the vocabulary load is held to a minimum so that reading comprehension is facilitated. The style if informal, the diction vivid. Printed matter is arranged for short, easy eye sweeps. Technical concepts in subject matter areas are slowly and sequentially developed, and many opportunities for application are provided. Glossaries aid pronunciation and meaning. Questions are placed throughout the textual matter so that the student can more easily note factual details, general conclusions, summaries, and relationships of factual data. The units or chapters are written with the experience and needs of the student in mind, and the formal exposition of subject matter is geared to arouse the pupil's desire to observe, question, read, and discuss. The shift here is away from the recall of factual data per se to the development of reading skills, insights, and critical thinking.

Research findings are also influencing the preparation of textual materials. Language research for example indicates that reading and spelling are, in some ways, closely related skills. Thus the more recently published reading and spelling programs integrate these two language areas. More and more contemporary school books contain a variety of non-verbal, spoken, and other oral communcation devices such as tape and disc recordings. Research on language indicates that such non-verbal experiences stimulate the child to wider reading and promote more effective learning because the subject matter skills to be learned are presented to the learner through a variety of communication media. Content selection is predicted upon current scholarly research and subject disciplines.

Direct Participation in Education by Business

During the last decade business has become directly engaged in public education and training activities in ways that differ significantly from past patterns. Most "education" industries during the last decade have engaged in education-related activities other than those designed to produce new instructional or management tools through research and development. The range of activities of this type can be illustrated with regard to projects conducted by one of the education industries:[48]

> It (Westinghouse Learning) does all the Southeast regional training of VISTA volunteers, runs two Job Corps centers, is the major non-university trainer for the Peace Corps, runs a teaching center for Army Transporation Corps instructors, and has training contracts with the Department of Labor, Office of Economic Opportunity, Department of Housing and Urban Development, and the State of Delaware.
>
> Westinghouse Learning is also experimenting with "Education Advancement Centers" where children or adults can bring themselves up to any specified level of proficiency in various fields for a fee of about $150, with a "money back with interest" guarantee if the student can't make it.

Companies in the past have had major internal programs of education for their own personnel. It is estimated, for example, that IBM spends almost as much annually on the in-service training of its personnel as the Washington, D.C., school system spends for one year of public education. The new development during the last decade, however, has been the growing involvement of business in training and educational activities more directly related to those in the public sector. Descriptions of selected programs initiated by business in recent years will illustrate the point.

Special Programs Supported by Industry. One kind of training project is represented in work undertaken by the IBM Corporation as a part of the Street Academy Program operated by the Urban League of Greater New York. In this project, several academies were set up in converted store fronts located in selected ghettos of New York City. Enrollment was limited to 15-20 in each academy and the students were mostly teen-age drop-outs. Some of them had acquired juvenile records. The program stresses individual attention and guidance. IBM's role in the program has been described as follows:[49]

> IBM's contribution to the program is the Academy of Transition, where youths go after a few months or even weeks at one of the street academies. The Academy of Transition helps youths get used to formalized, regular

> classes that prepares them to enter or return to public high school or to enroll at Harlem Prep or Newark Prep, both fully accredited secondary level schools established by the street academy organization. In four years of experimental operation, the street academy program has sent more than 200 youngsters back to high school or to one of the prep schools. More than 100 of its graduates are now attending college.

Another kind of special program in which business has participated is a special endeavor developed in Cleveland. A number of industries have been involved in the Cleveland project as the following description indicates:[50]

> In one of G.E.'s major educational operations, just getting under way this fall in Cleveland, the company has donated a 240,000 square-foot building to the city's board of education for conversion into a new kind of school factory for drop-out rehabilitation. "The unusual thing about this plant" said Mark J. D'Arcangelo, a company representative, "is that it will be turning out products for actual use. Besides G.E., Western Electric, and Ohio Bell Telephone Company have already installed equipment for turning out standard parts or assemblies made in their own plant, and several other companies are considering taking space during the next few months. The students, mostly drop-outs, will attend classes half of each day and get paid for working in the industrial plants the other half. We started out with 150 students from a work-study program being carried on by the public schools and hope to increase that to 500 or more by next summer."

Still another illustration of special participation by industry is offered in the following quote describing the cooperative work of Illinois Bell and the Chicago school system:[51]

> The Illinois Bell program to help Chicago ghetto schools is called BEACON (Business, Education, and Community Opportunity Network). In consultation with the Chicago school administration, the company has offered its personnel, equipment, and facilities to help improve the quality of education in three inner-city schools. Besides teacher aides, BEACON would provide substitute typists, bookkeepers, mechanics, and engineers to help fill emergency vacancies at the schools. Now in preparation is a plan for "vocational shared time" -- a work-study program aimed at helping high school juniors and seniors who need financial assistance in order to graduate.

A nationally oriented program of training is represented in the work of the National Alliance of Businessmen. This alliance was formed at the request of former President Johnson and is headed by Henry Ford. The major tasks assigned to the Alliance were to create jobs and to train the hard-core unemployed. One objective was the creation of 100,000 permanent jobs for hard-core unemployed by July, 1969. A second objective was the establishment of

200,000 temporary summer jobs for disadvantaged youth during the summer of 1968. While the objectives established for the program were not completely achieved, progress has been made by outstanding business leaders in attacking the difficult, hard-core employment problem.

The illustrations provided above of endeavors by the private sector to engage in education and training are a few of hundreds of efforts now taking place.[52] Some are more directly competitive with public school systems (e.g., Job Corps Centers) while others are not. Some are carried on in cooperation with public school systems as in the case of the experiment in Cleveland while others are undertaken independently by businessmen. Some are supported by the public sector. However, business has used its own funds in many cases without any apparent concern for immediate profit. All the programs have provided businessmen opportunities to gain direct experience with learning and instruction. This in turn has undoubtedly brought new insights about needed instructional processes and technologies and about constraints affecting the development and use of these processes and technologies.

Business Leadership and Educational Policy

A very significant dimension of the changing "interface" is reflected in business leaders' increasing attention to important questions of educational policy. Traditionally, industry has sought to influence educational finance programs and policies, largely at the local level. Sometimes its influence has been negative and at other times positive. During the last decade, however, distinguished business leaders in the "center" economy have begun to view education from a more national orientation and have developed from time to time policy statements on education through such organizations as the Committee for Economic Development.

Work of the Committee for Economic Development. The thoughtful document published some months ago by the Committee for Economic Development under the title, Innovation in Education, is a symbol of the increasing interest of business leaders in educational problems.[53] Among the recommendations offered in the policy statement on innovation, for example, were increased investments in educational research and development and the creation of a specific organization to carry out R and D activities.[54]

The most recent subcommittee on education established by the Committee for Economic Development is entitled "Education of the Disadvantaged." This subcommittee was appointed in the belief that the schooling of disadvantaged minorities "has been a tragic failure and one that will not be corrected without a major revolution in the objectives, methods, and organization of the schools." It is also significant that CED and Saturday Review and in special reports reach many persons both inside and outside education. Undoubtedly, they have had considerable impact upon thoughtful readers and thinkers, including those responsible for policy making in education.

The Interests of Business in Influencing Educational Policy. The observation was made above that business leaders have traditionally sought to influence educational policy largely at the local level. This kind of effort continues and unique expressions of the businessman's interest in policy and in voter behavior have developed in recent years. This type of interest can be illustrated in the work of the Illinois Bell Telephone Company. In the spring of 1968 this company sent to 1,500,000 Chicago area residents a printed note accompanying their monthly telephone bill urging them to vote for a school bond issue in the upcoming referendum.[56] Representatives of the company maintain that they are strongly interested in education and that this is one way of expressing their interests positively.

The extent to which business in its growing positive orientation to education is reflecting its own interest and the extent to which it is reflecting the "public" interest is not easily determined. Myron Lieberman, for example, suggests that business, in becoming more involved in educational policy, is looking after its own interests:[57]

> In the past, big business tended to evaluate public expenditures for education largely in terms of tax burden to industry. In the future, however, big business may well be the decisive voice in getting larger appropriations for education. After all, the businessman wants to be sure that his potential customers can afford to buy what he is selling.

Some historians who have studied business leadership over the longer sweep of time come to a somewhat different view about business' interest and role in social reform. The evidence would suggest that business leaders have frequently been as progressive with regard to social reform as leaders in other societal institutions. Thus, William Letwin, in studying the evidence, has reached the following conclusion:[58]

> ...It is to the credit of this small but growing group of historians that they have looked much more carefully and patiently than their predecessors had at what businessmen said and did. And they have found that, on the whole, businessmen invented, advocated, or at least rapidly recognized the usefulness of each main measure of reform. Their more careful research shows, as one should have predicted, that businessmen disagreed among themselves about political questions, but that the majority or substantial minorities supported the statues, policies, and administrative mechanisms of reform.
>
> Only one further step is necessary to arrive at what I should consider the correct view of the matter--that is, to recognize that the attitudes of businessmen toward reform corresponded pretty well, at most times, to the attitude of most Americans of all classes, occuptions, and political outlooks...

It is also significant that Kenneth Clark has observed that business leadership provides the best hope for achieving racial peace in that "business is the least segregated, least disciminatory, most fair of the areas of our society--better than education, religion, unions, or government."[59]

Assuming, then, that business can play an important role in educational reform through policy studies and statements made by its most distinguished leadership, this role could be one of the most important dimensions of the developing "business-eudcation interface." Consequently, the growing voice of business leaders on matters of educational policy represents an important development for those in the future of American public education.

Summary

In sum, then, there have been a number of important results growing out of the changing relationships between business and education during the last decade. First, the growing role of business and its aspirations for an enhanced development role in education have aroused considerable concern and, at times, even resentment among those in the educational community. This concern, which has apparently been alleviated to some extent through an increased dialogue between business and educational leaders and through a growing interchange of personnel between the educational and private sectors, focuses largely upon the question of control and upon the presumed behaviors of profit-making firms. The fact that business has not been able to be as effective and profitable as it had immediately hoped also helped to diminish concerns. Difficulties in marketing, in achieving development work, in combating educator and parental resistance, and in serving pluralistic needs have so far resulted in somewhat limited impacts of business upon the schools. However, some promising new tools have been developed and these have set in motion potentially significant changes in a limited number of school districts. In addition, business has entered directly into educational activities which have sometimes competed with public school systems and has participated in a variety of training endeavors. These activities have undoubtedly provided valuable experiences for business leaders. Finally, businessmen have begun to speak out on matters of educational policy more directly and strongly and with a national orientation. The conduct of policy studies through such organizations as the Committee for Economic Development and business' increasing participation in educational research, development, and training establishes significant directions for the private sector and represents important influences which will continue to give shape to the "business-education interface."

The Business-Education Interface and the Future

Are the emergent societal forces such that business will likely become increasingly involved in the solution of public policy problems? Will the "business-education interface" continue to change during the next decade? What willhappen to the education industries during the 1970's? Will business have an increasing impact on education? If so, what will be some of the major problems and issues which will be faced? Such questions will serve as a focus for the discussion to follow.

Growing Private Participation in Public Affairs

The business sector during the coming decade will become increasingly involved in activities which have traditionally been associated with the "public sector." Currently, there seems to be considerable concern about the capability of the public sector to deal effectively with many of the problems before it. At the local level, for example, events such as are described in the following quotation reinforce the concern:[60]

> ...During the first six months of 1968,...garbage remained uncollected for almost a month in New York City and Memphis; classrooms lacked thirty-five thousand teachers in Florida after that number resigned; and snow lingered eight weeks in the streets of Boston. Everywhere there is a threat of a paralysis of municipal services....Antiquated and inadequate physical plant and equipment cannot be modernized because urban problems grow more rapidly than urban revenues, particularly in the old core cities.

Concern about the adequacy of government is not limited to the local level. As noted in the previous chapter, state government has come under great criticism because of its general lack of adaptability and its slowness to change. Expectations of federal programs designed to deal with such difficult problem areas as welfare, civil rights, desegregation, and crime have not always been met satisfactorily, according to spokesmen for a variety of differing groups. Thus, in spite of its many successes, modern government's capability to deal with some of society's most difficult problems is increasingly being questioned. Nowhere is there more questioning of government's capacity than in the large urban complexes.

The Corporation as an Innovative Institution . While government has tended to lose some of its prestige during the last decade, the business sector has come to be viewed more positively. Positive views of business have resulted in part because of its unparalleled successes in producing and capitalizing on technological innovations which have helped man probe ocean depths and the distant reaches of outer space. Underlying new technological innovations, as noted previously, is a progressive spirit among business leaders and a marked capacity for change. In the words of Raymond Vernon:[61]

> The corporation of the twenthieth century, one has to be reminded from time to time, is a revolutionary institution, endowed with powers of extraordinary kind....

Explanations for the more positive views which have arisen vis-a-vis the private sector are further developed by Andrew Shonfield as follows:[62]

> ...It seems likely that one reason why the corporation has been rehabilitated so rapidly in the face of the established prejudice against it is the general disappointment with the performance of the postwar state as the manager of economic enterprise.
>
> ...The large corporation, which had a bad reputation, sometimes bordering on the sinister, for pursuing a variety of restrictive policies during the period between the wars, has come to be seen as an exceptionally powerful instrument of innovation. It is not that it is more fecund than its rivals in generating important new ideas; its strengths lies in its proven ability to convert ideas, especially in the field of technology, very rapidly into useful products....

Many intellectuals, who have traditionally argued that big government could learn administrative techniques developed in the private sector and take over the management role in society, are apparently changing their views toward industry. It is interesting to note, for example, that Arthur Schlesinger, in introducing the 1962 revision of his book The Vital Center, which was originally published in 1949, made the following statement:[63]

> "If I were writing the book today, I would give more emphasis...that American businessmen share with American liberals a basic faith in free society. I have more confidence now than then in the intelligence and responsibility of the businessmen who have thought about problems of public policy...."

It should be made clear that the image of the modern business leader seems to be communicated more and more by leaders in the "center economy." These leaders, who work closely with the federal government, are progressive in outlook. They also share with many intellectuals such values as integrity, equality of opportunity, political freedom, and rationality. In addition, as Chandler has noted: "modern managers are more of an elite than the earlier businessmen...Indeed, his perspectives were wider in the 1950's than those of most Americans."[64]

Views of Business Leaders. How does the businessman view the new expectations of society and the capability of the private sector for dealing with public problems? Clearly, in meeting one economic challenge after another throughout history and in helping to create an ever more affluent society, he has achieved confidence and a growing belief that, even though his experience has been limited largely to economic problems, he can meet the "non-economic" challenges now before society.

Business leaders, as they look at problems in the public sector, apparently believe that the kinds of technologies used in the economic arena and the processes used to develop these technologies can be applied to political and social problems in the public sector. Thus, the potential for using research and development, for example, in the public sector is implicit in the following observation by Eli Goldston:[65]

> In trash and garbage disposal, police and fire protection, traffic control, mass transportation, water and sewage services, local public agencies expend little of the research and development effort that business so effectively and rewardingly applies to its problems.

Businessmen and other societal leaders apparently believe that planning and highly rational modes of decision making, which are often a part of modern management in the private sector, can be applied to the public sector. As a matter of fact, Max Ways has gone so far as to observe that:[66]

> Further advance in the use of the new technologies is the most significant prediction that can be made about the next ten years. By 1977 the new way of dealing with the future will be recognized at home and abroad as a salient American characteristic.

There are many, of course, who see a "crying" need to apply planning methods and techniques developed in the private sector to problems in the public sector. Michel Crozier, for example, has concluded that "the real challenge to America lies in the passage from planning by individual firms to public planning that will minimize structural as well as conjunctural crises."[67] The general assumption seems to be that business has planning and management methodologies which are generally applicable to public problems. Crozier, as already implied, states the case succienctly as follows:[68]

> Moreover, many people contend that the general acceleration of change characteristic of modern post-industrial society raises social problems that traditional public institutions are unable to solve. On closer scrutiny, these problems appear to be basically organizational--adequation of means to ends and ends to means, measurement of activities and control of results, rational programming and budgeting, organizational problem solving, and the search for alternatives and competition at all levels. In all of these areas, the business corporation is the best organizational tool with which to locate the basic problem, experiment with pilot projects, and prepare for large-scale application. Whatever its former ignorance (or perhaps even because of this ignorance), business is able to bring revolutionary thinking to fields where it is most urgently needed.

Government Incentives. It is very significant, of course, that government leaders are not guarding their preserves. Rather, they are looking hopefully to the capacities of the professional manager in the private sector to help resolve significant societal problems. More important, they are seeking to invent special governmental incentives which will facilitate the private sector's involvement in the search for better solutions to public problems. These incentives, which Andrew Shonfield has labeled a "conspiracy in the public interest,"[69] have a number of expressions. One type of incentive, which is labeled "guarantees and insurance," is designed to limit the "downside risk" of business in entering new development areas. Another is tax benefits as, for example, in the form of accelerated depreciation arrangements. Cash subsidies of various kinds as well as long-term contracts are still other kinds of incentives which make it more attractive for businessmen to capitalize on opportunities in the public arena.[70] Important programs where incentives are already in existence, for example, deal with low-and middle-income housing and with the training of the hard core unemployed. Recent events, including the election of Richard Nixon to the presidency, suggest that government will continue to encourage business to contribute to the solution of important public problems through the creation of special incentives.

Thus, the challenge to business arising from government incentives is not only that of achieving immediate profits; even greater challenges in the long-range are the opening of new markets where there is room for substantial economic growth and the capitalization on opportunities which can contribute significantly to significantly to social progress.

Competition for Society's Leadership Talent. There are additional reasons of an internal character which are causing business to become more interested in problems of public policy. Two important needs, for example, are those of being able to compete effectively for the top leadership talent in society and of challenging talented leadership in management positions. That business is now aware of this problem is suggested in the following observation by Robert J. Weston:[71]

> In a matter of months, 50 per cent of all Americans will be under 25 years of age. From this group will come tomorrow's managers of business....
>
> These young critics are going into public service, into research, into teaching and they are staying away from business careers in embarrassingly large numbers. Yet business cannot afford not to make room for them and actively solicit their help.

Neil Chamberlain in his interesting article, "The Life of the Mind in the Firm," makes a strong argument that, if business is to attract outstanding leadership talent, it will have to give up its strict orientation to the profit motive. He argues that to use the single standard of profit to judge quality limits the "life of the mind"; further, that if executives are to be highly challenged, the attainment of a mix of profit and not-for-profit activities in industrial organizations will be necessary:[72]

> ...In the process, we may find that not-for-profit corporate activity will take on as much glamour and excitement as corporate activity designed for profit, and that part of the challenge of the game will be to effect a satisfactory mix of the two. In such circumstances, the life of the mind in the firm will almost certainly be invigorated.

That some leaders in industry recognize the problem posed by Chamberlain is suggested in the following observation by Albrook:[73]

> Furthermore, such programs do a lot for the morale of management. Better educated and inclined to be more intellectual and at home with abstractions than their predecessors, younger managers are often seeking in their career a greater identification with society and its needs.

In sum, then, powerful forces now at work seem to be setting the stage for a new era of business involvement in the search for better solutions to public problems, including those associated with education. These forces include a growing disenchantment with government's capacity to resolve difficult and long established public problems; rising expectations among government leaders, scholars, and business executives that industry can contribute to the solution of these problems; governmental incentives developed to encourage businessmen to address their talents to the public sector; and perceived opportunities on the part of businessmen for recruiting society's top talents and for challenging this talent in the search for better solutions to public problems.

Already business is increasingly concerned with educational problems, as has already been made clear. Perhaps just as significant is the fact that businessmen are carrying on projects dealing with health, welfare, housing, community development, social and cultural area rehabilitation, large scientific endeavors, and economic development. If business proves to be effective in fields such as those just noted, which all bear upon education, there will be added significance to business' entry into the public sector. The "synergistic" concept which has had significance in technical fields, may well take on added meaning within humanitarian domains.

Clarification of Public Role

The next decade will see further efforts on the part of business leaders to clarify the role of industrial organizations with regard to public policy problems; more precise formulations vis-a-vis the profit and social service aspects of industrial organizations will be achieved. In the public sector vague statements of objectives on the part of organizational leaders often prevail and are tolerated with ease. As a matter of fact, vague statements of objectives may at times be functional in situations where public expectations are intense, many, and diverse. However, leaders in the private sector have traditionally placed great emphasis upon the attainment of clearly stated objectives and have had low tolerance for "fuzzy" statements of organizational "targets." Modern methods of management have reinforced the need for clearly stated objectives as Goldston has noted: "Objectives and reasons for decisions cannot remain fuzzy under modern procedures."[74] That businessmen are uncomfortable with the current state of ambiguity vis-a-vis profit and non-profit objectives is evident, and the following quotation by the distinguished business leader, Alfred C. Neal, president of the Committee for Economic Development, illustrates the point:[75]

> When corporate executives can't rationalize something well enough to delegate it, to make it part of the ongoing, workaday business of the company, not a great deal is going to happen. As long as business looks on these new challenges as something akin to philanthropy, which has always been a matter for the top officials and directors, business will not and cannot be fully engaged."

Because of the perceived need to achieve greater clarity on profit and social service issues, it can be predicted that business leaders will make a strong effort to achieve more precise purposive rationales during the coming decade.

There are a number of alternatives which businessmen can consider in efforts to clairfy objectives. In order to highlight some of the issues involved, selected alternatives will be set forth.

The Combination of Profit and Philanthropy. One option is for firms to distinguish clearly between the categories of clearly defined profit and philanthropy and to limit activities to those which fall clearly into one category or the other. This alternative has advantages, especially from the standpoint of clarity. It is an established one which many businessmen now use. It also fits the reasoning of many industrialists that the "economic carrot" is the most powerful stimulus for change and the "carrot" will much more likely lead to the accomplishment of objectives than will moral exhortations and loosely defined "social-benefit" goals. Its major limitation lies in the fact that it does not seem especially relevant to the problems now before the big business corporations. This is especially true for industries in the "center" economy since these are the ones to which those in government are looking mostly for special help. In addition, many leading businessmen clearly reject the traditional profit and philanthropy standard as sufficient guides for the future. This is true even though industry is making more and more "gifts" to institutions in the public sector.

A New Concept of Profit. Another alternative is to redefine the concept of "profits" so that it encompasses more than immediate monetary gain for a specific company or class of companies. Some business leaders are giving though to this alternative. Henry Ford, for example, in a speech in 1966 suggested that it was time to redefine the term and went on to make the following observation:[76]

> "There is no longer anything to reconcile--if there ever was--between the social conscience and the profit motive.... It seems clear to me that improving the quality of society--investing in better employees and customers for tomorrow--is nothing more than another step in the evolutionary process of taking a more far-sighted view on investment."

One consequence of such a definition, of course, is that returns may not be immediate, measurable, or limited to companies making the investment. If private corporations, for example, could solve problems of training and unemployment among blacks to the point where their incomes could be doubled in five years, no other single market in the country would be growing as fast.[77] However, the market, if achieved, would not be distributed equally among firms making investments in training; nor would profits be limited to those helping to solve training and unemployment problems.

The laternative of developing a new concept of "profit" is clearly relevant to the problem now facing business leaders. However, the concept is not yet very sharply defined and, therefore, does not solve the problem at hand. Adoption of the concept could lead to considerable difficulty with shareholders. Unless greater clarity is achieved in the broadened concept of "profit," management could encounter problems in achieving "balance" between monetary and other kinds of profit. Imbalances could in the long range weaken the capacity of industry to solve public problems.

Risk Investment in Public Service. Still another alternative is for industry to identify needs which offer (1) unique opportunities for public service; (2) opportunities for "risk" investment; and (3) longer-range possibilities for profit. Many new business ventures involve periods when companies are "in the red." Eventually such endeavors either (1) move "into the black" and are continued or (2) are dropped and other activities take their place. Risk investments of this type can be and are being taken with regard to service and profit opportunities in the public sector. This alternative has the advantage of providing monetary incentives to businessmen which are carefully related to specific public needs. Some of the education industries have apparently adopted this strategy, as already noted. Since a long period of development work is required in this approach, industries using it tend to view profits within a longer-range framework. The alternative represents a major challenge to management.

Profit and Not-for-Profit Activities. Finally, there is one other alternative evolving which is receiving increasing attention. Two discrete categories of private-sector activity, one of which would encompass profit activities and the other not-for-profit activities, are involved in this alternative. The concept has been set forth by Chamberlain in more specific terms as follows:[78]

> If we play the currently popular game of looking ahead to the year 2000, it is not so fanciful to picture General Electric and I. B.M., Ford and

> I.T.T., L.T.V. and A.T.&T -- yes, even U.S.Steel and General Motors -- operating in two broad categories of activities: a profit-making sector in which they continue to exploit change and to probe the social environment purposively for ways in which to improve their earnings position; and a nonprofit sector in which they employ their organizational and productive talents, with appropriate political encouragement and tax incentives, to modify the social enviornment itself. Each would still decide for itself how much of the latter it would do, but public attitudes and facilitating legislation would presumably encourage bolder actions than are now typical.

The concept of a management "tithe," while somewhat different, is related to Chamberlain's formulation. Thus, Fortune magazine in an editorial in the January, 1968, issue on "Business and Urban Crisis" observed:

> We need a great many more working relationships between our executives, our local planners, and governmental officials, and our universities. In fact we might well try to evolve a concept of our top managers as a major unused national resource -- a resource from which society might expect a lot more. The possibility of a management "tithe" for public service is an intriguing one.

Chamberlain's formulation of two categories of private sector activity deals directly with the definitional problem now before business leaders. It is oriented much more to the future than to the past. For this reason, it might well be difficult to implement immediately. In addition, the category of "not-for-profit" activities is not yet precisely defined.

Undoubtedly, there are other rationales which offer potential for clarifying business objectives vis-a-vis service and profit. It can be anticipated that the coming decade will see diverse solutions conceived, implemented, and tested. Out of these testings will undoubtedly be achieved greater clarity in the profit and service aspects of the modern and adaptive business firm. When such clarity is achieved the relationships between private and public purposes will be further illuminated. It seems safe to say that traditional concepts of profit will definitely be altered. If so, a set of objectives to judge business enterprises will come into being. Such an achievement should pave the way for greater participation by business in the search for ways to improve organization, administration, and instruction in the schools.

Evolving Government-Business and Business-Education Relationships

During the coming decade there will likely be new institutional relationships developing between and among government, business, and education which will likely strengthen the impact of business upon education. In Congress today there is bi-partisan support for involving business in the search for solutions to educational, training, housing, unemployment, and community development problems. There are also serious discussions currently underway of proposed legislation which would affect business-education relationships specifically. Sentate Bill 1189, a Bill to improve education quality through the effective utilization of educational technology, would be a prime example of such legislation.

In view of the opinions held by leaders at the highest level of government, one can predict that the coming decade will see continuing efforts on the part of government to develop new and more potentially fruitful industry to participate in finding better solutions to public problems, including those associated with education. In this process legislators undoubtedly will be establishing important priorities and objectives, providing business incentives to achieve objectives, and publicizing the availability of incentive support. Already significant examples of governmental incentives which are stimulating private participation in the public arena are beginning to emerge.

Government - Industry Cooperation. A specific example of government incentives related to the educational arena is represented in the Job Opportunities in Business Sector (JOBS) program. In this program,which is headed by Henry Ford and is being conducted through the National Alliance of Businessmen, incentives are provided by the government and a clear-cut division of labor is established between government and industry. Jean Jones has described the arrangement as follows:[79]

> The task of government is to identify and locate the hard-core; the job of business is to train and hire them. The normal cost of training must be borne by the company, as it would for any new employees; but any additional costs--transportation services, teaching of basic reading and writing, health services, personnel counseling--will be funded by the government.

Assessments of programs to train the "hard-core" unemployed are now beginning to emerge. Results are encouraging and there are reasons to believe that the program's impacts can be very salutary, especially within a longer-range time framework. The JOBS program contrasts considerably with the Job Corps program in which a number of industries have been enagaged. There seems to be less satisfaction with the results of the latter program both in education and industry. In the words of Martin Stone, President of Monogram Industries, Inc.:[80]

> By and large, the institutional type Job Corps camps do not seem to be producing adequate results. Even at this late date, the costs of the Job Corps are approximately $8,000 per person per year and the end result of the training has generally been discouraging. In all fairness, however, it should be pointed out that the cost and success of a program often depends upon the type of trainee accepted by it.

Even though the Job Corps programs have not been highly successful they are suggestive of the special kinds of programs that government can help stimulate and structure. That ideas for special programs are now emerging which industry might undertake with (or without) government support is indicated in the following question:[81] "Might not education be better served if Berlitz or some other specialized firms were to operate the language laboratories of many public high schools?"

Insofar as public school systems are concerned perhaps the most significant type of incentive provided by the government so far in which industry is sharing is found in research and development funds. Some of these funds, as already noted, have gone directly to the business sector. Although these have tended to be rather limited so far, they will likely grow in the future. Business has also participated indirectly in government financed R and D projects in that some of the public school systems which have received R and D grants have arranged for sub-contracts with personnel within the private sector. This practice will also likely increase, assuming that business can effectively respond to the tasks it undertakes.

The search for new arrangements between government and business -- arrangements designed to encourage the deployment of private sector capabilities in solving problems of public education -- has just begun. Undoubtedly, this search will continue during the coming decade. It seems reasonable to believe that many of the current incentives will be expanded and that new ones will be invented. Such developments will be important factors shaping the "business-education interface" during the seventies and beyond.

New Business-Education Structures. As the search for new incentives and new government-business relationships progresses, there will also be a search for new kinds of business-education structures. The new internal structures achieved by business in the form of mergers will not be sufficient to meet effectively the challenge of creating new educational materials, services, products, and markets. If the "software" problem is to be solved, the traditional relationships developed by individual publishing representatives and single or sometimes multiple authors of given textbooks will not be adequate. The creation of "systems" of materials represented through a variety of media will require more complex relationships between the educational community and business organizations. These relationships will need to be such that a variety of specialized talent can be effectively deployed.

If more complex relationships are going to be developed, what will they be like? In general it would seem that traditional two-person relationships between the publishing representative and an author will be supplemented by new types of organizational relationships involving many more personnel. Some clues to the future can be seen in the present. One type of emergent relationship with implications for the future may be evolving in the PLAN project referred to above. In this example, the relationship is between a business organization and a number of school districts. Such relationships might even be limited during the development and field text periods to one or a very few large city school districts.

Other structures will undoubtedly be created between business organizations and national organizations which represent given sectors of the educational community. Such structures would have special advantages from the standpoint of the availability of a wide range of talent and a national communication network. Because of the diverse interests represented and wide visibility of such relationships, more resistance might well be encountered in establishing them than would be the case, for example, with selected school districts.

Still other types of relationships might be represented in university-industry relationships or in state-industry relationships. The former might have special advantages from the standpoint of development and of the creation of "software." The latter would have advantages from the standpoint of field testing and dissemination. Undoubtedly, the search for a new business-education relationships will continue and these will be reflected most specifically in efforts to implement projects. In such efforts the educational community, broadly defined, should be able to contribute most in defining objectives, in producing "software," and in conducting field tests and evaluations. Industry should be able to contribute most in providing special media, in producing products or services, in advertising these products and services, and in marketing them.

The major effects of the new structures yet to be achieved undoubtedly will be several in number. First, they should make it possible to deploy more effectively large numbers of persons in business and in education in the design and production of new kinds of products and services. Second, such relationships should provide and ensure special opportunities for field testing, assessment, and refinement of products or services. Third, such arrangements will also be required by business if it is to be effective in creating and reaching new educational markets. Since a number of needs are at stake the likelihood that new structures will be created and tested is increased.

Problems in Attaining New Structures. In the attainment of new business-education structures, perhaps the most difficult problem to be solved will be that of defining clearly the objectives to be achieved. This problem involves the ultimate purposes of education. Thus it is, at least in a general sense, a question of public policy and one on which there is great diversity of view. Such questions should not and likely cannot be effectively decided by industry, as Eli Goldston has remarked:[82]

> Goal-setting is a public, political function, and it may be more difficult to agree upon goals than to accomplish them once agreement has been reached. My thesis is only that agreed-upon goals may best be realized by using a carefully calibrated system of incentives for private firms.

Leaders in education, then, have an extremely important role to play in helping establish sound objectives to guide the development of educational materials, products, and services. If this role can be effectively performed, developmental work will be substantially facilitated and the goal-setting function will remain within the public arena.

While leadership in education will face problems in the establishment of clearly stated goals to guide development activities, in part because of the great diversity of values associated with education, there are particular problems within the industrial sector which also mitigate against an easy and clear establishment of goals to guide business-education developmental endeavors. A major factor is related to the question of competition and the apparent need on the part of education industries not to divulge the specific objectives they are planning to pursue. Can and will industry shift from decision-making modes which involve those at the top of a corporation to modes which are broader based and involve new kinds of structures and interactions with personnel in the educational sector? This problem may, in the final analysis, be as difficult for industry as the problem in the public sector of achieving clearly defined goals to guide educational development. Secretive practices with regard to the statement of specific or emergent objectives in industry are just as functional within a competitive environment as abstract goal statements are in the public arena where there are diverse and conflicting expectations. Thus, there are likely to be continuing problems of goal-setting for those directly involved in the "business-education interface."

Basic Issues to Be Confronted

There will be a number of fundamental and controversial issues confronting those involved in the "business-education interface" during the coming decade. While the apprehension concerning business' role in education which became so evident in the educational community in the mid-sixties has to some extent subsided, latent controversy and strong feelings still exist. Basic issues remain unresolved and will undoubtedly continue to generate conflicts.

Control. The issue of control represents an area where there will continue to be controversy. This issue can be viewed from at least two perspectives. One is at the point of consumer purchase. From this perspective the educational community has an opportunity to "control" the impact of business by choosing to use or not to use products and services offered. However, there is some question whether the educational community can be sufficiently knowledgeable in the selection of products to combat national advertising and other kinds of influences from the business sector. It is significant that organizations such as the Educational

Products Information Exchange Institute are now coming into being to provide information to customers about the products developed in industry. This type of organization can be effective especially if assessment data of value to the educational community are available. This, in turn, points to the need for effective field testing and other data-generating arrangements.

Another perspective for viewing the control issue is at the point of "software" design and development. More specifically, how does software get developed and by whom? This aspect of control is even more crucial than control at the point of sales. Fortunately, there is increasing evidence that business recognizes the need to involve educators early in the design of educational products and services. With government assistance and the development of new business-education structures, unique modes of educator participation in educational product development will likely emerge during the coming decade. Hopefully, such structures will affect quality and "use" positively at the "in-put" in contrast to "output" and "use" stages of development.

Quality. Related to the issue of control is the issue of quality. When the issue of quality is raised there are those who think of the inadequacies associated with teaching machines within education or of other apparent inadequacies in the business arena such as would be represented, for example, in Ralph Nader's investigation of the automobile industry. In the final analysis there is no issue which is more important nor is there one which will have greater effect on the "business-education interface" than that of quality. This issue is complicated by the fact that it is becoming more and more expensive to produce educational materials and products. It is estimated, for example, that it can cost "close to $150,000 to produce one high school text."[83] To recover such costs mass distribution is necessary. Consequently, the tendency is often to think as much if not more about quantity distribution than about the quality of products to be distributed. Quality can to a considerable degree be ensured through the careful setting of standards in the planning and design processes. Perhaps even more important is the type of talent involved in the developmental processes and the kind of creativity which those involved achieve. Industry has been very effective in recruiting and involving personnel with a variety of backgrounds and specializations in dealing with problems which have their origins in the chemical and biological sciences. Undoubtedly, this experience will be useful in education. Even when prototype products are developed which apparently conform to established standards, this will not be sufficient. Assessment data from field test and other "use" situations will be needed to provide bases for more empirically based judgments.

Economic Rationality Vs. Human Relations Rationality. Another important issue has to do with the relationships between what is sometimes called "economic rationality" and "human relations rationality." Clearly, the business firm has been oriented largely toward economic rationality and its great progress is due in large part to its careful definition and use of this kind of rationality. Based largely upon efficiency considerations, economic rationality and the variables defining it can usually be precisely and quantitatively delineated and communicated by those in top decision-making positions. It is based on the proposition that because economic resources are by definition scarce, they should not be wasted, and their allocation should be strictly governed by a standard of efficiency. It is further contended that no standard of efficiency has proved so efficacious as unalloyed profit maximization.[84]

Human relations rationality places an emphasis upon the psychological and social consequences of decisions. These consequences may be in conflict with desired efficiency effects. Human aspirations may even be in conflict with the objectives of a given organization. While economic rationality has been highly effective in producing technological or material innovations, it has not produced innovations which are centered in such unique human values as individuality and personal dignity, matters of import in education.

According to Crozier, human relations considerations have generally been subordinated to economic considerations within the private sector.[85] The result has been that people have had to adjust to organizations more in terms of economic than human consequences. While there has been some effective compromise between human and economic consequences in the private sector, Crozier argues that this:[86]

> uneasy compromise disintegrates in fields like education, welfare, and rehabilitation, where human relations are the substance of the performance and not one of its means. If business is to cope successfully with such fields, it will have to face basic problems in integrating technical requirements and human wants.

Clearly, leaders in industry will be faced with a difficult issue as they move into education. In instructional technology they may be able to produce highly ordered and logically programmed sequences but find that these have very limited interest to students. They may effectively apply systems concepts to management decision making and find that human beings are very apathetic about the implementation of decisions made, even though, from the standpoint of efficiency, they may be highly rational. Or, businessmen may create special institutions which have potential for efficiently achieving specific and limited objectives, but find that the social and psychological consequences of efforts designed to achieve these objectives create unanticipated problems. The latter point may be illustrated in the recent experience of Michigan Bell Telephone:[87]

> Michigan Bell "adopted" Northern High, a largely Negro school, after the riots had wracked this city's (Detroit) black neighborhoods in 1967....
>
> The project has given Michigan Bell a number of headaches. Some black militants here say they regard the program as mainly a public relations gimmick; others accuse the company of "using" the school to keep itself

> stocked with low-level workers. Some of Michigan Bell's vocational offerings have been criticized as being beneath the intelligence of students. Regular members of the Northern High's faculty grumble that a private corporation has no business "meddling" in a public school.

How the issue of economic and human relations rationality will be resolved as business moves into the public sector is not too clear. However, there are those who are optimistic about the capability of business to meet this challenge effectively:[88]

> As soon as management principales are divorced from traditional bureaucratic practices, modern management will be able to integrate different kinds of rationality and to abandon the narrow kind of synthesis that had previously been necessary to ensure precise processes and performance measurement. This will lead to more open systems and allow free bargaining among more and more agents without jeopardizing the necessary rationality of the outcome. Such progress will gradually enlarge the scope of business philosophy and will be absolutely indispensable if business wants to deal with responsible prospective action.

In sum, then, there are a number of important issues which will be shaping the "business-education interface" in the future. One of these is the issue of control. Another is the issue of quality. Basic to both of these issues is the issue of economic rationality vs. human relations rationality. How to integrate and synthesize these conflicting rationales presents for the future one of the most important of all problems. Involved in the solution may be the attainment of a much more encompassing framework for system analysis and system synthesis than has been achieved so far. This framework might well encompass economic, psychological, sociological, political, and other kinds of sub-systems.

Impact of Business on Education to Grow

The impact of the education industries on public school systems will grow during the coming decade. The tide which developed during the sixties and which has moved the business sector closer to education will continue to be felt during the seventies. Powerful expectations on the part of government leaders for private sector participation in the solution of public problems, including those in education; the commitment of business leaders to respond to the challenge; and the growing need for experimentation and improvement in school systems should all make for more action at the point of the "business-education interface." Such action will likely be reinforced by increasing incentive funds from government which will be designed to increase business' participation in the search for better solutions to educational and other public problems.

Continued Technological Developments. Even though the education industries encountered substantial problems during the sixties and did not make the progress hoped for, their long-range determination to capitalize on opportunities in the educational sector is apparently not diminished. According to Kaplan, they have pushed their schedules for attaining specific goals further into the future and are adjusting their plans and programs accordingly.[89] Since the companies which have made such commitments are some of the most powerful and innovative ones in America, Kaplan's observation takes on added significance. It is also worth noting that the lack of profit in education is not a major deterrent, since losses have had an extremely limited impact upon the earnings of parent companies because of their size, diversity, and multiple products.

What will be the nature of business' impact on education technologically during the next decade? First, it can be anticipated that trends already under will very likely continue. This includes further experimentation with and use of computer-assisted instruction; more refined and sophisticated approaches to the use of programmed instruction; expanded use and further adaptations in existing audio-visual devices; better ways of storing and transmitting information; further alterations in textbooks and the creation of more complex systems of instruction; and the development and use of new media such as the electronic video recorder announced recently by the Columbia Broadcasting System which will make it possible for films and video-tapes to be presented through regular T.V. sets on a "home use" basis.

Relative Shift from Products to Services. There is also evidence that business may shift more of its energies and resources away from research and development designed to produce specific products and invest more in designing and offering special services to school systems. A recent observation by Samuel Halperin is suggestive of this orientation:[90]

> Not every industry endeavor has to harness the great technological and scientific breakthroughs of our time. Indeed, I suspect that some of the most useful--and profitable--contributions which industry might make will be in the mundane service areas of American education.
>
> Purely as an example, we know that each day well over 17 million children are transported to school, either through public expense or through parental contributions--What can be done to make the unglamorous and unheralded area of school transportation a safer, more meaningful, more effective, and more exciting part of the contemporary education scene?

That a trend is already underway in the direction of a greater service orientation is suggested by shifts in the corporate policy of such well known education industries as General Learning Corporation. A more specific illustration of the trend is found in the following observation by Goldston:[91]

> Stouffers Foods Corporation already operates the food operations at four colleges and universities, and the Tishman Realty and Construction Company has built and is operating dormitories at two colleges. Other non-profit institutions are shedding administrative functions to service corporations.

The trend is further reinforced by the general economic shift now taking place in society which is away from high concentration on products to more involvement with services.[92]

One of the strong pressures on public school systems will continue to be in special problem areas such as the teaching of the disadvantaged. It is likely that the business sector will become increasingly and directly involved in problems where there are special learning difficulties. Already, as noted above, businesses are involved in programs for the "drop-out"; in efforts to educate and train the hard-core unemployed; and in Job Corps programs for the disadvantaged. Industry will likely increase its role in these areas, especially where the provision of vocational educational experiences and a move from training programs to employment situations are involved.

Interchange of Personnel. As industry becomes more and more directly involved in educational problems which involve public policy decisions, the interchange of educators between business and education will likely increase. Already the last decade has seen a considerable flow of educational personnel into the business sector. The coming decade may very well see this trend continue while more personnel from the business sector move into education, if not on a permanent basis, at least for periods of apprenticeship and for opportunities to engage in special research and development projects. Such interchange of personnel may be very important in establishing improved understanding and in diminshing some of the apprehension that now exists in the educational community with regard to the business sector. The understandings diffused into the educational sector will undoubtedly include industrial experience in such areas as planning, the use of management information systems, the continuing education of personnel, systems analysis and design techniques, computer technology, and the management of research. The diffusion of understandings in these areas will likely bring changes in the organizations and administration of schools.

The competition between business and education for young leadership talent graduating from institutions of higher education will likely become more intense. Currently, there are signs that education is becoming relatively more attractive to young persons and that business is becoming relatively less attractive. The business community will certainly seek to adapt to this challenge as will the educational community.

Private Sector to Become More Involved in Training Public Sector Personnel. Undoubtedly, the private sector will become more involved in the training of personnel in the public sector, especially educational personnel. Among society's organizations, business corporations are the most advanced in the development of training programs for their personnel. General Electric, for example, spends $40 million annually on educational support and training programs and one out of every eight GE employees attends a training program of some kind each year.[93]

It can be predicted that as management and instructional technologies are developed in and for public school systems, educational leaders will become increasingly concerned about the continuing education of their personnel. Like those in business, they will likely develop substantial internal training systems. In addition, they are likely to look outside fo training and educational assistance. Since business has understood extremely well the relationship between and among trained personnel, new technology, and the achievement of organizational objectives, and since this sector has the most highly developed management technologies in society, it will likely find ways to contribute to the training of personnel in the educational sector. Such actions may very well be abetted by governmental support of a direct nature or through subcontracts involving government funds which are offered by school districts.

Leadership and Policy Development. One of the most significant impacts of business leadership on education during the next decade could be in the arena of educational policy, particularly as policy is expressed at the national level. It is a well known fact that outstanding leaders of the large and innovative corporations work much more to influence federal government than state and local governments. It is, of course, the large and the innovative corporations which have spawned and are developing education industries. It is also a fact that their leaders are more influential among top government personnel than are educators. Further, they tend to set the patterns of behavior for much of the rest of industry.

As business interest and participation in the education market grow, leaders in the private sector unquestionably will become more interested in issues of educational policy. This will happen because of their own economic interests in education, if for no other reason. In addition, there is reason to believe that the more general interests of society will motivate business leaders to action in their role as citizens. As businessmen speak on matters of educational policy, they certainly will have a significant influence on public school systems. If the private sector, or the more progressive parts of it can define profit clearly and in terms more encompassing than monetary ones, its influence could increase substantially. More general reasons for a growing influence are implied in the following statement by Alfred D. Chandler:[94]

> In the past, businessmen have devoted their energies to economic affairs, giving far less attention to cultural, social, or even political matters. Precisely becuase they have created an enormously productive economy in the most affluent society in the world, the non-economic challenges are

> now becoming more critical than the economic ones. There is little in the recruitment, training, and experience of the present business leaders -- the corporate managers -- to prepare them for handling the difficult new problem, but unless they do learn to cope with this new situation, they may lose their dominant position in the economy.

A look at American businessmen's record of unusual adaptability during the last two centuries provides room for optimism concerning their ability to cope with new opportunities for growth.

Raymond Callahan, in studying business-education relationships of a half-century ago, concluded that school superintendents were highly vulnerable to pressures from the business community.[95] As a consequence, they made decisions, according to Callahan, based more upon efficiency criteria than upon criteria central to education. Superintendents during the next decade will also likely be vulnerable as business exercises greater influence in education. Certainly, they will face a major challenge not only with regard to articulating and defending values central to education but also in seeing that industiral means in fact serve educational ends.

Notes

[1] T. W. Schultz, "Capital Formation by Education," Journal of Political Economy, Vol. 68 (December, 1960), pp. 571-83.

[2] Robert C. Albrook, "Business Wrestles with Its Social Conscience," Fortune, Vol. 78, No. 2 (August, 1968), pp. 89 ff.

[3] James A. Norton, "Catalyst or Crusader?" Saturday Review, Vol. 51 (January 13, 1968), p. 40.

[4] Joseph Monson, "The American Business View," Daedalus, Vol. 98 (Winter, 1969), 1. 159.

[5] Albrook, op. cit. p. 89.

[6] Robert Kaplan, "Learning the Hard Way," Barron's (November 18, 1968), p. 4.

[7] Fritz Machlup, The Production and Distribution of Knowledge in the United States (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1962).

[8] Gilbert Burck, "Knowledge: The Biggest Growth Industry of Them All," Fortune, LXXIV (November, 1964), pp. 129 ff.

[9] David Dempsey, "Publishing's Unagonizing Reappraisal," New Republic, Vol. 154 (May 14, 1966), p. 23.

[10] Samuel Halperin, "Things Don't Just Happen," Congressional Record (January 18, 1968), E57.

[11] Burck, op. cit., p. 268.

[12] Fred Heddinger "Will Big Business and Big Government Control R and D?" Phi Delta Kappan, Vol. XLVIII (January, 1967), p. 215.

[13] Robert T. Averitt, "American Business: Achievement and Challenge," Daedalus, LXLVIII (Winter, 1969), p. 67.

[14] Francis Keppel, "The Business Interest in Education," Phi Delta Kappan, Vol. XLVIII (January, 1967), p. 189.

[15] See J.J. Servan-Schreiber, The American Challenge (New York: Atheneum, 1968). For other pertinent references see the following: Alfred Chandler, Jr., "The Role of Business in the United States: A Historical Survey," Daedalus,

Vol. 98, (Winter, 1969), pp. 23-40; "200 Years of Business Leadership," Nation's Business (April, 1968), p. 41 ff.

[16] Heddinger, loc. cit.

[17] "Research and Development," Forbes, Vol. 102 (November 13, 1968), pp. 34 ff.

[18] Leonard S. Silk, "Business Power, Today and Tomorrow," Daedalus, Vol. 98 (Winter, 1969), p. 186.

[19] "Research and Development," op. cit., p. 41.

[20] Russell Ackoff and Patrick Rivitt, A Manager's Guide to Operations Research (New York: Wiley and Sons, 1963).

[21] Donald W. Meals, "Heuristic Models for Systems Planning," Phi Delta Kappan, Vol. XLVIII (January, 1967), p. 200.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Edward Katzenbach, "The Education Industries," Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 37, No. 1 (Winter, 1967), p. 122.

[24] "Research and Development," op. cit., p. 34.

[25] Servan-Schreiber, op. cit., p. 29.

[26] Halperin, loc. cit.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Myron Lieberman, "Big Business Technology and Education," Phi Delta Kappan, Vol. XLVIII (January, 1967), p. 185.

[29] Keppel, op. cit., p. 187.

[30] Luther Carter, "Technology in the Schools: Educators are Uneasy," Science, Vol. 153 (September, 1966), p. 1624.

[31] James Ridgeway, "The Computor-Tutor," New Republic, No. 154 (1966), p. 19.

[32] John Loughary, "Can Teachers Survive the Educational Revolution?" Phi Delta Kappan, Vol. XLVIII (January, 1967), pp. 204 ff.

[33] Paul Goodman et. al., "Discussion: The Education Industries," The Harvard Education Review (Winter, 1967), p. 107.

[34] Quoted in Keppel op. cit., p. 190.

[35] Edward L. Katzenbach, "Industry Can Serve," Phi Delta Kappan, Vol. XLVIII, No. 5 (January, 1967), p. 192.

[36] Keppel, op. cit., p. 188.

[37] Ibid., p. 190.

[38] Kaplan, op. cit., p. 3.

[39] Quoted in Kaplan, loc. cit.

[40] Katzenbach, loc. cit.

[41] Keppel, op. cit., p. 190.

[42] Ibid., p. 187.

[43] Ridgeway, loc. cit.

[44] Forbes (August 1, 1968), p. 40.

[45] The impact of management tools on school systems is not treated here. Discussion on this topic is found in a later chapter.

[46] Loughary, loc. cit.

[47] James Olsen, "The Coming Revolution in Textbooks," Audio Visual Communication Revue, Vol. XII, No. 3 (Fall, 1964), pp. 340-341.

[48] Forbes, op. cit., p. 43.

[49] Benjamin H. Pearse, "Business, Industry, and Education, Inc." American Education, Vol. 4 (November, 1968), p. 15.

[50] Ibid.

[51] Ibid., p. 14.

[52] For illustrations of dozens of training and education activities in which business is involved see Martin Stone, "Elimination of Unemployment and Want: A Matter of Survival for American Free Enterprize." An address made to the 4th Annual Conference on Education and Training of the American Management Association, New York, August 13, 1968.

[53] Committee for Economic Development, Innovation in Education: New Directions for the American School (New York: July, 1968).

[54] Other policy studies conducted by CED are Paying for Better Schools (1959) and Raising Low Incomes Through Improved Education (1965). A recent publication undertaken in cooperation with McGraw Hill is The Schools and the Challenge of Innovation (1969).

[55] For a recent issue on education see report in January 11, 1969, issue of Saturday Review entitled "Education in the Ghetto."

[56] Pearse, op. cit., p. 13.

[57] Lieberman, loc. cit.

[58] William Letwin, "The Past and Future of the American Businessman," Daedalus, Vol. 98 (Winter, 1969), p. 14.

[59] Nation's Business, Vol. 55 (October, 1967), p. 69.

[60] Eli Goldston, "New Prospects for American Business," Daedalus, Vol. 98 (Winter, 1969), p. 87.

[61] Raymond Vernon, "The Role of U.S. Enterprise Abroad," Daedalus, Vol. 98, (Winter, 1969), p. 114.

[62] Andrew Shonfield, "The Business in the Twenty-First Century," Daedalus, Vol. 98 (Winter, 1969), pp. 192-3.

[63] Quoted in Monson, op. cit., p. 170.

[64] Chandler, op. cit., p. 34.

[65] Goldston, op. cit., pp. 87-88.

[66] See Max Ways, "The Road to 1977," Fortune (January, 1967), p. 94.

[67] Michel Crozier, "A New Rationale for American Business," Daedalus, Vol. 98 (Winter, 1969), p. 151.

[68] *Ibid.*, pp. 149-150.

[69] Quoted in Goldston, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

[70] For a more extended discussion of incentive see *Ibid.*, pp. 90-100.

[71] Robert J. Weston, "Management's New Generation," *Saturday Review* (January 30, 1968), p. 33.

[72] Neil W. Chamberlain, "The Life of the Mind in the Firm," *Daedalus*, Vol. 98 (Winter, 1969), p. 145.

[73] Albrook, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

[74] Goldston, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

[75] Albrook, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

[76] Quoted in Albrook, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

[77] Goldston, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

[78] Chamberlain, *op. cit.*, pp. 145-6.

[79] Jean J. Jones, Jr., "Hard-Core Unemployables: A Good Investment?" *Personnel Administration* (November-December, 1968), p. 30.

[80] Stone, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

[81] Goldston, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

[82] Goldston, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

[83] Olsen, *op. cit.*, p. 339.

[84] Chamberlain, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

[85] Crozier, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

[86] *Ibid.*, p. 145.

[87] Kenneth C. Field, "Michigan Bell Finds Headaches, Rewards in 'Adopting' School," *Wall Street Journal* (January 15, 1969), p. 1.

[88] Crozier, *op. cit.*, pp. 154-55.

[89] Kaplan, op. cit., p. 55.

[90] Halperin, op. cit., p. E58.

[91] Goldston, op. cit., p. 102.

[92] See Victor Fuchs, The Service Economy (New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, 1968).

[93] Goldston, op. cit., p. 101.

[94] Chandler, op. cit., p. 40.

[95] Raymond E. Callahan, Education and the Cult of Efficiency: A Study of the Social Forces That Have Shaped the Administrators of the Public Schools (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1962).

Chaper Four

Research and Development in Education

> "...the old theories of resistance to change have been swept aside. New technologies can and are being accepted where they make a difference."[1]
>
> Jack Frankel
> The Peace Corps

Educational research and development is a producer of technology and a potential force for change.* This chapter views R & D in education first within the context of the larger national commitment to R & D generally and then as a force for change in its own right. It looks at the nature of the force, the future of the force, and attempts to assess its potential for effecting significant change in the public schools. Quantitative data, narrative descriptions, and qualitative judgments are synthesized toward the assessment not of what ought to be but of what is likely to be.

---

*For the purposes of the present discussion, the terms research, development, diffusion and adoption are defined as follows:

Research is that activity whose basic objective is the acquisition of knowledge.

-- The underlying motivation of basic research is curiosity; it derives from the feeds back into existing scientific theory.

-- Applied research is based upon the perception of concrete technological and/or social problems in need of solution; it seeks knowledge toward the solution of problems.

Development is defined as that activity whose basic objective is the application of knowledge to the invention, construction and assessment of new systems toward the solution of perceived problems.

Diffusion is defined as that activity whose basic objective is the awareness of practitioners of new knowledge and new systems and their motivation to assess their potential for adoption as temporary or permanent institutional structures. Diffusion is implied in this paper in the general term research and development (R & D) wherever it is employed without further differentiation.

Adoption is defined as the institutionalization by a school organization of a new system as a part of its permanent structure.

Judgments about the future are risky and tend to be as numerous as those who make them. The bias here is toward a healthy respect for organizational inertia, especially where the public schools are concerned. The reader may be more or less optimistic than the author. This is his privilege.

The Nature of the Force

The National R & D Picture

Underlying a hundred years of unparalleled economic growth is a continuing emphasis upon research and development which has produced second and third order technological revolutions in industry, the military, and agriculture. The institutionalization of technology in our culture was described in the keynote address of a symposium presented by the National Security Industrial Association in October, 1967:

> "...there is a universal recognition that we are a technological society, and that a large and rapidly growing fraction of our national resources, our dollars and our best men, scientists and engineers, is being invested in the R & D which advances our technology. We all know this but I don't think we fully appreciate its magnitude."[2]

Over the past fifteen years total expenditures for R & D as well as expenditures for basic research have risen more rapidly than the GNP.[3] The total national R & D budget includes major expenditures by universities and colleges, industry, and government. At the end of 1965, R & D financed by universities' and colleges' own funds had reached approximately 700 million dollars, almost five times what it had been in 1953, and R & D financed by industry funds had gone over 7 billion dollars, approximately six times what it had been in 1953.[4] Federal R & D expenditures have risen from less than 100 million dollars in 1940 to over seventeen billion dollars in 1968, approximately 13% of the Administrative Budget in fiscal year 1968.[5] One forecast of need in fiscal year 1970 projects a total budget requirement in excess of 22 billion dollars for research and development.[6]

Growing Competition for Research Funds. Clearly the national picture over the past fifteen-twenty years has been characterized by rapidly increasing expenditures for research and development in government, business, and colleges and universities. It is well to point out, however, that in very recent years the R & D area has become "a leading candidate for cutback."[7] The economy mood in Congress has manifested itself not only in substantial reductions in support for such areas of hard technology such as the national space program but also in decreasing support for educational R & D as reflected, for example, in the current demise of five Regional Educational Laboratories.

It does not seem unreasonable to characterize the current period as one marked by (1) increasing competition among the sciences for R & D funds and (2) increasingly sophisticated and penetrating analyses of funding requests by appropriating agencies. One speaker at the recent Symposium on National R & D for the 1970's commented upon the former in the following terms:

> "Once it is recognized that funds are limited, and that general statements that science and technology are important to our Nation's well-being are no longer the key to automatic annual increases, it follows that R & D programs compete among themselves for budget support. Growth in one area of science may retard growth in another, just as much as growth in, for example, welfare payments.[8] . . . .

With respect to the latter, he said:

> I see the application of the Planning, Programming and Budgeting System through our major R & D programs as perfectly valid and sensible. . . . Given the powerful lobbies that exist to argue for one set of programs or another, the Planning, Programming, and Budgeting System does provide a means for closer scrutiny, better judgment, if you will, of the claims and counter-claims. The ever-increasing demand for public funds in the R & D area will in the end be limited.[9] . . . .

Significantly, he pointed out that the basic approach to funding is changing in the face of strong demands competing for scarce resources:

> From where I sit, the most important event in the last couple of years has been the death of a very simplistic demographic approach to funding in each and every research area. The concepts of opportunity, benefits and capacity have invaded the review process. This trend will surely continue."[10]

Education and the competition for research funds. How is education likely to fare in this newly rigorous competition for funds? Probably comparatively well. Stever suggests that "continued growth of research in the universities will not necessarily mean a continued growth in the same area. . . (and) that the social sciences will receive the impact of the future."[11] Kahn has supported this view with even more specific reference to education.

> And I think it is very clear that major expenditures will be made on social engineering in the United States. The two first and most obvious things, of course, are education and medicine.[12]

Figures from the National Science Foundation support both the massive domination by the natural sciences of the funding arena and the recent upsurge of interest in the psychological and social sciences.

TABLE 1 -- Federal Fund Distribution:
Selected Years (Millions of Dollars)[13]

	1959	1961	1963	1965	1967
Physical Sciences	895	1,757	2,859	3,370	3,649
Life Sciences	120	635	933	1,183	1,427
Psychological Sciences	24	51	72	103	158
Social Sciences	31	45	80	127	222

The amounts of money appropriated to the psychological and social sciences are still relatively small but increases in funding for research and development in these areas have been proportionately much greater in recent years than in the physical and life sciences.

Research and development in the United States has become a twenty-five billion dollar a year business which, nevertheless, is increasingly characterized by intense competition for funds. Competition takes place on several levels: among programs, especially within the federal budget; among the sciences within programs; and among the various stages along the research and development continuum within each of the sciences.

Education should compete increasingly effectively among the sciences although new emphases on evaluation will place a premium on demonstrable results.

Greatest proportion of funds invested in development. With respect to competition among various stages of research and development, it should be noted that major monies have traditionally gone for development as opposed to research and for applied research as opposed to basic research. For example, Greenberg, analyzing the nation's total research and development expenditures for the year 1962-63, noted the following:

> If development is the translation of existing knowledge into hardware, gadgets, techniques, or new material, then development accounts for the vast majority of R & D expenditures -- somewhere around 68%
>
> ……
>
> If applied research is the quest for a new understanding that is specifically needed to make possible a new development, then applied research accounts for about 22% of R & D expenditures
>
> ……
>
> If basic research is the quest for fundamental knowledge, regardless of the purpose to which it might be applied, then basic research is the smallest portion of R & D, amounting to only about 10% of the total.[14]

3

With respect to the federal government alone, Zwick indicated a similar research and development mix:

> As we all know, development efforts are the biggest part of the $17 billion plus budget -- roughly 60% in the FY 1968 budget . . . .
>
> . . . .
>
> In FY 1968, expenditures for the conduct of basic research are projected at $2.3 billion.[15]

That this emphasis upon development is and will continue to be a significant factor in federal funding for educational R & D is implicit in recent statements at the federal level. For example, writing with respect to the role of the R & D Centers, Boyan and Mason said:

> OE's stress on the importance of development is based on the conviction that it constitutes the keystone in the set of activities that connect the production and utilization of knowledge.[16]

The Educational R & D Force

Substantial and systematic support for educational research and development is a relatively new phenomenon, dating back only to the mid-1950's. Tyler described the situation when he said:

> Forty years ago, when many bureaus of educational research were established, they were provided with little support, either for personnel or for other expenses . . . .
>
> . . . .
>
> Even as late as 1950, the support of educational research in the United States was very nominal indeed. Except for the special studies financed by the large private foundations, the vast majority of the research was done by professors of education with the time squeezed out of a full teaching schedule and by graduate students preparing dissertations. Then came the Cooperative Research Program of the U. S. Office of Education, which began operating on July 1, 1956, with an appropriation of $1 million for the first year.[17]

Emergence of federal programs. Boyan described the federal funding effort in education over the past dozen years in a way which marks it as a deliberate attempt to achieve conscious direction and purpose in educational R & D. He indicated, first, that the initial thrust -- N.S.F. curriculum efforts and N.D.E.A. provisions to bolster school programs in guidance and foreign languages -- went primarily "to the support of education as an instrument of national policy in international affairs"[18] but that subsequent political and social climates of the New Frontier and the Great Society focused attention on the domestic scene and "called for the use of education as an instrument to pursue a wide array of national goals."[19] He, too, underlined the emergence of the Cooperative Research Act as an important new stimulus to educational research:

> It provided an unparalleled impetus to the support of research in education in universities, and especially in schools of education, across the land. In addition, private corporations invested heavily in education in the decade from 1956 to 1965, with more emphasis on encouraging educational inventiveness and educational innovation than research per se. These investments in inventiveness and innovation, coupled with the work sponsored by the National Science Foundation and NDEA, contributed to and fed on an acceptance of change in education. Innovation was 'in.'[20]

Boyan, however, raised a question with respect to the achievements of the Cooperative Research Act which accentuates the growing purposefulness of federal activity in educational research:

> Innovation in education was not, however, a hallmark or outcome of research projects sponsored by the Cooperative Research Act. It is not surprising, therefore, that someone should ask, after some ten years, 'What has the $100,000,000 Cooperative Research Act 'library'contributed to change in and improvement of educational practice?'[21]

In response to questions like this one, federal policy makers began to reassess the nature and direction of their programs underwriting educational research and development. Boyan's brief historical sketch of federal funding in this area goes on to suggest a planned change in program emphasis in the mid-1960's:

> The establishment of the research and development center program in 1964 marked a major leap by the federal government in support of problem-oriented educational research and development, deliberately connected. The decision to start this program clearly signalled intention to seek another alternative in addition to project research conducted by individual investigators and small teams, for systematic attack on and resolution of educational problems of national significance. It was a matter of some import to support development as a critical element in devising and applying solutions, with 'research'funds. (Emphasis added.)[22]

Consistent with the newly emerging federal philosophy emphasizing applied research and development toward the solution of pressing national problems, Congress enacted in 1965 legislation of immense implication for the allocation of resources to educational R & D and for the relative thrust of the force in various directions. Boyan described the new act in the following terms:

> Hard on the heels of the establishment of research and development centers came the passage of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. The ESEA of 1965 contained a vast range of aspirations and intentions. Its several titles were categorical, but as a total bill, it contained provision for strengthening education at many levels, in many institutional settings, and along many routes, including the training of personnel.[23]

Within the overall structure of this act are contained the major fiscal, manpower, and structural characteristics which define the basic nature of the current R & D force in education. Among the structural characteristics it contains are the following: (1) Title IV amended and extended the Cooperative Research Act. It is, perhaps, the extension which is most significant for, as Boyan pointed out, "It authorizes educational research and related activities, including development, demonstration, dissemination, and training."[24] (2) Title IV also provided the base upon which two important new structural components in the R & D system were raised. In Boyan's words:

> As an extension of the Cooperative Research Act, it provides for continuation of support for project research by individual investigators. On the other hand, as the umbrella for research and development centers, it also provides support for programmatic research and development in education. In addition, its legislative history reveals that Title IV also provides the conceptual and fiscal foundations for a new institution, the regional educational laboratory. (Emphasis added.)[25]

Boyan pointed up the significance of the emergence of these two new structural elements:

> Together, the research and development centers and the regional educational laboratories represent deliberate creation of instrumentalities to pursue educational research and development aimed at problem solving and improvement of practice. They constitute a new apparatus for producing and utilizing new knowledge in education. As new instrumentalities, the centers and laboratories also represent alternatives to the project research route.[26]

Sharp increases in funds and manpower. Dramatic as the legislative, structural, and purposive changes have been, perhaps the most salient indicator of the sheer magnitude of the R & D effort is to be found in the marked and consistent increases in money and manpower appropriated to it by the federal government since 1956. Figures provided by the Bureau of Research, U. S. Office of Education, show the following budget allocations between 1956 and 1968:

TABLE 2 -- Bureau of Research, U.S. Office of Education, Budget, 1956-1969 (Thousands of Dollars)[27]

1956	350[28]	1963	14,188
1957	1,020	1964	19,820
1958	2,300	1965	37,703
1959	6,716	1966	100,141
1960	10,350	1967	99,600
1961	10,118	1968	90,967[28]
1962	11,770	1969	87,452[28]

Other federal appropriations which may find their way, at least partly, into development and diffusion include for FY 1969:

ESEA	
Title I	$ 1,123,127,000
Title III	50,000,000
Title V	29,750,000
EPDA	115,900,000
Head Start	352,800,000

Budget requests for FY 1970 are not significantly very different in most areas. At this writing, appropriations for FY 1970 have not yet been authorized.

A recently published report to the U.S. Office of Education provides a more detailed picture of the R, D & D force in education as projected to 1974.[29] Clark and Hopkins, utilizing diverse sources of information, have projected alternative futures (Least Optimistic, Most Likely, Most Optimistic) for educational R, D & D with respect to funding and manpower across agency settings and functional job emphases.

On the basis of these and other data, Clark and Hopkins drew two general projective conclusions:

1. Demand for trained R, D, and D personnel in 1974 is likely to approximate five times the 1964 demand.

2. Extensive fluctuation is occurring in the nature of the manpower demand in relation to research, development, and diffusion competencies.[30]

By way of illustrating the conclusions stated, Clark and Hopkins emphasize two important sets of figures:

1. In 1974, there are likely to be 19,436 R, D, and D positions, as compared to 4,125 in 1964. The least amount of growth projected was three times the 1964 population; the optimum growth projected was roughly seven times the 1964 population.[31]

2. Research positions were projected to decline from 95.6 percent of the total number of R, D, and D positions in 1964 to 33 percent of the 1974 R, D, and D positions. Development positions were projected to constitute 50 percent of the total in 1974, versus 3.2 percent in 1964. Diffusion positions in 1974 were projected to be 17 percent of the total versus 1.2 percent in 1964.[32]

It is evident from the data that (1) the R & D force in education is a growing one and (2) development and diffusion activities will continue to be emphasized relative to research.

Summary

In this part of the chapter, information has been presented toward a description of the R & D force in education. A number of trends have been outlined.

1. The national R & D picture over the past 15-20 years has been characterized by rapidly increasing expenditures for research and development in government, business, colleges and universities.

2. R & D nationally is increasingly characterized by intense competition for funds among programs, among the sciences, and among the functional elements of research, development and diffusion.

3. The social sciences, and education in particular, are competing and should continue to compete comparatively well with the physical and life sciences.

4. Development, as opposed to research, has traditionally attracted 60-70% of the national R & D funds and should continue to do so in the future.

5. Educational R & D is a force, as opposed to a phenomenon, with both direction and intensity.

6. The emphasis in educational R & D has shifted over the past dozen years from the basic research thrust of the Cooperative Research Act to the developmental thrust of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act with its emphasis on educational and social problems and their solutions.

7. The structural emphasis of educational R & D has shifted from the individually oriented Cooperative Research Act to the team, project, and program oriented Elementary and Secondary Education Act with its emphasis on R & D Centers, Supplementary Centers, and Regional Labs.

8. The amount of money, especially federal money, appropriated to educational R & D has increased exponentially since 1956.

9. Demand for trained R, D, and D personnel, especially developers and diffusers, has increased greatly since 1964 and is likely by 1974 to approximate five times the 1964 demand.

10. The R & D force in education is a growing one with an increasing emphasis upon development and diffusion as opposed to research.

The Future of the Force

An essential question is that of the probable impact of R & D upon instruction and school organization. What are the factors which relate educational R & D to actual changes in practice.

This part of the chapter addresses itself, in answer to this question, to a number of factors: (1) the continued intensity of the force, (2) the coherence of the force, (3) the rated effectiveness of existing programs at the school district level and, (4) existing research and development concepts currently in the R & D pipeline. The purpose here is to speak to the question, "What does the present portend for the future?"

The Continued Intensity of the Force

Two factors will contribute significantly to the intensity of the educational R & D force in the future. They are funding and trained manpower. What, then, is the outlook with respect to these variables in the near future?

Funding. There is a strong tendency, if a factor can be reduced to dollars and cents, to view it primarily in fiscal terms. For example, at a recent convention, a member of the staff of one of the Regional Educational Laboratories was asked what, in his opinion, was the most significant variable impinging on the potential impact of the labs upon actual practice in the schools. His immediate response was, "Funding." A third party to the conversation, a professor intimately involved with the R & D situation both as a researcher and as an occasional consultant to some of the regional labs, indicated his essential agreement with the response. As appropriations for educational R & D have increased consistently from 1956 to 1966, projections of future increases tended to keep pace. Since then, however, there has been a distinct leveling off -- even a diminution in funding (see Table 2, p.115). What, then, is the outlook for the next five to ten years?

Clark and Hopkins' projections are the latest and most thoroughly documented with respect to funding for R & D in education to fiscal year 1974. They have predicted total support for R & D in education* for that year in the range of $148,019,000 - $363,266,000. Their "most likely" projection pegs such support at $256,720,000.[33] The fiscal year 1966 funding base against which the projections were drawn totalled $86,223,000;** thus the most likely projection for FY 1974 predicts an increase in support on the order of three times the 1966 level. Recent events in Congress would seem to cast some doubts on the utlimate validity of the projection; however, favorable international events and a continuing public concern for education might yet combine to prevent too dire a downswing in support. It does seem hazardous, though, at least at this point, to adopt so optimistic an outlook to the future as have Clark and Hopkins.

Illustrative of the conservative mood of the Congress are the following kinds of data. The appropriation specifically for research and training was slightly less in FY 1969 than in FY 1968. The budget request for 1970 calls for only a slight increase and the appropriation has not yet been approved in Congress. Five Regional Educational Laboratories are scheduled to be phased out in FY 1970.*** At this writing, there is serious talk in the Congress about even more stringent measures of economy in federal spending. Although such economy moves may constitute only a short-term trend and not a sound basis for projection, it might be well to look with favor toward Clark and Hopkins' "least optimistic" projection, that of $148,019,000 or about 1.7 times the 1966 base figure. Such a projection is predicated upon a simple 5% annual increase in costs and appropriations for educational R & D. Even that estimate may prove to be a liberal one.

---

* Including $18,090,000 - $23,500,000 in support of the National Science Foundation Course Content Improvement Projects.

** It should be pointed out that developing this total Clark and Hopkins included appropriations beyond that in support of the Bureau of Research so that comparison with the Lecht data previously cited is not possible.

*** There is some difference of opinion among serious observers about the extent to which this phasing out constituted an economy measure and to what extent it reflected matters of long-range policy and program evaluation.

Thus it is the view held here that increases in federal support for educational R & D will not continue the exponential trend of the past dozen years but will at best, continue at more modest linear rates somewhere in the vicinity of 5% per year, at least over the next four to eight years. Favorable international events and continued public support for education might support more optimistic increases but still not more than three times the level of support in FY 1966. In this regard, it might be pointed out that if public support is dependent upon demonstrable progress in improving the school product and if demonstrable progress is dependent upon liberal support for R & D programs and projects, as may well be the case, then the current slowdown in fiscal support may well lead to a diminution of public support and further cutbacks from projected levels of fiscal support in the future. Hopefully, though, such a negative spiral will not occur.

Trained manpower. Just as the projected level of funding constitutes one factor which helps define the probable intensity of the R & D force and its likely impact upon schools, so the projected availability of trained manpower constitutes another such factor. The limiting nature of the manpower constraints upon the potential impact of the R & D force is implicit in the two major findings of the Clark and Hopkins study:

> 1. Demand for trained R, D, and D personnel in 1974 is likely to approximate five times the 1964 demand. Yet the yearly training output is still roughly the same as it was in 1964. (Emphasis added.)
>
> 2. Extensive fluctuation is occurring in the nature of the manpower demand in relation to research, development, and diffusion competencies. Yet the response of the field has been to replicate in its training programs the proportions of personnel found in the 1964 R, D, and D community. (Emphasis added.)[34]

They specify projections which support their generalizations not only with respect to gross numbers but with respect to relative distribution across different types of R, D, and D positions:

> Research positions were projected to decline from 95.6 percent of the total number of R,D, and D positions in 1964 to 33 percent of the 1974 R,D, and D positions. Development positions were projected to constitute 50 percent of the total in 1974, versus 3.2 percent in 1964. Diffusion positions in 1974 were projected to be 17 percent of the total versus 1.2 percent in 1964. Current training programs have literally ignored 'new' roles, whether the new roles are considered to be academic (i.e., non-educationist) researchers or development and diffusion personnel. (Emphasis added.)[35]

The last sentence states the problem concisely and directly. Even if one were to assume that the gross number of projections are inflated, for the same reasons which led the author to a similar conclusion with respect to the funding projections (the two are almost directly related), and one therefore chose to accept a lower projection of total personnel (Clark and Hopkins suggest that "the least amount of growth projected was three times the 1964 population"[36]), the proportionate redistribution of positions along the R, D, and D continuum projected in the paragraph cited above would still seem valid. The projected redistribution seems particularly accurate in the light of the stated decision of the U. S. Office of Education to emphasize the development stage of the research and development continuum. To the extent that the numbers and types of trained personnel are inadequate to the demands of the future for R, D, and D personnel in education, the direction of the force will be distorted and its impact muted or displaced. In this respect, this author accepts the main line of Clark and Hopkins' reasoning:

1. The vacuum created by demand far exceeding available supply will be filled with whatever leadership and staff talent is available, whether or not that talent has any special qualifications for the new responsibilities.

2. The projects and programs supported by new funding programs will take on the characteristics of the personnel available to act as staff. Consequently, neither the agencies which provide the funds nor the institutions which adopt the new objectives of the funding agencies will, in fact, be able to secure the objectives established.

3. Serious slippage will occur in the measurable progress of R, D, and D organizations because of the time devoted to finding virtually non-existent personnel.[37]

The Coherence of the Force

It is axiomatic to this discussion that the more coherent is the force, the greater its potential impact; the less programmatic its thrust, the less likely it is to affect school practice. Two elements seem critical here: (1) degree of central direction and (2) quality of the mediating mechanisms and processes.

Direction and mediation. The greater the degree of central direction and the higher the quality of mediation throughout the knowledge utilization network, the more coherent the force. As indicated earlier, the probability of substantial central direction, that is the likelihood of programmatically oriented, federally sponsored, R & D efforts in the field of education, has been increasing. Boyan's statements cited earlier illustrate the federal concern for "systematic attack on and resolution of educational problems of national significance."[38] Former Commissioner Howe's comments evidence support for this position at the highest levels:

> The laboratories will have the technical competence to determine whether the software has been adequately evaluated and will recommend to the local districts those systems which have been proved effective.
>
> This effort of the laboratories is an extension of the research which has been carried on by the U.S. Office of Education for a number of years, but the laboratories take the planning and implementation of the research and development activity out to the schools themselves and thus give the whole effort a practical orientation which we believe will help to speed up and give direction to the entire educational improvement effort. The Office of Education will continue to carry on a wide range of research and development activities--from basic studies in cognitive psychology, through development and evaluation of educational techniques, to the dissemination programs necessary to acquaint local school districts with these efforts.[39] (Emphasis added.)

Although the intent is present in the Office of Education to increase the degree of systematic planning, design, and evaluation of programs and projects, an intent which of itself provides some evidence of quality leadership at the national level, the road to salvation has been strewn with more than roses. Moreover, leadership at the Congressional, state, and association levels has not always sought the same ends by the same means as the Office of Education. Although the Bureau of Research was able to identify a number of significant projects currently under way[40], progress toward coherent program development has been slow. Only recently, Boyan and Mason, in a brief evaluation of the educational R & D centers, suggested that,

> probably the single greatest weakness across all nine centers resides in the ability to plan and project programs for more than one year into the future with any degree of specificity.[41]

Howe had earlier couched the difficulties of achieving coherence on the educational scene in the broader perspective of a comparison with the Department of Defense:

> I must confess that...the U. S. Office of Education differs significantly from the Department of Defense. The Department of Defense could see a demonstration of a particularly effective training aid and almost immediately place a large order for the product. On the other hand, no matter how effective an item might seem to members of my staff, the best we could do would be to nod our heads and agree that 'It's interesting.' Eventually, you (industry) would have to sell it to the local school districts.[42]

Regardless of the amount of money poured into educational R & D the fragmentation of American education is going to operate as a strong barrier to programmatic research, development, diffusion, and adoption. The recent Congressional decision to phase control over Title III projects out of the hands of the Office of Education into those of the fifty state Departments of Education does not, it seems, bode well for the coherence of the R & D force. On the contrary, the woes of Title III, and those of Titles I and IV, seem to highlight in a number of ways not only the essential lack of direction of the educational R & D force in the United States but also the poor quality of its mediating mechanisms and processes.

1. Organizational Inertia: The basic thrust of R & D is toward innovation; the essential dynamic of a working organization is toward equilibrium. (Often more particularly the maintenance of the status quo).

> The points on which management takes greatest pride may be the very points to which the research and development man gives his most critical attention.
>
> Asking critical questions is bad enough, but the research and development man is committed to go still further. He is responsible not only for research but for development. This means he is responsible for setting up pilot programs where he can put things together in new ways, seeking methods of production which are better than the regular methods employed. He competes with the regular establishment and as he succeeds, he might replace the old ways (and the old jobs) with new ways (and new jobs). He is, indeed, a threat to the regular personnel.[43]

2. Diffusion of Effort: For reasons which are often normatively specific to various types of organizations along the R & D continuum, innovative efforts are frequently spread too thinly to achieve the kind of critical mass necessary to substantial impact. On one end of the continuum, professorial norms traditional to the university context of the educational R & D centers prize individual research autonomy.

> The Centers have brought educational researchers together physically, but there is little evidence so far that they are together functionally.[44]

On the other end of the continuum, evaluation of Title I projects suggests that school districts typically have difficulty in resisting pressures to expand experimental programs (beyond their effective fiscal resources) to all equivalent units under their jurisdictions. "After all," parents in other schools ask, "if the experimental program is really beneficial why should the children in that school be receiving special treatment?" On the other hand, if schools officials emphasize in rejoinder the experimental nature of the programs, suggesting that the projected benefits are as yet unsubstantiated, parents of children in the experimental school then want to know why their children are being used as "guinea pigs." Illustrative of these pressures are those which led to the expansion of the Higher Horizons Program in the New York City Public Schools beyond the point of its original experimental effectiveness. The National Advisory Council on the Education of Disadvantaged Children, in a recent advisory to President Nixon, identified diffusion of effort as a general problem in the administration of Title I programs.

> Owing partly to political pressure and partly to a normal human desire to do something for as many children as possible, many school administrators have spread their limited funds over very large groups... -- hardly enough to make a significant difference...and Title I funds -- while spent for entirely worthy purposes -- have simply failed to achieve the overall purpose of the legislation.[45]

3. Lack of Well-Articulated Mediation of Knowledge Through the R, D, D & A Chain: Testament to the widespread professional awareness of and concern for the continuing problems of knowledge utilization is provided not only by explicit statements to this effect but even more convincingly by extensive ongoing activity in this area as an object, in itself, of research and development.

> An abundant and rapidly increasing amount of useful research knowledge from behavioral sciences is available today for educational administrators and teachers. Behavioral scientists are producing relevant concepts, diagnostic devices, and practices in such critical problem areas for the educator as change...; social problems...; classroom instruction...; and leadership. Although some clearly are benefiting from this knowledge explosion, little of the total amount of behavioral science knowledge seems to influence the practices of a large number of school administrators. Responsibility for this state of affairs should not be lodged with the administrators alone nor with the behavioral scientists alone. The lack of knowledge utilization is truly social psychological in the sense that it involves both parties simultaneously interlocked in a complex set of ineffective communications.[46]

The extent of research on knowledge utilization is perhaps most clearly and accessibly illustrated in Havelock's recent bibliographies.[47] The more exhaustive listing includes approximately 4,000 references in the topic area, evidence of strong interest and substantial concern.

In a paper delivered at an American Educational Research Association Symposium early in 1969, Havelock classified a great deal of the research on knowledge utilization under three main conceptual classifications: (1) the Research, Development and Diffusion Perspective with which he specifically identified Henry M. Brickell, David Clark, and Egon Guba; (2) the Social Interaction Perspective with which he specifically identified Everett Rogers, James Coleman, Elihu Katz, Herbert Menzel, Richard Carlson, and Paul Mort; and (3) the Problem-Solver Perspective with which he specifically identified Goodwin Watson, Ronald Lippitt, Herbert Thelen, Matthew Miles, and Charles Jung. He identified himself with a different approach which he characterized as the Linkage Perspective.[48]

For all these different conceptual approaches, and others, no one is satisfied that the conceptual capital of the researcher and the new inventions of the developer find their way soon enough into on-line arsenal of the practitioner. Apparently knowledge about knowledge utilization has had as much difficulty finding its way to adoption as has knowledge about anything else. Thus, at the present time, despite the introduction of new structural elements into the R & D chain (e.g., the Educational R & D Centers, the Regional Educational Laboratories, and the PACE Supplementary Centers), there is no firm evidence of significantly better articulated mediation of knowledge from research to practice. If anything, Congressional removal of control over Title III monies from the Office of Education to the state Departments of Education tends to dim the hopes which existed before that action for more efficient structural articulation along the knowledge utilization chain. It has dimmed those hopes both by placing fiscal control of innovative seed money into traditionally inert organizations and by demonstrating quite forcefully that the political climate for change is not as favorable as some had hoped. According to the Washington Monitor, this position has support among some knowledgeable people in educational R & D:

> Fears that Title III s innovative thrust will diminish under state control were expressed most outspokenly by Richard Miller, an independent Title III evaluator and director of the Program on Educational Change at the University of Kentucky. He told the conference that he is not optimistic that Title III can maintain its current vitality after it is turned over to the traditional channels of administration in state departments of education. He pointed to a poll of Title III project directors which showed that a large percentage believed the greatest weakness under state control will be political manipulation of the program.[49]

The same publication pointed out that USOE officials became convinced that state representatives really wanted to continue the innovative goals of

Title III but that,

> some still expressed doubts that good intentions would overcome the lack of ability in many states to achieve an accurate assessment of their educational needs. A capacity for such an assessment and for effective planning is considered a critical ingredient for a quality Title III state program. One USOE official supported his fears of state administrative weakness by noting that only 10 of the 40 state plans approved for Title III under the new program were 'of good design.'[50]

It should be pointed out, however, that "similar doubts were not shared by numerous state and local officials."[51] (Italics added)

On the basis of the evidence to date, it is the position here that educational R & D is not a coherent force. In spite of efforts to the contrary, it lacks central direction and is besieged by a normative spirit of localism traditional to American education which events suggest is still able to translate itself into effective political action; furthermore, despite a great deal of research in the area of knowledge utilization, the quality of the mechanisms and processes mediating the transformation of knowledge from research and development through diffusion and adoption is still poor. Evaluations of specific innovations and programs tend to support this point of view.

The Rated Effectiveness of Existing Programs at the School District Level

Results of Miller's study. In a comprehensive report prepared for the Subcommittee on Education of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare of the United States Senate, Miller and twenty consultants analyzed and evaluated a wide variety of Title III projects across a wide range of content areas.[52] In a brief summary of the report published in a professional journal, Miller listed a number of strengths and weaknesses which had developed as Title III had taken shape. These included the following:

Strengths

1. Title III is creating a ground swell of thought about new ideas and developments in American education.

2. Cooperation among educators, as well as with those outside the profession, in itself, has been worth the investment, for these newly found cooperations generate entusiasm as much as anything else.

3. Title III maintains that many outstanding ideas and programs remain dormant at the local level because no one really cares. Both the large, as well as the small foundations and other monies sources have largely bypassed the local school systems in favor of the university or other organizational approaches. If Title III fails, it will be more a failure of American education than of Title III itself.

4. PACE is helping to return educational initiative to the local scene where traditionally it belongs and where many believe it should remain.

5. PACE is stimulating some truly inventive ideas which may serve future educational needs very well. Proposals tend to have some common ailments, but the approximately 1,200 approved proposals together have many outstanding potentialities and programs to assist the forward movement of American education.

6. Interestingly enough, Title III is forcing a re-examination of pre-service and in-service teacher education.[53]

Weaknesses

1. Most projects do not demonstrate a familiarity with the literature -- or if a familiarity, not a grasp of it.

2. Inadequate definition of the needs in most of the proposals is a glaring weakness. For most projects have not done an adequate survey and end up with a thinly disguised structure for what they wanted to do all along.

3. The 'needs' inadequacies are directly related to lack of clear objectives.

4. The proposals, as a whole, are inadequate in evaluation.

5. Lack of dissemination and implementation provisions is another obvious inadequacy.[54]

One might note that for the most part the "strengths" are quite general in nature, suggesting hope more than accomplishment whereas the "weaknesses" are much more specific and incisive. Overall, Miller suggests a more fundamental weakness that bears heavily on projections of the future:

> Some weaknesses exist in the Title III program as a whole. A lack of truly inventive programs was evident among the 2,700 submitted during the first year. As previously mentioned, there were some really creative and unique programs, but the vast majority reflected an inability to see what is beyond the mainstream of popularity.
>
> The lack of creative programs probably indicates a basic lack of 'ideas' people in education. The insightful and intuitive approach to big problems is a real need in education.[55]

The final report of the study group emphasizes, according to a report in The Washington Monitor, continuing problems with the Title III effort.

> Effective evaluation of projects financed by Title III, Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), is almost totally lacking. This is the principal criticism leveled at the innovative program by a new six-volume study called 'The Second National Study of PACE' (Title III). Conducted for the U. S. Office of Education (USOE) by the University of Kentucky's Research Foundation, the study's 19 special consultants without exception criticized Title III evaluation. A typical reaction: 'One comes away from reading Title III evaluation sections rather certain that (a) evaluation means very little in project plans; (b) little thought has been given to what constitutes success--at least behaviorally--in these projects; and (c) few of them have had the benefit of much attention from research men.[56]

It is not likely that with the shift in control from the USOE to the state Departments of Education the situation in this regard will improve. One is reminded of Openshaw's criticism of federal programs in education:

> Millions of dollars and untold manhours went into bringing the fact of Federal assistance to education. Unfortunately, the same amount of attention was not given to alternate programs, policies, and procedures. The profession was largely obsessed with the concept of financial aid without giving equal consideration to what might be accomplished programatically. Our historic lack of concern for guidelines, alternative proposals, and means for intelligently using vast amounts of money became immediately apparent.[57]

Wilhelms' Evaluation. An evaluation of the progress of specific major innovations in American schools--urelated to any particular federal programs but quite pertinent as one looks to the future--was reported recently in the Washington Monitor. The report indicates that "not all of the school innovations of yesterday have lived up to their promise for today."[58] It lists four of "education's biggest disappointments (which) have been pinpointed for EDUCATION U.S.A. by Fred T. Wilhelms, new executive secretary of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development."[59]

PSSC Physics

One of the first curriculum innovations, PSSC (Physical Science Study Committee) Physics, 'is not really a failure, but it isn't exactly a howling success either,' Wilhelms says. "It was sold about 10 years ago on the basis that not enough students--only 25%--were taking physics. Now the figure is 17%.'

Team Teaching

Team teaching is still a good idea but it has often been 'pretty bad' in practice, Wilhelms believes. One of its chief advocates, J. Lloyd Trump, associate secretary, National Association of Secondary School Principals, says team teaching has too often become turn teaching'--'I'll teach today and it's your turn tomorrow.' The three-phase Trump plan for school innovation (independent study, large groups, and small groups) has also hit a snag. The small group part has almost 'fallen through the sieve,' Wilhelms thinks, but he blames it on executors of the plan, not the plan itself.

Educational Television

Educational television (ETV) has not led to its promised land of great economy. 'It doesn't hurt anything, but it hasn't produced many added gains in learning either, and it generally costs more,' Wilhelms says.

Language Laboratories

The payoff on language laboratories has been pretty slim so far, Wilhelms believes. Bought in large numbers because the government was paying the bill, language labs have met one of two fates: (1) Teachers have not believed in them or known what to do with them, so the labs stand idle. (2) In big school systems many classes share a single lab which limits its use to a half hour or an hour a week per pupil--not enough time to do any good. He says insiders in foreign language feel that almost anything that can be done in a language lab can be done with a tape recorder.[60]

Wilhelms does not feel, however, that the situation is hopeless. He points to several innovations which may still have prospects for the future:

1. He suggests that "another early project, new math, is criticized by many in that field, but that does not necessarily mean it too will be a disappointment."[61]

2. He points out that "ETV is moving ahead by moving away from straight broadcast TV to videotaping and closed circuit TV."[62]

3. Furthermore he holds out hopes for individualizing instruction through improvements in systems of programming. He says, "Nearly all educators agree that the teaching machine is education's Edsel, but its companion, programmed instruction, is alive and well in a new garage. All of today's programs for individualizing instruction, such as a Individually Prescribed Instruction, and the systems approach to learning are based on principles of programmed instruction."[63]

It is interesting, as one attempts to assess the future, that Wilhelms, viewing the problem rather broadly and subjectively and from a somewhat different perspective than Miller, sees it in somewhat the same terms. The Washington Monitor summarizes his position as follows:

> Many educators agree that the basic problem in innovation today is the lack of systematic planning and trained leadership. Schools are given money to buy equipment, but get little or no money to train teachers. The net effect of this haphazard approach is that promising research results are not reaching the classroom. Many educators claim the universities are not helping, either. Jerone S. Bruner, Harvard University, says it is scandalous that teacher preparation institutions do not teach about new education programs.[64]

Chase's Observations. It should be noted, however, that not all observers are pessimistic. Chase, for example, in a recent study report on the regional laboratories and university research and development centers, was quite optimistic. He pointed out some serious problem areas, but identified as well some areas of significant potential. Among what he called "persistent problems" he listed the following:

> 1. Inadequate financing. The total federal funds now committed to the twenty-nine centers and laboratories is approximately thirty million dollars annually, This is utterly inadequate for the support of anything approaching a major research and development operation in a field as complex as education....[65]
>
> 2. Public domain. Serious difficulties arise under the present public domain policy as it applies to materials and other products developed at educational laboratories and research and development centers.[66]
>
> 3. Freedom and responsibility. Both centers and laboratories were established with federal funds, and few would survive a discontinuance of such funding; yet they were conceived, not as parts of the government, but as largely autonomous organizations capable of wise choice of appropriate means to the achievement of the broad purposes for which they were founded.[67]
>
> 4. Weak knowledge base. Examination of products already developed or ready for development suggests that the basic capital of ideas and empirically tested knowledge available for use in educational research and development is uncomfortably small.[68]

Chase stressed the idea that the probelms can be resolved with determined effort and substantial support and suggested further, a number of areas of positive promise. These included the following:

1. Continuous Adaptation -- The centers and laboratories are demonstrating the possibility of systematic adaptation of knowledge and technology to educational use through a set of closely related processes ranging from the design of models and prototypes through the successive modification of materials, technologies, strategies, and systems for the achievement of specified effects.[69]

2. Improved Program Definition -- Within the past two years most of the centers and laboratories have achieved a sharper focus, better program delineation, and closer integration of activities.[70]

3. Integrating Research and Development -- The centers and laboratories are beginning to conceive research and development as a closely integrated system for producing specified changes in educational institutions and processes.[71]

4. Increased Staff Capability -- A majority of the laboratories and centers have increased staff capability appreciably within the past two years; but few can yet be said to have capabilities adequate to the tasks involved in accomplishment of their mission.[72]

5. A National Network -- We are developing a distributed national network of laboratories which operate from a local or regional base but serve national purposes and produce national impact.[73]

6. Distinctive Orientations -- All of the laboratories now conceive their functions in terms of development of tested products, operable systems, or other demonstrably useful contributions to the improvement of educational institutions and processes; but each laboratory has unique characteristics; and some distinct types of orientation have evolved.[74]

7. Evaluation Procedures -- The autonomy requisite to productive research and development can be reconciled with accountability for the use of public funds and other resources only through the establishment of orderly and effective processes of review and evaluation.[75]

Both strengths and weaknesses have been noted at the program level (Titles I, III, and IV of ESEA) and at the level of specific innovations (Team Teaching, ETV, etc.). One structure at the organizational level about which little has been written but which is charged with important responsibilities for innovation at the school system level is the Bureau of Research typical of a number of large city systems. Even there the picture is not promising.

Bureaus of research, according to a recent research administrator, sometimes do "highly significant" research. He pointed out, however that they are overworked, understaffed, and that they labor under many constraints. In a recent article, Justman listed ten problems which hamper research in these bureaus of research, including: (1) The Problem of Priorities, (2) The Problem of Program Planning, (3) The Problem of Personnel, (4) The Problem of Programming (5) The Problem of the Pecking Order, (6) The Problem of Parochialism, (7) The Problem of Publication, (8) The Problem of the Non-Participating Principal, (9) The Problem of the Peripatetic Population, and (10) The Problem of Data-Processing.[76] Perhaps the most effective barriers to significant research and development in large school system bureaus of research are lack of commitment to research and the budgetary inadequacies which inevitably follow. Justman indicated, for example, that research "is always the tail on the dog"[77] and that "even in New York City, where more than one million dollars is accorded to research activities each year, less than one-quarter of one percent of the total educational budget is devoted to research. When one considers that "the typical research bureau (1) collects statistics, (2) administers a testing program, and (3) does research--generally in that order,"[78] the proportion of resources devoted to genuine research is infinitesmal.

Existing Research and Development Concepts Currently in the R & D Pipeline

One can identify at each of the Educational R & D Centers, at each of the Regional Educational Laboratories, and in some local school systems innovative ideas which have potential implications for the changing nature of the schools of tomorrow. It is not possible within the limitations of this chapter to identify all of these ideas and the projects which have been developed in connection with them. Some selected examples, however, may suggest their range and potential.

Work in four areas of applied research and development seems to hold particular implication for school organization and administration: (1) individualized instruction, (2) program evaluation and school assessment, (3) teacher training, and (4) organizational readiness for change.*

Individualization of Instruction. Advances in individualization of instruction promise fundamental changes in the organization of schools for instruction, in the role of teachers, and in the professional hierarchy and career patterns of teaching. Sophisticated systems for individualizing instruction may at last break down traditional classroom walls, transform teachers into diagnosticians, social catalysts, and instructional prescribers, and create a set of technological conditions out of which meaningful functional specialization within the national teaching profession may finally flower.

---

* There are many other important projects ongoing at the micro level and in curriculum development but these are seen as having less direct impact upon school organization and administration than those in the areas indicated. Also, it should be clear that even these areas the projects referred to are only illustrative of many efforts in these directions.

Systematic efforts in the research and development of systems of individualizing instruction are ongoing in a number of R & D centers educational laboratories and local school districts. At least two R & D centers and three regional educational laboratories, together with their cooperating local school districts, are involved in developing Individually Prescribed Instruction (IPI) and in evaluating its effectiveness in instruction and its implications for school organization. These include the Learning Research and Development Center at the University of Pittsburgh,[79] Research for Better Schools[80] (a regional educational laboratory located in Philadelphia), the Regional Education Laboratory for the Carolinas and Virginia (RELCV),[81] and the Center for the Advanced Study of Educational Administration (CASEA) at the University of Oregon.[82] Work specifically toward the development of computer assisted instruction (CAI) is being carried on at the Learning Research & Development Center.[83] The Edison Responsive Environment ("Talking Typewriter") is being used experimentally in the New York City Public Schools by the Center for Urban Education (CUE),[84] a regional educational laboratory, and individualized instruction has been operational in the Learning Laboratories of North Carolina in adult basic education since 1964.[85]

If, despite the formidable barriers previously identified, significant changes in instruction and school organization are to occur, then strong forces will have to emerge which will, on the one hand, build pressures toward change within and without school organizations and, on the other, mitigate the internal constraints which tend to close school systems to the change process, itself. It is very difficult to sell a school system a solution to a problem it doesn't think it has. However, as educators and parents begin to obtain more sophisticated and relevant information about the quality of their schools and the effectiveness of instructional programs, both professional and political pressures (that is, both internal and external pressures) are likely to be exerted toward change.

Evaluation and Assessment. Information can, in itself, be a powerful force for change. Important work is being done, especially at the Center for the Study of Evaluation of Instructional Programs at the University of California at Los Angeles, toward the creation of new models, measures, and strategies of program evaluation and school assessment. For example, the Center identified the two major objectives of its Elementary School Evaluation Study as:

> (1) to develop a system for obtaining accurate, sensitive, reliable and salient information about an elementary school that will facilitate decisions regarding a school's program, policies and plans; and (2) to construct a system that will be cost effective and permit comparisons between schools on several relevant dimensions.[86]

The Center is also involved in the development of a Simulated Evaluation Exercise "to increase the flexibility of evaluators as they respond to constraints encountered in actual field conditions."[87] Hopefully, these efforts will provide strong practical answers to the concerns expressed by Guba in a recent issue of the Educational Researcher:

> Research and evaluation have little in common, and a continuing relationship would be hurtful to both. Both are legitimate forms of inquiry and both must be guided by a conceptual paradigm. But the classic research paradigm is not the paradigm of evaluation, nor can it ever be. Now this is not to say that persons who think of themselves as researchers ought not to engage in evaluative inquiry, but rather that when they do, they must divest themselves of their classic methodologies and devise new ones appropriate to the needs of evaluation.[88]

Evaluation has for a long time been the black box bugaboo of education, worshiped from afar as an unattainable ideal but feared in practice as a threat to well ensconced incompetence and pooh-poohed as something "nice but impractical" by those who feared it. The present society, however, is both increasingly skeptical of unresponsive establishmentarianism and increasingly competitive in the area of political demands. Pressures from both the top and the bottom of society for accountability are strong and we may at last be entering upon an "age of evaluation" even in the heretofore inscrutable field of education.

All are familiar with the puzzling problem of the immovable object and the irresistable force. The elements in the situation with respect to educational change bear some comparison. The "force" is the force for change (as has been noted, it is by no means irresistable); the "object" is the educational system (or "non-system," as is more nearly the case). As indicated earlier, the force for change, despite its weaknesses, shows some incipient possibilities for strength. Another question, and a most significant one, deals with the "object" side of the equation: How "immovable" is the educational system? As suggested earlier by Wilhelms' evaluation of the lack of effectiveness of "education's biggest disappointments,"[89] the system has shown great strength in the face of progress, but some efforts are currently being made to make it more amenable to change.

Two areas of research and development generate some optimism for educational organizational climates more open to innovation. Work is being done in teacher training and in organizing schools for innovation.

Developments in Teaching Training. Intensive efforts toward the development of new techniques and directions for teacher training herald at least the hope of a breakdown in the traditional pattern of teacher isolation and of the traditional norm of each teacher as "a king in his castle." On the West Coast, the Stanford Center for Research and Development in Teaching, Stanford University, the Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development, and the Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory are all actively engaged in research and development in teacher training. The Stanford Center for Research and Development in Teaching has in the past year moved to a revised statement of its problem area:

> It has now defined more clearly the urgent need for a fundamental reformulation of the future role of the teacher. Its mission is to specify as clearly, and on as empirical a basis as possible, the direction of that reformulation, to help shape it, to fashion and validate programs for training and retraining teachers in accordance with it, and to develop and test materials and procedutes for use in these new training programs.[90]

Some of the program headings suggest the scope and direction of the center's thrust. Studies of the teaching environment include "Professional Socialization of the teacher," "Attitudes of Teachers toward Their Occupation," and "Organizational Change: The Study of Innovations in Educational Institutions," among others. Studies in the teaching of the disadvantaged include "Developing Problem-Solving Skills through Students Teaching Students: Use of Small Groups," "Use of Small Groups in a Changing School," and Small Group Interaction," among others. Studies in heuristic teaching include "Microteaching and Intern Data Bank," Relationship of Teaching Behaviors to Students' Ability to Use Information," and "Teacher Behavior in Relation to Student Anxiety," among others.

The Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development has described its program in the following terms:

> Educators and psychologists have teamed up to create one of the most exciting innovations in inservice teacher-training. Having clearly established that most of the present methods for changing the behavior of experienced teachers simply do not work, the Program Director and his colleagues moved ahead to produce--in the minicourse--a self-contained educational model that works. Teachers who took the first minicourse (films, handbooks, evaluation forms, etc.) can be seen-via videotape--using new skills effectively. As videotape recording equipment is more widely disseminated in schools across the nation, more and more teachers will be able to use the operationally-tested minicourse techniques to learn new skills and sharpen classroom behaviors.[91]

In a succeeding paragraph, the laboratory staff went on to summarize the outlook for the future:

> But these are merely the first steps. Even with its present modest funds, the Laboratory is looking to the future. The

> first six minicourses merely scratch the surface. Hundreds may be required to bring into existence a genuinely effective and up-to-the-minute system of inservice and preservice teacher training. Each minicourse will be just one building block in the synthesis of an efficient and economical overall structure that will, one day, produce a variegated corps of professionals and semi-professionals to carry out the manifold tasks of elementary and secondary education.[92]

The Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory described its program objectives as follows:

> Emphasis is places on improvement of the following teaching functions:
>
> > Procedures to promote pupil initiated and self-directed learning
> >
> > Procedures for improving interaction between teachers and pupils
> >
> > Procedures to increase the objectivity of classroom analysis and the effectiveness of improvement efforts
> >
> > Procedures for maximizing the effectiveness of interpersonal relationships
> >
> > Procedures which provide support for continuous learning of school personnel.[93]

Three major ten-year objectives were specified:

> Five instructional systems sequences will be developed by which teachers can acquire generic process capabilities at demonstrable levels of proficiency
>
> By 1977 all Northwest teachers will have access to these five instructional systems sequences
>
> Involvement of persons in education-concerned institutions throughout the region in acquiring developmental skills as they help create the systems will result in establishment of mechanisms for continuous addition of more generic process systems to each of the initial instructional systems sequences.[94]

The promise for the future is not simply in having available a pool of teachers trained to perform the traditional teaching tasks better; rather it is in having available new teachers, trained for new roles in new and different kinds of schools. Most improtantly, the promise for the future is in having available a pool of teachers trained for change. As the staff of the Upper Midwest Regional Educational Laboratory, which is also deeply involved in teacher training as an avenue to future, has stated it:

> Research literature attests to the importance of the teacher as the key to quality education. The outlook is that the role of the teacher will become even more important. Those who have attempted to look ahead conclude that education of the future must concern itself with the pupil as a problem solver. The educational process may become entirely one of individually prescribed programs for each pupil. The technology will become more sophisticated and its most profitable application, utilizing computer assistance and other hardward, will require extensive background and consummate judgment on the part of the teacher. The Laboratory must prepare the teacher for that future as well as for the transition period preceding it.[95]

It seems reasonable to hope that better trained teachers will be significantly less resistant to changes in curriculum, methodology, and organization for instruction than they have been in the past.

School Organization for Innovation. Some work is being done in the direct study and application of strategies for organizing schools for innovation. Principal centers of activity in this area of research and development are the Center for the Advanced Study of Educational Administration (CASEA), University of Oregon, and the Wisconsin Research and Development Center for Cognitive Learning, University of Wisconsin at Madison.

Three projects illustrate the thrust of the CASEA program. The center defined its project on "Organizational Attributes and Innovativeness" as follows:

> This project consists of a complex, long-term series of research and development activities. Two major interrelated themes--school organization and innovation-provide foci for the work conducted. In a general sense, the theoretical and practical objectives of our activities are to increase knowledge about the nature of schools as organizations and to discover how the organization of the school affects, and is affected by, innovation.... The anticipated outcome of these studies is the discovery of ways of improving the organization and functioning of schools, including their adaptation to problems of stability and change.[96]

Another project in the area of organizing for innovation was described as follows:

> This developmental project will evaluate the effectiveness of a number of complex group procedures for helping a school system

> to organize for effective innovation. Relatively little study has been done on improving the functioning of school systems to organize for effective innovation. Relatively little study has been done on improving the functioning of school systems as organizations; innovation in education has focused on special training of individual teachers, the production of new curriculum materials, or special arrangements such as teach teaching and individualized instruction. This project is based on the assumption that improved organizational processes are often crucial antecedent conditions to a specific innovative attempt.... The goal of this project is to describe group procedures for school systems that enhance the organizational effectiveness of the system and increase the possibility that effective innovations will be carried into the classroom.[97]

A third project in the same area was characterized in the following terms:

> This developmental project...will explore improved methods for communicating research and development efforts to educational administrators. It will include interviews with school administrators about their preceptions (sic) of and relations with behavioral scientists and educational specialists. It will also look at a variety of attitudes that school administrators hold toward the products of behavioral scientists and educational specialists. Attempts will be made to derive guidelines for producing effective new forms and formats for developmental products.[98]

Projects in the program area focusing on facilitative environments illustrate the work being done by the Wisconsin Research and Development Center for Cognitive Learning in the area of organizing school for innovation. Typical of these projects is the one entitled, "Models for Effecting Planned Educational Change." The major hypotheses of the project are as follows:

> (1) If a school system establishes a change-agent team and it functions actively for two years, the teachers in that system will become more aware of and adopt more innovations in that period than teachers in system without a change-agent team.
>
> (2) If a change-agent team is provided with human relations training, there will be more change in the openness of communications and in the problem-solving competence of the staff than in a system with an untrained change-agent or no change-agent team.
>
> (3) If a change-agent team involves professional colleagues in training activities similar to those which its members have experienced, then more change in openness of communication

and problem-solving efforts will be developed than in the system in which only the change-agent team receives training.

(4) If a system is characterized by increasing openness of communication and problem-solving competence among the staff, then the learning atmosphere in classrooms will improve; teachers will become more flexible and more sensitive to student needs; and student peer relations and commitment to academic efforts will improve.[99]

Earlier in the chapter, it was pointed out that one of the primary weaknesses of the present R & D force in education is the lack of well-articulated mediation of knowledge through the R, D, D & A chain. Research and development in the processes of diffusion and adoption, such as that being carried out at CASEA, at the Wisconsin Research and Development Center for Cognitive Learning, and at the Center for Research on Utilization of Scientific Knowledge, University of Michigan, may, in the long run, operate to strengthen those processes.

Recapitulation

At this point in the chapter, it may prove useful to review its main conceptual sequence to this juncture because whereas the preceding portion has been essentially descriptive in nature, it is necessary now to introduce some assumptions about the nature of change in order to tie together the facts and assumptions toward an explicit projection of the impact of the educational R & D force upon school organization.

The conceptual development of the chapter to this point can be summarized briefly in a number of generalizations which have been documented in the preceding text:

1. The R & D force in education, as measured in both fiscal and manpower terms, intensified exponentially during the period from 1956 to 1966 but has leveled off since.

2. Despite urgent needs for consistent and more substantial support, increases in federal support for educational R & D are not likely to continue the exponential trend of the 1956-66 period, but are likely to continue at more modest linear rates, somewhere in the vicinity of 5 percent per year or less, at least over the next four to eight years.

3. Competition is strong among the sciences and among programs within each of the sciences both for funds and able manpower.

4. The emphasis in educational R & D has shifted from basic research to development, although manpower training programs do not reflect this shift, and from individual to programmatic team research and development.

5. Despite some signs of improvement, R & D in education is not at present a coherent force since it lacks (a) central direction and (b) well-articulated mechanisms for mediating knowledge through the research, development, diffusion and adoption chain; neither do current political developments presage greater coherence in the near future.

6. Research and development efforts in the field of education have in the past achieved only limited impact upon school practice as evidenced by the judgments of serious scholars about (a) the effectiveness of existing federally-supported programs at the school district level and (b) the course of several well-publicized innovations of the last decade.

7. Activity in a number of areas of applied educational research and development will probably generate some impact upon school practice but it seems unlikely to accomplish substantial reorganization of schools for instruction without significant assistance from forces outside the educational arena.*

Non-Educational Research

The discussion to this point has focussed upon research and development involving professional educators and others who see themselves directly concerned with schools and problems of instruction. There is some research, however, going on in other fields not directly linked with what is commonly considered to be the field of education which some believe may have significant impact upon schools, at least in the long run.

Included in this category are experiments in psycho-biology, the chemistry of learning, and the more unusual work being done in affective education. Scientific American, in such works as Frontiers of Psychological Research[100] and Psycho-Biology, the Biological Bases of Behavior,[101] has provided some insights into the basic research in those fields. David Krech has written about ongoing research in the chemistry of learning.[102] Abraham Maslow and Carl Rogers are prominent names in the field of affective education, along with organizations such as the National Training Laboratory and Esalen Institute.[103] Joe Kamiya of San Francisco's Langley Porter Neuropsychiatric Clinic and J. T. Hart of the University of California at Irvine are researchers who have worked on the control of brain waves.[104]

---

* See the other force chapters in this report for more detailed discussion of their implications for educational change.

Clearly, the promise of these experiments for public education is problematic at best. They represent hopeful signs in the distant future but there is at present no sound empirical base upon which an accurate assessment can be made of their potential impact upon the public schools. There are those such as George Leonard who suggest that there may be no schools as we now know them by the turn of the century; others would take a different view. Some basic work is being done, however, outside of the conventional realm of educational research and development. Note should be taken of its possibilities.

The Probability of Impact

A Basic Extrapolation: Non-Change in a Non-System

A number of variables have been identified. In projecting their most likely impact upon school organization over the next ten years, we shall assign probabilities to them and cast them, with their probabilities in a constellation or set of constellations, each with a joint probability. To the extent, then, that each constellation of variables operates toward a particular type of school organization, the joint probability of the constellation will constitute the probability of that type of school organization as well.

Although the model, without extensive and complex analysis of the internal relationships among the variables, tends to be additive, and therefore highly simplistic -- since it assumes mutual independence among the variables and ignores potential interaction effects -- it may serve generally to explicate the basic reasoning underlying the projections.

The Variables -- In the following table, nine variables are identified, a condition is projected for each to the year, 1980, and each condition is followed by the level of probability associated with it. For seven of the variables (the fixed variables), only one condition is projected as the "most likely" condition based upon the evidence presented in the text on the pages indicated. For each of the remaining three variables (the open variables), alternate conditions are projected, each with its own probability of occurrence. Once again the probabilities are based upon the evidence presented in the text. The open variables were chosen because they seemed most sensitive to conscious intervention by universities and colleges of education; the closed variables, on the other hand, seemed relatively insensitive to such intervention. Rather, the closed variables derive primarily from macro-pressures beyond the field of education.

Two of the three open variables were not discussed directly in the text except by inference from the evidence presented there. These are Administrator Attitudes toward Change in School Organization and Teacher Attitudes toward Change in School Organization. Further explication should

VARIABLE	CONDITION	PROBABILITY
1. Total demand for R & D manpower in education	High	Most Likely
2. Amount and quality of manpower supply with respect to the distribution of demand across R, D and D*	Adequate	Low
	Inadequate	High
3. Total federal funding for R & D in education	5-8% increase per year	Most Likely
4. Relative ability of education to compete for federal funds compared to base 1970	Same or better than in 1970	Most Likely
5. Central direction	Little	Most Likely
6. Articulation through the R & D chain (efficiency of mediation)	Better than in 1970	Most Likely
7. Attitudes of the political establishment toward change in school organization	Maintenance	Most Likely
8. Attitudes of administrators toward change in school organization*	Revision	Low-Moderate
	Maintenance	High
9. Attitudes of teachers toward change in school organization*	Revision, student-centered	Low
	Revision, teacher-centered	High
	Maintenance	Low-Moderate

* Open Variables (most sensitive to conscious intervention by universities and colleges of education) -- other variables are considered fixed in their "most likely" condition for purposes of the present analysis.

TABLE 15 -- Values and Associated Probabilities Projected to 1980 of Ten Variables Selected from the Educational R & D Force

clarify their inclusion in the analysis and their relationship to the main body of the text.

The theme was developed earlier in the chapter that not all of the school innovations of yesterday have lived up to their promise for today. It was pointed out that many educators agree that the basic problem in innovation today is the lack of systematic planning and trained leadership. It was also pointed out that schools are given money to buy equipment, but get little or no money to train teachers.

Implicit in all of this is a lack of central direction and inadequate articulation of knowledge through the R, D, D and A chain but implicit, too, is a lack of leadership on the part of school administrators and a maintenance bias on the part of teachers. In fact, these probably operate in most school districts to reinforce each other. Status quo oriented administrator and teacher attitudes are also implicit in the pervasive educational norm which reinforces the notion of the traditional 'egg-crate' classroom model as the best, almost the only conceivable, model of organization for instruction.

Since administrator training, teacher training, and the training of administrators of teacher organizations fall to different jurisdictional hierarchies within the university establishment but are clearly amenable to conscious intervention on the part of these jurisdictions, it seemed important to make them individually explicit and to treat them as separate variables in the analysis. Since the evidence suggests that both sets of attitudes have been traditionally oriented to the status quo and opposed to radical changes in the organization for instruction, maintenance orientations would tend to be projected for both in the future; however, the emergence of teacher militancy as a significant force suggests that teachers may develop a more favorable attitude toward revision, at least toward teacher-centered revision.* Therefore, maintenance attitudes are projected with high probability for administrators whereas revisionist attitudes are projected with high probability for teachers. Note, however, that whereas it is highly probable that teachers in 1980 will exhibit positive attitudes toward teacher-centered revisionism, there is little probability that they will exhibit positive attitudes toward student-centered revisionism.

The Projection -- Once the major variables which determine the impact of the force upon school organization, and their probable conditions for 1980, are made explicit, one can project a probability statement, or a set of probability statements, with respect to the impact.

With respect to reorganization for instruction (as opposed to reorganization for teacher power -- which is the subject of another chapter), there seem to be two types of school organization for the 1980's. These are (1) the open, change-oriented organization and (2) the closed, traditional organization.

---

* See the chapter in this report on Teacher Militancy.

Such a rubric constitutes, of course, nothing more than the dichotomization of a continuum along the radical-reactionary dimension. The rubric is simple but adequate. The criteria upon which the two groups of schools would be discriminated include: (1) degree of affective v. cognitive education, (2) degree of specialization among educational personnel, (3) degree of technological sophistication of instruction, (4) degree of adaptability of physical facilities for instruction, and (5) degree of explicit relationship between fiscal parameters and instructional objectives.

One can predict on the basis of different constellations of conditions among the open variables different tendencies with respect to the two types of organization. Some combinations of conditions will tend toward one type of organization more than the other. It is also possible to predict an overriding trend toward one or the other of the types on the basis of the single, specific combination of fixed variables which have been projected for 1980.

There are twelve possible combinations of variable conditions among the three open variables (2x2x3). Only one of these, though, seems likely to produce any significant trend toward impact: adequate R & D manpower combined with revisionist administrator attitudes and revisionist, student-centered, teacher attitudes. The probabilities of those conditions occurring are respectively Low, Low-Mod, Low, which generate a joint probability which is extremely low. Even if one felt that a combination of the last two, alone, might produce some significant impact, the joint probability would be Low-Mod x Low or Very Low. All other combinations would tend toward the maintenance of the traditional school organization. The probability of achieving any one of those is, of course, very high.

Analysis of the fixed variables does not provide a much more optimistic picture. The most likely condition for each of the fixed variables would produce a pattern which included high demand for R & D manpower combined with an inadequate supply, modest increases in federal support for educational R & D, little central direction, and somewhat better knowledge utilization (R, D, D & A).

Conclusions -- If present trends continue, it seems unlikely that research and development in education will have any substantial impact upon the essential nature of instruction in the public schools. Most public schools will continue to be basically static institutions operating on the traditional egg-crate model of organization for instruction.

The outlook, at least in the view of this writer, is not a hopeful one. It is conceivable, however, that action, especially political action, can be taken to alter the present projections. It seems that this is essential if the public schools are to become more adaptable institutions in the future than they have been in the past. As indicated in some of the other chapters of this report, there are societal forces driving schools toward greater accountability. There are external pressures for change. Perhaps some of these can be brought to bear in a political mode such that support for research and development in education can be substantially improved.

Directions for Change

1. Government, universities, and research and development agencies, themselves, can make a concerted and systematic effort to train adequate numbers not only of researchers, but of developers and diffusers as well. An effective program on an adequate scale, however, will require determined leadership in the academic community and at the federal, state and local levels.

2. Federal funding for research and development in education can be increased to levels commensurate with the magnitude and significance of the task. A reasonable goal would be that suggested by Chase:

> A stepping up of the support level by approximately 50 per cent in fiscal 1971, with subsequent increases until at least one per cent of national expenditures for education are devoted to research and development.[105]

3. Existing agencies of educational research and development can work toward the continuation of improvements such as those cited by Chase in his report. These include programs of continuous adaptation, improved program definition, the closer integration of research and development, increased staff capability, more functional interrelationships among various agencies and programs in the national educational research and development network, and the establishment of more orderly and effective processes of review and evaluation.

Specific Implications For School Organization

The specific implications of educational research and development for the public schools are difficult to assess. For one thing, unlike other forces, such as teacher militancy or negro protest, which tend to articulate specific demands through the political system, research and development operates on a much more random dynamic. It is less systemetized and less cohesive as a force.

Furthermore, even if one assumes the emergence of more favorable conditions than those presently projected, and therefore predicts that educational R & D will, indeed, have a significant impact upon schools, one doesn't really know what direction that impact will take. Technological advancement can be, in some degree anyway, a matter of serendipitous, individual creativity. This is especially true in the early stages of technological development, such as that in which educational research and development presently finds itself. The knowledge base is still weak; new theoretical advances could conceivably alter substantially the essential thrust of the force. The pipeline, while not empty, still contains many developments in their first primitive stages; empirical validity is generally not yet established and directions are not totally clear. Our projections, then, are extremely tentative and should be viewed that way.

Implications under the Most Likely Projection

It was indicated earlier that, on the basis of trends as they are presently projected, it seems unlikely that research and development in education will have any substantial impact upon the essential nature of instruction in the public schools. There will likely be a good deal of experimentation and adoption of new programs and instructional facilities in scattered schools and school districts, but systematic reorganization for instructions not likely to emerge as the dominant theme of the next ten years. Therefore, under the most likely projection, one cannot predict any significant implications for public instruction over that period of time.

Implications under Less Likely But More Favorable Conditions

If one assumes that the directions for change suggested above will actually come to pass and that educational research and development will, therefore, have a greater impact upon the public schools than may seem likely at the moment, specific implications may be as follows:

1. Advances in individualization of instruction promise fundamental changes in the organization of schools for instruction, in the role of teachers, and in the professional hierarchy and career patterns of teachers. Important role changes may be associated with technological developments leading to individualization of instruction. These include the following:

    a. The teaching role may come to include diagnosis and prescription more so than at present. Many teachers today feel that they're not teaching unless they're talking. Computerized instructional and information-retrieval systems may support substantially more extensive and effective independent learning approaches which will radically alter traditional student-teacher relationships.

    b. Teachers may come to be team workers and process specialists as well as content specialists. Large or small group instruction; evaluation, diagnosis and prescription; remediation and supervision of individualized instruction; team coordination and planning illustrate the kinds of specializations which systematic instructional reorganization might bring about.

c. Staff differentiation and functional specialization may encourage the employment of paraprofessional personnel to perform some of the more routine technical tasks. Extensive introduction of such personnel into school organizations would significantly alter traditional role relationships.*

d. Staff differentiation and increased professional specialization may tend to shift the primary basis of authority from that of status to that of professional expertise. The role of the principal might well undergo a radical transformation. Functional and titular separation might occur between the administrative management role and that of instructional leader and program coordinator. Administrative managers might not even need to be educators at all.

2. Work is being done toward the creation of new models, measures and strategies of program evaluation and school assessment. This kind of research and development may affect schools in the following ways:

a. Systemwide staffing structures and role definitions might need to be dramatically different as staff specialization develops and sophisticated evaluation processes are put into operation. Constant feedback might well suggest the need for the emergence in school systems of temporary structures designed to bring together special teams to solve special problems -- not for a few meetings after school, but for a period of full-time paid activity. Creating and coordinating such _ad hoc_ units would place new and unusual demands on systems which are basically static at the present time, at least in terms of organizational structure.

b. Information provided to the public as a result of program evaluation and school assessment may intensify political demands for accountability and community control. To the extent that this occurs, school systems may need to develop organizational mechanisms and train skilled personnel adequate to the demands of confrontation politics and intergroup negotiations.

3. A good deal of research and development is taking place with respect to the training of teachers and the organization of schools for innovation. These, too, may hold significant implications for school

---

* See the discussion of paraprofessionals in school organizations, _supra_, p.   , for further elaboration of this point.

organization. For example, the following:

> a. To the extent that teacher training institutions begin turning out graduates who are more change-oriented and more open and seeking in their organizational behavior, conflict may occur in school systems between new teachers and more traditional teachers and administrators. Organizational strain may develop.
>
> b. Organizing schools for innovation may become a growing challenge to administrators as new technologies emerge from the R & D pipeline. Group processes may, as a result, assume even greater significance in the future than in the present.

Summary

The educational research and development force has been described in statistical and qualitative terms. Its future has been assessed in terms of funding, manpower and the general coherence of the R, D, D and A chain. The past record has been examined in terms of the effectiveness of developments as they have been adopted into the public schools. Current research and development activities have been identified, including some from outside the field of education. It was concluded that current trends do not warrant much optimism for the future. Unless substantial and systematic efforts are forthcoming on a national level, educational research and development is not likely to achieve its true potential. A number of directions for change were suggested and some specific implications of educational R & D for the public schools were put forth as illustrative of the possibilities of the force. The latter were predicated upon the adoption of the recommended directions for change. Perhaps it is fitting to close with a comment made recently by a concerned and committed scholar:

> Our society is troubled and cries out to education for rescue; and at the same time it is obvious that education is in need of a rescue mission.[106]

References

[1] Jack Frankel, "Change in the Developing World," Theory Into Practice (Vol. VII, No. 4, October 1968).

[2] Ronald Smelt, "The Widening Objectives of R & D in the 1970's," Proceedings of the Symposium on National R & D for the 1970's (Washington, D.C.: National Security Industrial Association, 1968), p. 11.

[3] H. Guyford Stever, "Trends of Research in Universities," Ibid, p. 33 (Fig. 1).

[4] Ibid (Figs. 2-3).

[5] Charles J. Zwick, "Evolution of Major R & D Program Methodology in Government," Ibid, p. 211.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Ibid. Pp. 211-214.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Stever, op. cit., p. 31.

[12] Herman Kahn, Proceedings of the Symposium on National R & D for the 1970's, p. 88.

[13] John McHale, "Science, Technology, and Change," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science (Vol. II, September 1967) p. 126.

[14] Daniel S. Greenberg, "The Politics of Pure Science," Saturday Review (Nov. 4, 1967), pp. 62-68.
[15] Zwick, op. cit., p. 213.

[16] Norman J. Boyan and Ward S. Mason, "Perspectives on Educational R & D Centers," Journal of Research and Development in Education (Vol. I, No. 4, Summer 1968), p. 197.

[17] Ralph W. Tyler, "The Field of Educational Research," The Training and Nurture of Educational Researchers (Sixth Annual Phi Delta Kappa Symposium on Educational Research), edited by Egon Guba and Stanley Elam (Bloomington, Ind.: Phi Delta Kappa, 1965), pp. 10-11.

[18] Norman J. Boyan, "Problems and Issues of Knowledge Production and Utilization," Knowledge Production and Utilization, edited by Terry L. Eidell and Joanne M. Kitchel (Eugene, Ore.: University of Oregon Press, 1968), p. 24.

[19] Ibid.

[20] Ibid., pp. 24-25.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Ibid., p. 26.

[24] Ibid., p. 27.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Ibid.

[27] R. Louis Bright and Hendrick D. Gideonse, "Research and Development Strategies: The Corrent Scene," Journal of Experimental Education, Vol. 37, No. 1 (Fall, 1968), p. 145.

[28] Direct communication with the Bureau of Research, U. S. Office of Education.

[29] David L. Clark and John E. Hopkins, A Report on Educational Research, Development, and Diffusion Manpower, 1964-1974 (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Research Foundation, 1969).

[30] Ibid., p. 422.

[31] Ibid.

[32] Ibid., p. 423.

[33] Clark and Hopkins, op. cit., p. 230.

[34] Ibid., p. 422.

[35] Ibid., p. 423.

[36] Ibid., p. 422.

[37] Ibid., pp. 423-4.

[38] Supra., p. 113.

[39] Harold Howe, II, Picking up the Options (Washington, D.C.: Department of Elementary School Principals, National Education Association, 1968), p.95.

[40] Norman J. Boyan, Research and Development: Advances in Education (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1968).

[41] Boyan and Mason, op. cit., p. 197.

[42] Howe, op. cit., p. 94.

[43] Ross L. Mooney, "A Reflection from Experience in a Project," Theory Into Practice, Vol. 5, No. 3 (June, 1966), p. 140.

[44] Richard E. Schutz, "Developing the 'D' in Educational R & D," Theory Into Practice, Vol. 6, No. 2 (April, 1967), p. 74.

[45] National Advisory Council on the Education of Disadvantaged Children, Title I -- ESEA: A Review and a Forward Look -- 1969, Fourth Annual Report (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1969), pp. 14-15.

[46] Richard Schmuck, "Social Psychological Factors in Knowledge Utilization," Eidell and Kitchel, op. cit., pp. 143-4.

[47] Ronald G. Havelock, Bibliography on Knowledge Utilization and Dissemination (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, 1968) and Ronald G. Havelock, Janet Huber, and Shaindel Zimmerman, Major Works on Change in Education (mimeo) (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, 1968).

[48] Ronald G. Havelock, "Dissemination and Utilization: The State of the Art: 1969," A report summary presented to the American Educational Research Association, Los Angeles, California, February 6, 1969.

[49] Washington Monitor, October 7, 1968, p. 35.

[50] Ibid.

[51] Ibid.

[52] Notes and Working Papers Concerning the Administration of Programs Authorized under Title III of Public Law 89-10, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 as Amended by Public Law 89-750 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967).

[53] Richard I. Miller, "An Appraisal of ESEA Title III," Theory Into Practice, Vol. 6, No. 3 (June, 1967), p. 117.

[54] Ibid., p. 117-118.

[55] Ibid., p. 118.

[56] Washington Monitor, January 20, 1969, p. 113.

[57] M. Karl Openshaw, "Title I," Theory Into Practice, Vol. 5, No. 3 (June, 1966), p. 103.

[58] Washington Monitor, September 23, 1968, p. 19.

[59] Ibid.

[60] Ibid.

[61] Ibid.

[62] Ibid.

[63] Ibid.

[64] Ibid.

[65] Francis S. Chase, The National Program of Educational Laboratories, a report of a study of twenty educational laboratories and nine university research and development centers to the U. S. Office of Education (Chicago, Ill.: The University of Chicago, 1968), p. 51.

[66] Ibid., p. 53.

[67] Ibid., p. 55.

[68] Ibid., p. 60.

[69] Ibid., p. 8.

[70] Ibid., p. 16.

[71] Ibid., p. 22.

[72] Ibid., p. 29.

[73] Ibid., p. 34.

[74] Ibid., p. 37.

[75] Ibid., p. 42.

[76] Joseph Justman, "Problems of Researchers in Large School Systems," Educational Forum, Vol. 32, No. 4 (May, 1968), pp. 429-437.

[77] Ibid., p. 429.

[78] Ibid., p. 430.

[79] Learning Research and Development and Development Center, University of Pittsburgh, Annual Report (November, 1968), pp. 20-46.

[80] Research for Better Schools, Basic Program Plans (September 15, 1968), pp. 8-45.

[81] Regional Education Laboratory for the Carolinas and Virginia, Educational Development, Vol. 1, No. 3 (October, 1968).

[82] Center for the Advanced Study of Educational Administration, University of Oregon, Annual Report and Four-Year Summary (October 31, 1968), pp. 86-88.

[83] The Learning Research and Development Center, University of Pittsburgh, op. cit., pp. 88-107.

[84] Center for Urban Education, Basic Program Plans (September, 1968), p. 37, and Contractor's Request to USOE (September, 1968), p. 20.

[85] Joseph B. Carter, "Learning Laboratories in North Carolina," Educational Technology, Vol. 8, No. 18 (September 30, 1968), pp. 5-10.

[86] Stephen Klein, "Elementary School Evaluation Study," 3rd Annual Report to the U. S. Office of Education, Center for the Study of Evaluation of Instructional Programs, University of California at Los Angeles (November 1, 1968), p. 82.

[87] Marvin C. Alkin, "A Simulated Evaluation Exercise," Center for the Study of Evaluation of Instructional Programs, op. cit., p. 94.

[88] Egon G. Guba, "Significant Differences," Educational Researcher, Vol. 20, No. 3, 1969, p. 5.

[89] Supra., p. 127.

[90] Stanford Center for Research and Development in Teaching, *Third Annual Report* (October 30, 1968), p. 5.

[91] Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development, *Basic Program* Plans (September, 1968), p. 10.

[92] *Ibid.*

[93] Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory, *Purpose and Potentials, Annual Report to the United States Office of Education* (September 15, 1968), p. 26.

[94] *Ibid.*, p. 27.

[95] Upper Midwest Regional Educational Laboratory, *The Teacher as a Professional: A Statement on Objectives of the Upper Midwest Regional Educational Laboratory* (November 22, 1968), p. 2.

[96] Roland J. Pellegrin, Max G. Abbott, and Terry L. Eidell, "Organizational Attributes and Innovativeness," *Annual Report and Four Year Summary,* CASEA, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

[97] Richard Schmuck and Philip J. Runkel, "Helping a School System Organize for Effective Innovation," *Ibid.*, p. 89.

[98] Richard Schmuck, "Overcoming Barriers between Behavioral Scientists and Educational Administrators," *Ibid.*, p. 91.

[99] Max R. Goodson, Burton W. Kreitlow, and Warren O. Hagstrom, "Models for Effecting Planned Educational Change," *Annual Program Plan and Budget Request*, Wisconsin Research and Development Center for Cognitive Learning, Vol. I: Program Plan (November 1, 1968), p. 59.

[100] Stanley Coopersmith (ed.), *Frontiers of Psychological Research* (San Francisco: W. H. Freeman, 1966).

[101] *Psycho-Biology, the Biological Bases of Behavior* (San Francisco: W.H. Freeman, 1967).

[102] David Krech, "The Chemistry of Learning," *Saturday Review* (January 20, 1968) and "Psychoneurobiochemeducation," *Phi Delta Kappan,* Vol. 50, No. 7 (March, 1969). See also, David Perlman, "The Search for the Memory Molecule," *The New York Times Magazine* (July 7, 1968).

[103] George B. Leonard, *Education and Ecstacy* (New York: Delacorte Press, 1968), pp. 47-49.

[104] Ibid., pp. 49-50.

[105] Francis S. Chase, "R & D as Applied to Educational Change under Crisis Conditions," an address to the Conference on a National Agenda for American Education (July 17, 1969), p. 13.

[106] Ibid., p. 1.

Chapter Five

Management Technologies

> What industrialization was to the nineteenth century, management is to the twentieth. Almost unrecognized in 1900, management has become the central activity of our civilization. It employs a high proportion of our educated men and determines the pace and quality of our economic progress, the effectiveness of our government services, and the strength of our national defense. The way we "manage," the way we shape our organizations, affects and reflects what our society is becoming.
>
> Max Ways

Probably the most certain prediction that can be made about the future is that educational administrators will be faced with more problems than at any other time in recent history. The source, frequency, intensity, and character of demands on educational institutions are rapidly expanding. At a time when educators are faced with prospects of increasing enrollments, rising costs, and the exponential production of knowledge, it has become a national pastime to project solutions to critical societal problems through advancements in education. An expanding consciousness of social problems coupled with a "new realism" are creating new parameters for public policy decisions. The "new realism" is reflected in increased understanding that creative policies must be adapted to complex problems and changing conditions, that simple cause-effect solutions to social problems do not exist, and that there is a need for increased use of formal analysis as an instrument to obtain more rational policies. Concurrently, demands for greater participation in decision making processes by numerous segments of society have increased. Confidence in existing institutions has decreased; dissatisfaction with static conditions has increased. To a growing number of citizens arbitrary, unreasoned decisions are no longer acceptable and unrest, protest and demonstration have become structural features of educational policy making.

Demands for change, based on a constantly and rapidly changing environment, and the need for satisfactory response to the demands are being manifested in new organizational arrangements and management patterns. Existing in a dynamic environment, new organizational patterns permitting greater flexibility and response capabilities are being developed to replace structures that could react but not adapt. The primary activity of modern management has become that of dealing with changing conditions, many of which management itself has set in motion since, through it, most changes enter society.[1] Dealing with such complex and changing conditions implies a new emphasis on management planning and decision making processes. Writing of the recent changes which have occured in organization and management, Cleland and King[2] indicate that the most apparent changes have occured in decision-making processes:

> ...Formal analysis now plays an important role in decision making where once almost total emphasis was placed on executive judgment, experience, and intuition. The modern approach to decision making complements judgment with objective analysis built on a foundation of mathematics and statistics, thereby permitting a blending of the objective and subjective in a fashion which amplifies the executive's ability to cope with complex decision situations.[3]

These emerging forms of analysis which permeate the management functions of planning, organizing, coordinating, and controlling in the process of formulating and executing policy we have termed "management technologies." Technology as defined herein includes not only machines but intellectual approaches and, thus, involves in this case a body of knowledge which is potentially available for managerial improvement.

The purpose of this chapter is to describe management technologies and their implications for the organization and administration of schools. The chapter is designed to be general in discussion of the technologies and selective in illustration of applications. The predictions contained in the final section concerning the future impact of management technologies on educational organization and administration are brief and clearly speculative. Later chapters include more detailed reflections on the implications for the organization and administration of educational institutions through analysis of all the forces studied in this section of the report.

Systems Concepts

Concepts associated with the systems approach have wide generalizability and have been applied by scientists in a variety of disciplines to explain complex phenomena. Both physical and social scientists employ the basic systems model to explain events and the relationship between events. Although L. von Bertallanfy[4] is considered by many to be the originator of modern systems thought. systems concepts have undoubtably been applied inituitively, if not explicitly, through ages of civilization. As a result of receiving considerable attention by numerous scholars with different disciplinary orientations, systems concept have taken on numerous and varied meanings. Part of this difficulty is due to the large number of systems concepts currently being described in the literature. The semantic difficulties surrounding the term are further enhanced by the amount of lip-service paid to it, the way it has been bandied about in the industrial community, government circles, and by its technical jargon. In fact, the basic concepts are quite elementary and simplistic although, depending on how it is used, it may involve complex technical distinctions.

Definition and Properties of a System

A system may be operationally defined as "the gestalt which results from the sum total of the separate parts working independently and in interaction to achieve previously specified ends."[5] The definition indicates that a system is composed of a number of interrelated elements; suggests that the effect of the separate elements working independently and in interaction is greater than simply the sum of the parts; and indicates that the system is designed to accomplish a particular set of objectives. Components which are included in the system define its boundaries and distinguish it from the environment which is composed of numerous other systems. The environment provides inputs of material, energy, and information for the system and by controlling any of these inputs can directly affect the behavior and performance of the system. The system converts inputs received from the environment into outputs of products or services which are received and evaluated by the environment. The environment feeds back information on the evaluation to the system as input for the purpose of regulating and influencing the future behavior of the system. Since the environmental conditions can affect system functioning, the system must maintain a certain flexibility and adaptability to changing environmental situations.

In addition to describing relationships with the environment, systems concept provide a framework for analyzing the internal operations of an organization. Each organization contains a network of numerous identifiable, interrelated sub-systems each of which produces some sort of output which becomes an input to the next level, and thus, is associated in some manner with the total operation of the system. Objectives are defined in terms of the entire system and analyzed in the interactions among its component parts. Such a procedure involves breaking down the organization into its basic components, describing the operations of each of the sub-systems, and arranging the sub-systems into some sort of order so that desired objectives can be achieved.

The integration of the numerous sub-systems of an organization, in addition to implying a necessity for increased planning at different levels throughout the system, means that control functions will increase and different communication and information flows will exist. Self-regulating systems include monitoring devices placed at points in the system to measure performance and feed back this information to some type of regulating unit. The regulating unit measures expected output against established performance standards. If descrepancies occur, necessary input adjustments to correct the situation are made. For example, input resources could be released until actual output equalled anticipated output. In addition to providing monitoring and regulating units that analyze output and adapt it to established plans, the system contains external monitoring devices which analyze the environment for changes that may have occurred. Information regarding environmental changes is then fed into planning units which may make internal adjustments to new environmental conditions.

The Systems Approach to Problem Solving

A second application utilizing concepts associated with the systems movement is more oriented toward a series of processes or techniques relevant to the solving of complex problems. Used in this sense systems concepts dictate a more comprehensive approach to problem solving than previous approaches which have largely concentrated on the isolation and study of a limited number of variables.

Ways[6] summarizes the chief features of the new approach in general form as follows:

(1) A more open and deliberate attention to the selection of ends toward which planned action is directed, and an effort to improve planning by sharpening the definition of ends.
(2) A more systematic advance comparison of means by criteria derived from the ends selected.
(3) A more candid and effective assessment of results, usually including a system of keeping track of progress toward interim goals. Along with this goes a "market-like" sensitivity to changing values and evolving ends.
(4) An effort often intellectually strenuous to mobilize science and other specialized knowledge into a flexible framework of information and decision so that specific responsibilities can be assigned to the points of greatest competence.
(5) An emphasis on information, prediction and persuasion, rather than on coercive or authoritarian power as the main agents of coordinating the separate elements of an effort.
(6) An increased capability of predicting the combined effect of several lines of simultaneous action on one another; this can modify policy so as to reduce unwanted consequences or it can generate other lines of action to correct or compensate for such predicted consequences.

From the foregoing can be derived the implication that the systems approach is based on the methods of science and logic; requires the definition of objectives in terms of benefits sought; promotes the gathering of considerable information related to objectives and alternative programs to achieve those objectives; projects the possible effects of various alternatives; and provides for continual assessment of plans through feedback mechanisms.

Systems Management

Systems concepts as described in the previous sections are being applied in a variety of forms within bureaucratic organizational structures. Bureaucracy has traditionally implied fixed jurisdictional areas ordered by rules, vertical hierarchy with levels of graded authority, prescribed superordinate-subordinate relationships with status attached to rank in the structure, and administration by general rules which are stable and comprehensive. Bureaucratic theory is based on assumptions of rationality and economic efficiency. Authority is rigid, objectives are determined at vertical levels of the hierarchy, and organizational members are strictly controlled to devote their energies to the accomplishment of established goals. Authority and responsibility are cumulative at the top of the hierarchy and communications move up and down the hierarchy vertically rather than laterally.

There are several basic differences between the bureaucratic model and the systems model of organization. Perhaps the most fundamental of these is an emphasis on process rather than structure. The systems approach to organization involves a set of flows of resources organized around sets of projects. In contrast to defining, analyzing, and solving problems within a single bureaucratic department or subsection, systems management is more comprehensive and involves taking a large r view of the organization and the interactions at all levels within it. The focus is upon total system performance in the achievement of basic organizational objectives. What is involved is identification of how sub-system inderactions can be integrated in the accomplishment of overall system goals.

The need for modification or change in traditional management patterns is partly due to the failure of bureaucracies to account for changes in society which are primarily based on new technologies.

> ...Irresistible pressures are now being exerted on corporations, even moderate-sized ones, to change. The pressure stems chiefly from technological change - from the fast paced revolution in the type and use of hardware, in the type, use, and processing of information, in the systematization and integration of even the simplest jobs and processes and particularly, in the computerization of an enormous range of business decisions.[7]

Additionally, vertical levels of hierarchy no longer represent the distribution of professional competence in organizations. There is a growing inbalance been line authority and the technical expertise of various staffs, and much of the important business of organizations is shifting from vertical flows to horizontal or lateral patterns reflecting the location of expertise.

Experience with systems management has occurred in a number of occupational areas to date, most notably professional, industrial, governmental and research and development organizations. Usually this has taken the form of project, program, or product management with separate agencies or project teams being created to carry out a specific task over a period of time. The introduction of task force operations at the highest levels of the federal government to deal with specific problems, such as urban affairs, is another reflection of movement away from traditional departmental orientation to a problem orientation.

Project Management. Perhaps the most discussed of these changes and the one with which there has been some experience over a period of time is the weapons system management concept introduced in the Department of Defense. It was reported in 1965 that the Department of Defense had somewhere over 100 weapons and support systems managed by project managers.[8] Cleland[9] points out the major reasons for the adoption of this approach in the Defense Department.

> The basic objectives involved in the development and acquisition of a weapon system include divergent activities such as research, engineering,

> test, production, operational support, etc., all of which are time-phased over the life of the project. The result is an interlaced sequential managerial activity encompassing broad spectrums of personnel and resources extending over several years of time. The intimate superior/subordinate relationship found in recurring activities still exist but the main focus of the task involves the unification and integration of complex input factors into a meaningful pattern of accomplishment. The functional approach, or traditional departmentalization based on homogeneity of duties or geographic location, becomes meaningless when the task involves the coordinated single-goal effort of hundreds of organizations and people.

The systems project manager, while still reporting to a superordinate, has the mandate to manage across functionally organized departments and bring together in one area all the activities required to accomplish a specified objective.

Project management can be differentiated from traditional forms of management in several respects: (1) accomplishment of the project will require participation by organizations and agencies outside the control of the project manager; (2) the project manager's authority cuts across various superordinate-subordinate lines of authority in functional departments; (3) the project manager determines many of the project activities whereas the department manager determines how the support will be given to a number of projects; (4) once the project is completed the personnel assigned to it may be reassigned to other activities; (5) the project manager will have a higher proportion of professional personnel and must use different management techniques than those traditionally associated with hierarchical relationships; (6) the emphasis in project management is on unification and integration of diverse activities rather than on direction which the functional managers can employ to support the project; and (7) the project manager does not normally have traditional line authority over organizations involved in creating the goods and services.[10] What this implies is that systems management means not only new organizational forms but new management requirements. Hierarchy becomes somewhat irrelevant and communicating, coordinating, planning, controlling, and motivating becomes much more important than in traditional structures.

Product Management. Whereas project management is essentially concerned with producing or developing a specific item, the concept of product management employed in marketing usually involves a manager in pricing, advertising, market research, and all activities generally associated with marketing a product. Thus, his activities cut across numerous departments of the organization. Product management has found its way into most large companies and, although Fulmer[11] points out that there has been much confusion surrounding the concept because of varying definitions and varying amounts of authority and responsibility accorded the position by different companies, he does indicate that "..without question, there are several large, multi-product companies where product management has provided a remarkably efficient method of coordinating and focusing the functional activities of the firm so as to gain a maximum amount of attention and activity for each product marketed."[12]

Matrix Organization. Related to both product and project management is the concept of the matrix organization employed in the areo-space industry. As described by Mee,[13] the matrix organization is built around specific projects with a manager delegated the authority and responsibility for the completion of the project. A line organization develops from the project, personnel are assigned from functional departments for the duration of the project, and the functional departments of the organization support the project organization. Line operations in the matrix organization are horizontal rather than vertical as in bureaucratic organizations. Mee points out that the matrix organization involves an organizational system designed as a "web of relationships" aimed at starting and completing projects. Although managers of specific projects maintain authority with regard to personnel assigned and are accountable for progress on the project, an overall division controls resource allocation, determines priorities among projects, and performs evaluations.

It is apparent from the foregoing descriptions that systems management requires an emphasis on problems to be solved rather than on continuing functions; makes use of a variety of specialists in achieving objectives; and requires a different kind of planning than in the past. Innovations in management technologies are providing the necessary tools to support these new organizational forms.

Management Technologies: Concepts and Trends in Applications

One needs only a casual acquaintance with current management practice to realize that there are countless new procedures, operations, and machines available for use. The systems movement has spawned numerous lines of thought, basic approaches to problem-solving, and specific products. However, it is beyond the possible scope of this chapter to describe all these approaches and their actual or potential applications. Rather the treatment is selective and limited to those technologies that would appear likely to have the most significant impact upon educational organizations during the next five to ten years. A final section of the chapter describes the limitations and implications of the technologies.

The technologies chosen for treatment include Systems Analysis; Planning, Programming, Budgeting Systems; Operations Research; and Computers and Management Information Systems. Although there is considerable overlap among the four sets, some basic distinctions can be indicated and are expanded in further elaboration in the sections that follow. Systems analysis, involving the evaluation of different alternatives to achieve objectives, is a basic part of PPBS methodology. It is a mode of thinking. Essentially, the PPB system combines many of the procedures normally associated with the systems movement into a framework that seeks to link resource inputs to organizational outputs. In contrast to Operations Research techniques which are oriented to obtaining optimum solutions to pre-determined problems through the use of quantitative data analysis and various formulae, systems analysis and the methods associated with PPB systems are applicable to ill-structured problems where defining the problem and producing a range of alternative solutions are desired. Management Information Systems provide the organizational pattern of data collection and presentation designed to support management and planning processes, and the computer is described as a tool of value in data collection, storage, retrieval, analysis, and distribution.

Attempts to understand the effects of applications of the new management technologies on educational organizations are severly limited. Adoption of the approaches and techniques has barely begun and extensive data concerning the impact of the technologies on business, governmental, or educational organizations is lacking. Nevertheless, this section does contain a description of several of the principal approaches and products associated with management technology and briefly mentions several illustrations applications where possible.

Systems Analysis

Systems analysis is a combination of philosophies and techniques that provides a framework for making choices among alternatives in order to maximize the effective use of resources available to an organization. As such it is the most general of the management technologies and provides a basis for many of the more specific techniques discussed in the following sections. Systems analysis does not rely on the use of computers, applied mathematics or the quantification of all variables in a given situation but rather involves the application of the scientific method with its emphasis on objectivity and emperical or logical testing and retesting of hypotheses to complex problems. Instead of working in an area where the problem is already defined, the systems analyst seeks to define the problem and offer the decision maker a range of alternative choices representing different blends of costs and benefits.

Systems Analysis Concepts. There are many different systems analysis models. However, only one is presented here for purposes of illustration. A first step in this procedure involves determining the needs of the system which leads toward a definition of the problem to be solved.

> A need is defined as the discrepancy between what is and what is required - a definition that indicates that there is a measurable 'difference' or 'distance' between a present state or condition and what is required to accomplished. A problem is defined as the 'requirement' to reduce or eliminate a discrepancy between 'what is' and 'what is required' to a specified level. In this context their needs are identified as discrepencies, and problems are derived from identified needs.[14]

Once the needs have been described and the problems identified, objectives should be stated in operational terms.[15] When performance objectives have been specified, measures of effectiveness used to determine whether or not the objectives have been achieved can be developed. The next step would be to identify those variables which cannot be controlled by the system, referred to as constraints, and those that can be controlled. Constraints or uncontrollable variables refer to those things that are established by tradition or law and cannot be easily changed within a resonable time period. Controllable variables refer to those conditions which the system may manipulate to cause desired effects.

After these variables are identified functions (sub-functions) and alternatives for achieving desired objectives can be specified and evaluated. Functional analysis consists of breaking down all the functions that must occur to achieve the objectives into sub-functions and identifying what performance conditions apply to each sub-function. The performance requirement for each sub-function can be examined and various alternatives for achieving each requirement evaluated. Once the sub-functions and alternatives have been specified, they can be synthesized into total systems. At the same time that the foregoing steps are being achieved, models which abstract cause-effect relationships are developed. The type of model selected depends on available data and the nature of the problem. For some problems where nearly all aspects can be treated quantitatively, techniques such as dynamic programming, game theory, or queuing theory may provide the best means of achieving a solution.[16] Where mathematical models cannot be constructed other techniques such as futuristic gaming, scenario writing, or the Delphi method may be utilized. In either case models used in system analysis serve to guide the collection of data, reveal those areas where more information is necessary, describe and organize information on a particular problem, point to relationships among variables, and provide for the testing of alternatives under various sets of conditions. Such analysis, which provides evaluative feedback on the various steps of the systems analysis procedure, may indicate the need for additional study, more precise projections, and necessary readjustments.

Trends in Applications of Systems Analysis. The origins of systems analysis grew out of industrial experience and applications of systems analysis in the private sector are quite extensive, particularly in large corporations. However, applications in the business community often tend to be of a different sort than in the public sector. One limitation is that such analyses are usually conceptually simpler and devoted to the single over-all objective of maximization of profits.[17] There is, however, evidence of governments contracting with industries for the undertaking of systems analysis studies concerning social and governmental problems. For example, the State of California contracted with several aerospace corporations to conduct systems analysis studies of transportation, criminal justice, problems of public information, and the control and management of waste.[18] Systems Development Corporation was chosen to act as technical advisor to the corporations, evaluate their reports, and design a blue-print for the state in planning follow-up studies. North American Aviation's study of transportation included analyses of the effects of transportation and living habits, changes in the mix of goods shipped throughout the state and the possible effects of new technology. The study resulted in a program that could lead to the mathematical modeling of the transportation system required in the future. A study by Space-General pointed up a number of problems in crime and delinquency and provided techniques for authorities to decide the costs and effects of making changes or the possible consequences of ignoring the problems. The waste management study by Aerojet General evaluated the types and qualities of wastes that would need to be handled in the future and projected research and development activities needed to improve waste and pollution management in the future. Among the recommendations of this study was that a single agency should be established to deal with these kinds of problems. The Lockheed Corporation study provided a design to implement a ten year plan for data processing in California to maximize the investment of the state in information technology.

Recognition that many of the major urban problems lend themselves to systems analysis has grown in recent years. In New York City, for example, Systems Development Corporation conducted a study for Mayor-Elect John Lindsay concerning operations in housing, urban renewal, health services, public welfare, economic growth, and air pollution that provided a substantial information base for Lindsay to draft his legislative program.[19] An outgrowth of that study was another conducted by the same corporation of a proposed system of neighborhood health centers to provide comprehensive public health service to residents.[20] In early 1968, Lindsay announced that the city was entering into a contract with the Rand Corporation to improve the operations of police, fire, health, and housing departments through the use of systems analysis. A special inter-disciplinary staff was also created to provide assistance to various municipal departments in problems of manpower deployment, communications, and prediction of the effects of new programs.[21]

Although with considerably less history than in the case of industry or government, the usefulness of systems analysis techniques in education for assessing situations, separating least important from most important factors, and projecting the effects of alternatives is being increasingly recognized. Studies have been conducted at the state level and are underway in some school districts, and predictive models that may have considerable generalizability are under development. Several projects employing the systems approach have developed from Project PEP experiences in California[22] and a two-year study of the quality of education in Kentucky Public Schools is underway with the aid of systems analysis.[23] The School District of Philadelphia has begun developing a performance forecasting model employing mathematical relationships between resources and achievements to be able to predict in advance the effect of various proposed program alternatives.[24] A project at the United Stated Office of Education has involved the development of an analytical model of an educational system in an urban area.[25] The model can be used to evaluate alternative decisions involving school location, enrollment facilities, and programs by examining their inter-relationships and relationship to various environmental factors.

Planning-Programming-Budgeting System

Although systems analysis may be employed independently, it forms an important part of the Planning-Programming-Budgeting System presently beging adopted in numerous governmental agencies at all levels. Traditionally, budgeting has been based on input categories or line items such as personnel, equipment, and operating expenses. The structure of the budget usually remains constant from year to year and increases in categories are derived from the base of the previous year and some conception of fair share of the public revenue available. Such an approach is not only incremental in that it impedes futuristic planning but also indicates that little attempt is ever made to evaluate outputs of the various programs that the budget is designed to support. In contrast to traditional budgeting practices, a PPB system is output oriented and contains budget projections made in terms of programs.

PPBS Concepts. As the term implies, PPBS involves an interdependency of planning, programming, and budgeting. Planning in this framework is oriented toward output and involves determining objectives and alternatives to achieve objectives in the light of future conditions. Programming involves a method of translating plans into clusters of activities and programs according to established objectives. Budgeting is accomplished on the basis of programs with their output emphasis rather than classifications of input items as has been traditional practice.

However, strict definitions of the terms that define PPBS, as above, do not adequately explain the system. The Planning-Programming-Budgeting System is dependent on three general kinds of activities: (1) planning, structural design and definition of programs; (2) programming, systems analysis, and budgeting; and (3) information support, evaluation, and program revision.[26] The first category of activity in addition to planning activities usually includes definition of several different organizational components and assembles the activities of these in terms of specific outputs. Programs, subprograms, components and basic program elements to achieve desired objectives are arranged in a hierarchy. At the top level there are broad categories of programs that are designed to achieve the most fundamental objectives of the organization. Sub-programs at the lower level reflect more limited objectives but are designed as means of moving toward the achievement of overall organizational objectives.

The second category of activity entails the relating of planned goals to alternative programs, analyzing using systems analysis techniques the relative utility and costs of alternative courses of action, and relating programs to specific resources available in the budget document.[27] Analysis involves the reduction of complex programs into component segments, clarifying objectives and alternative programs to achieve those objectives, and using procedures such as benefit-cost analysis or cost-effectiveness analysis to compare alternative programs. Benefit-cost analysis provides a method to assess the costs of programs and their economic benefits. Within this framework provision is made for individual as well as social benefits and costs and for spill-over benefits that may accrue to either the individual or society.[28] In contrast to the strictly economic nature of benefit-cost analysis, cost-effectiveness analysis may take into account non-economic factors in relating relative program costs to relative effective performance. Comparisons among alternatives are made in numerical terms and choices or priorities established among alternatives based on estimated immediate and future costs as well as benefits or program effectiveness.

The whole process of planning, programming, and budgeting is supported by information and data retrieval systems as well as constant evaluation and review procedures. Since program budgets are projected usually five years into the future, the decision maker must have information pertaining to implications of expenditures made currently. To reduce the uncertainty surrounding budget decisions and program projections, sophisticated information and data retrieval systems on components of the school system are necessary. Finally, the whole PPB process is circular. Evaluative criteria are specified and evalution using benefit-cost or other techniques is completed periodically on operational programs. Feedback from evaluation procedures provides a means for reformulating objectives and can cause recycling of the entire process. This procedure insures system renewal through the review and revision of programs on a regular basis.

Trends in Applications of PPBS. Any discussion of the applications of PPBS might best begin by tracing its historical development. During the early part of this century industrial organizations, particularly Dupont and General Motors, adopted many of the concepts now associated with PPBS, such as long range planning, establishment of objectives, and development of output measures. However, applications during this early period were directed primarily at improving cost accounting procedures, allocating costs to specific goods or services, and thereby providing a basis for determination of profit; and it was not until the 1950's that long range planning activities were correlated with their fiscal implications through new analytical techniques of benefit-cost analysis and marginal utility analysis.[29] Government and educational agencies unable to find appropriate measures for their outputs retained object of expenditure budgets. The recent history of PPBS in government began in 1949 with a report by the Hoover Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch which recommended the adoption of a performance budget based upon functions, activities, and projects. Recommendations as early as 1953 by the Air Force - sponsored RAND Corporation urged the adoption of program budgeting in military affairs. However, the advice was largely ignored until Charles Hitch was appointed in 1961 as Defense Department Comptroller.

Hitch in examining the existing method of budget formulation in the Defense Department, which consisted of fitting the requests of each service into an initial limitation established by the Bureau of the Budget, found the following consequences:

> 1. Each service tended to exercise its own priorities:
>   (a) favoring its unique missions to the detriment of joint missions;
>   (b) striving to lay the ground work for an increased share of the budget in future years by concentrating on alluring new weapon systems; and
>   (c) protecting the over-all size of its own forces even at the cost of readiness....
>
> 2. Because attention was focused on only the next fiscal year. The services had every incentive to propose large numbers of new starts, the full dimensions of which would only become apparent in subsequent years....
>
> 3. Almost complete separation between budgeting and military planning.
>   (a) These critically important functions were performed by two different groups of people....
>   (b) Budget control was exercised by the Secretary of Defense, but planning remained essentially in the services....
>   (c) Whereas the planning horizon extended four or more years into the future, the budget was projected only one year ahead....
>   (d) Planning was done in terms of...outputs; budgeting...in terms of inputs....
>   (e) Budgeting, however crudely, faced up to fiscal realities; the planning was fiscally unrealistic, and therefore of little help to the decision-maker....
>   (f) Military requirements tended to be stated in absolute terms without reference to their costs.[30]

In order to assess more adequately military missions and weapons systems, and relate longer-range planning to annual budgets, Hitch and McNamara introduced a series of reforms. Perhaps most basic to the revisions was instituting planning by missions among the services. Completed on a five year basis, all strategic elements and their supporting expenditures were grouped into programs. Eight major programs were identified: strategic retaliatory forces, continental defense forces, research and development, airlift and sealift forces, general-purpose forces, Reserve and National Guard forces, general support, and military assistance. All programs contained various elements of the Army, Navy, and Air Force and allowed the staff of the Secretary of Defense to assess what the needs of each program were and make reductions where unnecessary over-laps occurred. In addition to planning and programming structures, the PPB system provided for annual review by the Secretary of program change proposals by the military departments, progress reporting by the military departments as a basis for control of performance, provision for review and changing of the five year plan, and emphasis on systems analysis in annual reviews and program change proposals.[31]

Because of the apparent success of the new procedures during the summer of 1965 President Johnson ordered all departments and agencies of the federal government to institute the "revolutionary new system." Several months later, the Bureau of the Budget issued a bulletin directing personnel in various departments and agencies to begin to use PPBS in government planning and decision making. The bulletin summarized existing government management practices as follows:

> Under present practices, however, program review for decision making has frequently been concentrated within too short a period; objectives of agency programs and activities have too often not been specified with enough clarity and concreteness; accomplishments have not always been specified concretely; alternatives have been insufficiently presented for consideration by top management; in a number of cases the future year costs of present decisions have not been made out systematically enough; and formalized planning and systems analysis have had too little effect on budget decisions.[32]

Personnel in various agencies of the government were directed to develop (1) an analytic capacity requiring permanent staffs to conduct continuing in-depth analyses of the agency's objectives and programs to meet these objectives; (2) a multi-year planning and programming process utilizing an information system to present data to agency heads and the President for decision making; and (3) a budgeting process that would translate program decisions into appropriate form for Presidential and Congressional approval.[33]

Undoubtedly the greatest thrust of PPBS has been at the federal level although some applications have occurred in state and municipal governments. PPBS has been installed in the State of Wisconsin, and Wayne McGowan, Director, Bureau of Management of the Department of Administration of that state has argued that PPBS can be utilized as a tool for both executive and legislative decision-making.[34] With respect to educational policy, he indicated that adoption of PPBS in educational programming would provide legislators "a means to exercise truly effective leadership in place of the universal feeling of frustration involved in examining education budgets presented in terms that fail to define program goals and alternatives."[35] In 1967 the California Legislature authorized the creation of a commission for the purpose of developing a program budgeting and accounting system and recommending to the State Board of Education procedures for establishing PPBS in California School Districts. Six pilot school districts have been selected to work toward designing initial PPBS formats. The project schedule established fiscal year 1972-73 as the goal for implementation of PPBS in all California School Districts.[36] In Pennsylvania a study funded by ESEA Title III is intended to design, test, and implement a PPB system which will allow for a coordinated effort in the providing of educational services by local school districts and intermediate units.[37]

A number of local school districts claim to be presently applying PPBS, but as Hartley[38] points out the term is being misused in a number of ways. For example, oftentimes the names of traditional line-item functions are changed to programs, unit costs analysis information is used to indicate that the district has adopted PPBS, and the concept is interpreted as only applying to the operations of the school business manager. However, several school districts are at various stages in the application of authentic PPB systems, although progress has been impeded by the unfamiliarity of the concepts, resistance to innovation, and lack of capital to engage in research and development activities.[39] However, a 1967 national survey of ninety school districts revealed that all school districts who were using program budgeting found it to be an improvement in their budgetary procedures.[40] Several illustrative examples of adoptions in school districts are briefly outlined.

The Chicago Public Schools have recently classified accounts within functional areas placing the major emphasis on programs rather than traditional objects of expenditure.[41] Within the function of maintenance, performance-type activity categories and sub-activities have been defined and central office programs have been classified in terms of process, project, or purpose depending on the nature of the activity. In the instructional program much research is presently underway to relate expenditures to expected outcomes in more specific terms than simply the quantitative measure of number of pupils served. Program budgeting has worked to the advantage of the educational program in Chicago by identifying precisely for what purpose funds are to be used. Hill[42] indicates that in 1965 it was necessary to omit twelve programs that were in the 1964 budget due to lack of funds. When it became apparent to the public that these specific programs would be omitted the demand was such that the Board of Education was prompted to raise the tax rate to provide them. The Memphis School District has also adopted modified program budget procedures.[43] The planning system in this case combines elements of performance budgeting and a financial coding structure that is designed around purposes to be achieved by expenditures. Teacher involvement in determining priorities in the development of curricular structure and systems analysis techniques are used to predict the outcomes of various program actions. In addition, a management information system based on a student development data bank and computer capabilities is being created to provide information necessary for the planning and budgeting procedures.[44]

The City of New York Board of Education announced in 1967 that it was beginning a project to install PPBS in the nation's largest school district. According to Hartley,[45] the chief objectives of the New York City project were to break down the functions of the school district into component cost factors so that policy makers could determine if program objectives were being efficiently achieved; and to improve long range planning through examination of alternatives for achieving objectives, specifying the objectives it wants to achieve over a five-year period, and linking these to available resources. In 1968, the Dade County, Florida Public Schools announced that it had received approval for a Title IV research proposal for a three-year, $600,000 project in program budgeting. A part of this project involves the design and implementation of a management system that would provide support to teachers through various instructional, administrative, and operational services. 'For example, one objective for administrative services was the development of a five-year operating plan with a program budget in which all costs of the schools would be identified in three ways: by object class, by responsibility, and by program. In addition, PERT networks were prepared and a data bank designed as a means of providing school officials with reports by which they could better evaluate the qualitative and cost performance of various programs."[46] In the proposal, areas of research or functions were identified as overall systems design, cost analysis, program identification, accounting procedures, budget procedures, data processing applications, and planning and evaluation procedures. Objectives, procedures, and expected products were defined for each of these areas.

Operations Research

In contrast to systems analyses and PPBS which have a broad framework, operations research is restricted to a prescriptive and quantitative orientation. Rather than exploring and formulating system objectives, the operations researcher generally limits his inquiry to finding a solution to a problem from several alternatives although this may well involve a more precise definition of the problem, including the relationships among and relative importance of the factors involved. OR represents an attempt to provide the decision maker with quantitative information relating to risks, costs, and benefits of alternative courses of action.

Operations Research Concepts. Operations Research demands the gathering of facts and data largely through use of the experimental method. However, the types of management problems to which operations research are applied are of such a nature that controlled experimentation in an actual organizational environment is quite impractical. Operations researchers, therefore, rely upon the construction of mathematical models to symbolically study systems. Such models can be manipulated to simulate changes in the system and to predict the effect of those changes without the necessity of disrupting the operations of the actual system being studied. Although the degree of complexity of mathematical models varies depending on the situation they are designed to represent, operations research models generally take the form of an equation in which a measure of the systems overall performance (P) is equated to some relationship (f) between a set of controlled aspects of the system (Ci) and a set of uncontrolled aspects (Ui).[47] The basic equation of operations research models can, then, be expressed as:

$$P = f(CiUi)$$

Procedures for deriving a solution from the model may be analytical (mathematical deduction) or numerical (trial and error iteration where values are assigned to control variables and the set of values selected that produces the optimum solution).[48]

Operations research techniques are applicable to only certain types of problem areas. These might be generally classified as those that are recurring in nature; where alternative courses of action are possible; where quantitative study and measurement can be accomplished; where there are a large number of controlled variables and a small number of uncontrolled variables; where evaluation of results can be readily achieved; and where operations research solutions would be more accurate yet no more expensive than other methods of analysis.[49] Ackoff and Rivett classify the following as major forms of problems appearing in all kinds of management situations to which operations research techniques can be applied: inventory, allocation, queuing, sequencing, routing, replacement, competition, and search.[50] To solve the complex problems relating to the foregoing forms of management activity numerous specific operations research techniques have been developed. Among the most common of these techniques which rely on basic mathematical tools such as probability theory and statistical theory are programming, queuing theory, simulation, and critical path methods or the Program Evaluation and Review Technique.

Programming is basically a mathematical method for the analysis and computation of optimum decisions relating to making the best use of resources available. It involves the translation of data pertaining to management decisions into mathematical form and calculating an answer.[51] Linear programming techniques can be used where the variables of a program are farily constant, the values of the variables are known, and the relationship among the variables represents a linear or straight line relationship.[52] More specifically, linear programming can be utilized in situations where a given percentage increase in the independent variables will permit the same proportionate percentage increase in the dependent variables.[53] Linear programming has led to the development of several classes of models that can be applied to various situations: 1) inventory models for deciding how much to produce or purchase and determing various costs associated with shortage, delay, production, or purchasing; 2) allocation models for choosing the best combinations of resources and facilities to maximize effectiveness; 3) transportation models for establishing optimum routes of travel to various locations to minimize costs and time and for minimizing distribution costs for delivery from different locations; and 4) replacement models for determining replacement and maintenance schedules so as to minimize potential costs.[54] Where static conditions or straight line relationships among variables do not exist and a number of decisions must be made over time, each somewhat dependent on the others, dynamic programming techniques may be applicable. Shuchman[55] indicates that dynamic programming is essentially a multi-stage process of decision making where the stages may be represented by different time intervals or simply be stages in the solution of a problem. Numerous management problems are amendable to dynamic programming techniques. They have been applied, for example, to problems of procurement, equipment replacement policies, production and allocation problems, inventory problems, and control problems where several interdependent decisions are required over time.[56]

Queuing theory involves the application of mathematical techniques to the solution of problems where congestion of people may occur through a number of people arriving at a place at the same time or through the irregular processing of people arriving to obtain a service. Mathematical models can be constructed out of data about the distribution of gaps between arrivals, distribution of service times, the priority system, and the processing facilities.[57] The objective of queuing studies is to reduce the waiting-time in contrast to service time, while minimizing costs to the service agency by serving as many customers as possible with the least number of facilities. Queuing theory is, then, applicable to a variety of scheduling and sequencing problems.

As previously noted, simulation models are often necessary in operations research to represent the problem or system being studied and to allow appropriate experimentation where mathematical models are impractical. Flagle[58] notes, for example, that as mathematical models used in operations research are modified to realism, "the mathematical complexities increase more rapidly than the model itself approaches reality. In many cases, the mathematical model becomes unsolvable for the complex system, or must be subjected to such simplifying assumptions that the numerical results obtained from it are not applicable to the real problem." Simulation, which may be relatively free of mathematical symbols, can be used to study management and operating systems for the purpose of designing better plans or systems, to demonstrate how a given system functions, and to train individuals for complex tasks.[59] Simulation, in effect, involves establishing an abstract model of the system being studied and then performing sampling experiments on the model.[60] Within the model inputs of energy, material, and information can be varied and data on the operations of each component derived. The process repeated a number of times simulates the operation of the system, permits the accruing of output data, and enables evaluation of the desirability of certain inputs under test conditions.[61] The Monte Carlo Technique, which is often used in random sampling on simulated systems, involves the assignment of numerical data to system inputs. Through investigation of the outputs which result from the inputs, system responses can be ascertained and predictions of likely patterns of future behavior accomplished.[62]

The Critical Path Method or Program Evaluation and Review Technique (PERT) is a specific application of an operations research technique to the analysis, planning, control, and scheduling of complex projects. The basic procedures of the PERT format provide for specifying the objectives of a project, breaking down the project into component activities, indicating a logical sequence among the steps of the project, estimating the time required to perform each step, and continuously monitoring and evaluating the process of the work on the project. A PERT system readily provides information to project managers from a single planning and scheduling device that integrates the activities of the various parts of an organization in achieving project objectives.

The development of a network, a graphic representation of the project plan, is the basic part of the PERT system. The network shows the plan which has been established to accomplish the project objectives, the interrelationships and interdependencies of the elements of the project, and the priorities among the elements of the plan.[63] A network is composed of events (stages in the project) and activities (tasks requiring the utilization of resources). For each activity the optimistic time of completion, the most likely time of completion, and the pessimistic time of completion are computed. After these three estimates have been made an average or expected time for each activity is calculated using a mathematical formula. The critical path, the longest path through the network, which indicates the series of tasks that must be completed in sequence can then be computed. PERT techniques, which provide an efficient tool for planning and project status evaluation can be applied to numerous situations. Generally to utilize PERT, a project must have definite starting and ending points, must be sufficiently complex to warrant the time and expense of using the technique, should have a time factor involved in the completion of the project; and probably is most valuable when applied to non-recurring projects.[64]

Trends in Applications of Operations Research. During World War II the term "operations research" came into usage through applications by the British Military. Due to the increased complexity of technology associated with modern warfare, scientists at that time were requested to apply techniques of scientific research to a series of military problems. The techniques were used, for example, in developing radar systems that would provide maximum protection for the British Isles; determining the optimum size convoy that would allow for minimum escort and yet would give the lowest per cent loss figure; and for establishing patterns of laying sea mines and search patterns for surface vessels.[65] Following the war, operations research groups were established in a number of British industries. However, it was not until the early 1950's that OR groups began to appear in the United States. Several reasons for the late adoption in the United States can be advanced: (1) a large consumer demand after the war created pressures toward volume production rather than efficiency; (2) business problems were not as easily defined as military problems; (3) businessmen were suspicious of the new concept and the expense associated with it; and (4) businessmen who were obtaining results from OR kept such information from their competitors.[66] A survey conducted in 1953 by the Graduate School of Business, Harvard University, of 143 companies disclosed that only seven per cent were using OR techniques. However, a similar survey in 1958 of those firms revealed that 68 per cent were employing OR techniques or methods.[67] A more recent survey of a number of corporations showed that OR was used by more than 50 per cent of the sample companies in activities such as production scheduling, forecasting, inventory control, quality control, and transportation scheduling; and by more than 25 per cent in advertising and sales work, maintenance and repair, plant location, equipment replacement, and capital budgeting.[68] Data on the number or percentage of applications in educational organizations are non-existent. At this point the applicability of the techniques to education is just being recognized and tentatively tested. Most of the work accomplished remains at the conceptual and proposal levels.

Within education most of the applications of OR techniques have been to linear programming problems or scheduling problems. OR techniques have been applied to achieving solutions to problems of the routing and assignment of students in school bus transportation systems and to determining cafeteria menus based on optimum food values and economy objectives.[69] Investigators from the RAND Corporation applied a mathematical model to project a solution to a Los Angeles School transportation problem.[70] The objective was to fill as many as 2370 vacant places in 55 different schools yet keeping costs to a minimum and transporting no child more than 15 miles. The solution indicated that for a cost of about $250,000 and a maximum travel distance of 14.8 miles all but 210 of the 2370 vacancies could be filled. The investigators indicated that adoption of the solution would be equivalent to adding about 72 classrooms.

OR techniques have been used for estimating pupil population growth, locating school sites, assigning geographic areas to certain schools, and for determining racial balance in schools. Uxer,[71] for example, developed a predictive model encompassing thirteen different factors for locating sites for area vocational schools. Clarke and Surkis[72] report a study where they were given certain inputs about the distribution of race by students in a community, the ethnic composition desired at each school, and the configuration of mass transportation lines and were to find a plan of assignment of students to schools which achieved the desired ethnic composition at each school and required no student to travel more than a specified number of minutes per day. In addition, the United States Office of Education employing operations analysis, which combines operations research and systems analysis, has embarked on the study of a number of significant problems in American education. Among the topics being explored are analysis of teacher and pupil flows, achievement factors, flows of funds, and manpower and employment.[73] Simulations using the computer have been designed to model urban school districts,[74] universities,[75] and total cities.[76] In each case such models allow decision makers to experiment with their decisions and plans and analyze system reactions before actually putting their policies in effect.

PERT techniques originally introduced in the Navy Department in connection with the Polaris project have achieved considerable recognition in government, industry, and education. A recent sample survey of 186 companies selected from among the 500 largest industrial concerns revealed that 56 per cent were found to be using PERT/CPM and that a significant number of the non-users indicated that they would be using it within two years.[77] Two-thirds of the respondent companies reported that improved control and the capacity to compare progress with scheduled goals were the major advantages of the PERT/CPM technique. The study reported that a large number of companies also found advantages in cost and time savings, improved coordination, and more realistic communication along hierarchical levels. Although there were a number of applications cited, over half the companies used the technique in construction management and approximately 48 per cent applied it in the area of research and development. Within education PERT has been applied to a number of projects that require sequential planning. For example, Cook[78] reports that Cuyahoga Community College uses PERT to coordinate a number of activities concerning the expansion of the staff, the curriculum, and the buildings; and that the Shoreline Public School District of Seattle is using PERT in the planning and establishing of a junior college, in the development of a basic curriculum guide for elementary and secondary schools, and in the installation of an IBM 260 series. Kopferhas developed an instructional management strategy based on PERT that is designed to assist teachers in establishing sequential step procedures for achieving individual instruction.[79]

Computers and Management Information Systems

Since information and information analysis are basic to all the systems approaches and techniques discussed to this point, applications of computers and development of management information systems (MIS) can hardly be considered apart from the use of systems analysis, PPBS, or OR. Although it is certainly true that many of the methods discussed can be employed without the use of the computer and without the organization of a sophisticated information system, both can be designed to support many of the operations concerned with their application. In addition, computers can make a significant contribution to the data processing and data banking aspects of information systems. Computers, for example, can be used to store and retrieve information, make analysis of available data, make predictions, and generate control signals.[80] A MIS can provide the basis for organizing and summarizing the information necessary to reach decisions and to plan or control organizational directions.

MIS Concepts. As the term implies, a MIS is any system, whether manual or automated, that provides procedures for obtaining and summarizing data useful to management in carrying out its basic functions. The systems approach to organizing information in an organization calls for specification and definition of the type of data reports needed by management. In other words, as a starting point management must decide what are its information requirements. At present, sub-systems within the organization possess information that relates to their particular operations. For example, in the school, data may be amassed and held separately by those concerned with business operations, curriculum and instruction, pupil services, community relations, personnel, and so forth. Each of these constitutes a separate data file of a MIS. Application of the systems approach would serve to integrate the information from these sources into meaningful summaries for different levels of management. Such a procedure would indicate what reports were to be generated, when they should be prepared, and to whom they should be directed.[81]

Management at different levels in the organization has unique information needs. Middle management, such as the building principal in the school organization, generally requires information relating to operating and control functions. Such information might include, for example, data pertaining to student personal and academic difficulties; pupil aptitude and achievement; and teacher performance data including background, education, and specialties. At the top management level, the central office and policy making boards, somewhat different types of information are necessary. Concern at this level is primarily for information relating to planning and overall evaluation and might include reports on enrollment projections, curriculum evaluation, financial projections, community interest group activities, and administrative problems and issues. At any level, information presented should be related to other relevant information, should be presented in usable form, and should relate to the goals and objectives of the organization.

Computer Capabilities. The acceptance of the electronic computer during the last fifteen years has been both dramatic and unique. Whereas in the past, decades have been required for other major inventions to find their way into extensive application, the computer is already assuming a major role in the scheme of present day affairs. As the engine of modern management technology, it has forced men to clearly define what they want to do as a necessary precondition to instructing and programming the machine. Thus, the computer not only supports the use of various intellectual processes associated with the systems movement but is an interactive element in the trend toward more rational decision making and planning methods.

Basically, the computer is a device for the ingesting and processing of information. The computer has an arithmetic unit providing for instantaneous calculation, a memory unit which stores knowledge, a stored program device that follows a set of instructions by code, and control units through which it reads and executes instructions.[82] In addition, the computer possesses the faculty of conditional transfer which allows it to choose from alternatives, make assessments, and develop conclusions.[83] With respect to the management technologies already outlined, the computer has a number of roles. It can be utilized as an instrument for calculating solutions to complex mathematical problems, for testing models through the use of simulation, for information collection and processing, and for controlling operations. However, the computer should be clearly seen as a tool that only becomes effective when applied in the problem solving processes inherent in the intellectual aspects of new management technologies.

Since many of the techniques discussed in previous sections of this chapter rely heavily on the calculation of masses of quantitative data, the adaptability of the computer to these techniques is apparent. For example, most techniques associated with OR are dependent upon the computer for high speed calculation of mathematical problems such as those apparent in PERT and mathematical programming. This is not to say, of course, that the computer is of no value to those using systems analysis or PPBS because where variables in those problem solving techniques can be quantified, applications of the computer are as relevant as they are in OR methods. Model building and simulation are an integral part of all new management technologies. Through the use of its calculating ability the computer once fed the operations of a system can simulate the actual processing of inputs, the effects of the inputs on various syb-systems of the organization, and reflect the variety and quality of output that can be anticipated. Through the use of simulation the computer is able to develop alternatives to problem situations, provide analysis of each alternative pattern, and reach conclusions. It should of course be underscored that the analysis of alternatives by the computer will only be as accurate as the simulated model constructed by man. In effect, then, the computer makes possible complex analyses of previously incoherent data and extracts from masses of statistical information simplicities and regularities that may form the bases of planning and decision making irrespective of what technique is employed.

Data processing is probably the basic component of a management information system, particularly if it is directly tied in with a data base through which information is received, secured, accounted for, converted, and retrieved.[84] Data processing equipment usually involves electronic accounting machines (EAM) and or electronic data processing (EDP). The use of EAM does not involve the computer; these are electrically driven machines such as keypunch services, card sorters, or automotic reproducing devices. The most common of this variety of machines are the keypunch, verifier, reproducer, sorter, interpreter, collator, calculator, and the accounting machine.[85] The use of the computer is basic to EDP. An EDP system differs from an EAM operation, which is essentially a unit record installation, in a number of significant ways: the computer operates at much higher speeds; it can handle multiple cards rather than one at a time and is, therefore, more flexible; it can store data transmitted to it; and can alter its own control and processing procedures (programs) according to various circumstances.[86] While EAM units have definite limitations, the digital computer can store vast amounts of information, has lightning speed, is both accurate and adaptable, and is controlled by a program so that it acts upon input data in a predetermined manner. To process data into information, the processing unit can treat the data by sequencing, grouping, selecting, calculating, editing, comparing, correlating, or summarizing them.[87]

Trends in Applications of Computers and MIS. The acceleration in the use of computers in the United States since 1955 has been staggering. Depending on the source it is estimated that there were between 700-1000 computers in use in 1955, about 22,000 in 1965, and estimates for 1975 range from approximately 70,000 to 80,000. However, more important than the number of devices in use are their improvements in speed, decrease in cost per unit of computation, and increase in storage capacity over the past dozen years -- all trends which are predicted to extend into the future. In the face of all this remarkable activity use of computers in education has lagged far behind their applications in business and government. In business, for example, a recent survey of 108 different types of manufacturing companies revealed that in 97 of those companies top computer executive positions had emerged.[88] Most of the companies included in the 1968 survey expected to direct most of their computer effort to operating areas during the next three to five years, and many were investigating the possibility of eventual integration of computer activities into total management information systems but most companies did not intend to go that far within the three to five year period. In contrast, the use of electronic data processing equipment (EDP) has been seriously hampered in education by ignorance, suspicion, costs, and software problems. However, there have been some applications of the computer to data processing and to calculating processes associated either with intellectual management technologies or with basic control operations.

At present, applications of EDP in school districts take a number of forms. Data processing usually includes operations concerned with school business management such as payroll budget, inventory, property management, tax rolls and assessments, accounts payable and receivable; or those concerned with pupil personnel data such as census, registration, schedules, progress reports, transcripts, class rank reports, sectioning by abilities, medical records, physical fitness and disability records, and test results.[89] A recent survey of 134 state institutions of higher education revealed that 97 per cent used computers in student affairs data (e.g., grading records, registration, admissions, testing, student records, alumni records, etc.), 89 per cent applied them in financial management (e.g., general accounting, payroll, inventories, budget preparation, cost analysis of operations, investment records and analysis), 66 per cent utilized computers in physical plant management (e.g., space inventories, space cost analysis, assignment of classroom space, assignment of office space), and 69 per cent employed them in general policy planning (e.g., long-range planning, institutional research, simulation of institutional operations).[90]

In addition to applications in single institutions several regional and state-wide centers have been formed that provide data processing services to school districts. The New England Educational Data Systems (NEEDS), Total Information Service (TIS), Unlimited Personnel Data through Automation Technology in Education (UPDATE), The Cooperative Plan for Guidance and Admission (CPGA), and the California Pilot Project in Educational Data Processing are examples of this type of activity.[91] On a state-wide level the Iowa Educational Information Center has the capacity to collect, summarize, store, and feedback data to schools and other educational agencies about all phases of the educational program in the state and possesses a research and development facility.[92] Advantages of regional installations, such as economy, large scale applications, greater uniformity, and higher degree of staff competency,[93] are so persuasive that one can probably expect more adoptions along these lines than in single school districts.

Few examples of total Management Information Systems presently exist. Nassau County, New York is, however, engaged in the process of constructing such a system that will support program budgeting procedures.[94] All the operations of the county have been classified in terms of the functions, objectives, programs, activities, and tasks of each department. From reports relating to each of these categories program development and control, performance analysis and control, financial planning and control, and resource utilization and control can be accomplished with adequate information. At the federal level a Systems Development Corporation report details work conducted toward establishing Management

Information Systems for socio-economic programs funded by the government in the Department of Housing and Urban Development, for the Federal Extension Service of the Department of Agriculture, and for manpower programs in the Office of Economic Opportunity.[95]

Interpretation of the Force

Due to the complexity of the interrelationships of the large number of variables influencing social situations, interpreting the present impact and projecting future effects of a force as new as management technologies is, at best, a hazardous task. Confident predictions can probably be made regarding the quantitative increase in the use of computers, information processing, operations research, and Planning-Programming-Budgeting Systems. However, what is more important and of concern here is when quantitative increases signify a change in kind or produce a qualitative difference. This section contains several deductions about the meaning of management technologies drawn from the previous sections of the chapter which contained descriptions of the concepts and illustrative applications of the techniques, discusses some of the limitations and problems associated with the techniques, and includes several generalizations concerning the implications of management technologies for educational organization and administration during the next five to ten years.

Limitations Inherent to the Force

Literature regarding the applications of many of the new management technologies seems to be long on description of the techniques and short on critical evaluation of how well they have worked in practice. Certainly, as the applications discussed in the previous section reflect, some decisions have most probably been different than they would have been had analyses not been employed. Whether any better decisions have been reached with the use of formal analysis is difficult to substantiate. Capron points out that

> ...until the art and science of political science and economics (and philosophy?) have advanced beyond their present stage of very rudimentary development, the last statement can only, in the final analysis, be defended as an individual value judgement and cannot in any meaningful sense be "substantiated".[96]

Alice Rivlin, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Program Analysis, Department of Health, Education and Welfare commented about some of the federal experience with PPBS.

> After two years of applying PPBS to the education programs of HEW, I can report that we have only systemetized our ignorance. We have a much clearer idea than we did before of just what it is that we don't know and what we need to know. We do know more about some things. We know more than we did before

> about how Federal money for education is being spent, what it buys, when, where, and for whom. We know more than we did before about the education problems of the nation -- about which groups are benefitting most or least from education at various levels. But we do not know much about the effectiveness of education generally or of Federal programs in particular in solving education problems.[97]

Thus, PPBS has unquestionably provided some informational benefits to decision makers but the effects on policy outcomes remains unclear.

Comprehensiveness of Analysis. Applications of management technologies, whether they be systems analysis, benefit-cost analysis, operations research, or PPBS, all represent forms of analysis designed to assess the consequences of alternative courses of action under varying degrees of uncertainty. Where objectives are defined, alternatives to achieve objectives developed, consequences of alternatives predicted, and preferred alternatives selected one would anticipate that decision making processes would become quite comprehensive. Testimony given to the Subcommittee on Economy in Government of the Joint Congressional Economic Committee indicates that in general the PPBS framework has allowed agencies to see their objectives in a more comprehensive framework, have made agencies aware of seeking program objectives, and has been useful in promoting a more specific statement of program objectives and in determining program priorities.[98] The same report, however, cites some of the difficulties of the application of PPBS:

> (1) The system has been applied differently in different agencies, thus causing some confusion in multi-agency program evalution. These inconsistencies reduce the efficiency of resource allocation that the PPBS is designed to provide.
>
> (2) Agencies found that in applying PPBS, they lacked much essential data. Population data, for example, can sometimes only be derived from the 1960 census. Other quantifiable data is only available at high cost, both in terms of time and money expense.
>
> (3) Hoepfully, PPBS will lead eventually to a more optimal reallocation of funds within present budgets, but since existing programs tend to gather unique constitutencies and because agencies many times seem to be "locked in" to a certain direction and do not seem to care about possible alternatives, such reallocations become hard to accomplish. To avoid reshuffling, some agencies have applied PPBS only to new programs and have ignored older, and usually more costly programs.
>
> (4) Since programs are not presently structured on a broad, cross-agency basis, a program designed to achieve a given objective in one agency may have high priority, while a program to achieve the same objective in another agency may have low priority. This creates the danger of program conflict and duplication.[99]

Comprehensive approaches to application of PPBS across agencies would seem from the foregoing to reveal a number of inherent difficulties resulting from inadequate data and agency constraints.

Additionally, it is clear from the federal experience that PPBS does not help in making choices between national goals. William Gorham, formerly Assistant Secretary (Program Coordination), Department of Health, Education and Welfare stated the problem in formal testimony:

> Let me hasten to point out that we have not attempted any grandiose cost-benefit analysis designed to reveal whether the total benefits from an additional million dollars spent on health programs would be higher or lower than than from an additional million spent on education and welfare. If I was even naive enough to think this sort of analysis possible, I no longer am. The benefits of health, education, and welfare programs are diverse and often intangible. They affect different age groups and different regions of the population over different period of time. No amount of analysis is going to tell us whether the Nation benefits more from sending a slum child to pre-school, providing medical care to an old man or enabling a disabled housewife to resume her normal activities. The "grand decisions" - how much wealth, how much education, how much welfare, and which groups in the population shall benefit - are questions of value judgement and politics. The analyst cannot make much contribution to their resolution.[100]

The implication of comprehensive emphasis associated with both the intellectual technologies and their supporting hardware has become the center of considerable debate. Linblom,[101] for example, rejects the "rational comprehensive" method as being beyond man's limited problem solving ability and insists that public policy decisions are made through a "successive limited comparisons" or incremental approach where problems are never considered to be solved but are attacked successively or serially and attention is directed at only a limited number of alternatives and a restricted number of consequences. He is, of course, quite correct that evaluation of all alternatives and all programs is quite impossible. The fact is that neither approach is apt to become exclusive and neither will occur at its absolute theoretical extreme. Analysis must be piecemeal and designed to provide assistance in finding feasible solutions or sub-optimizations for sub-problems.[102] Data presented earlier on the types of problems to which analysis techniques have been applied would seem to bear this out.

Distortion of Goals. Although the techniques may be based on a rational approach they do not replace judgement on the part of the decision maker. Output from any of the systems oriented procedures should be seen as only one input to decision processes. Judgment and inituition permeate all steps in analysis. Designing the model, decising what alternatives to consider, determining what factors are relevant, assessing the interrelationships among the factors, determing criteria, and interpreting results require judgement.[103]

Determination of objectives within the systems analysis framework requires an expression of values, and within education there is considerable disagreement about what the objectives should be. Social goals encompassing numerous qualitative dimensions are, at best, difficult to define. This is particularly important in education because data of the kind needed for effective output measures may influence decision makers to place greater emphasis on objectives that can be easily measured. Quantitative data may be over-emphasized to the exclusion of measures of qualitative worth. Because of the neglect of the uncertainties involved in specifying and measuring educational outputs, one would suspect that a conservative bias to choices may develop. Obviously, one rational way to simplify decision making is simply to disregard uncertainties[104] and concentrate on those products that can be measured. For example, applications of OR techniques to problems in educational organizations have generally been limited to sub-system problems where outcomes are easily defined. However, the techniques do have the potential of being applied to making selections among alternatives designed to achieve certain educational outcomes. Lack of specification of measurable educational outcomes and insufficient research knowledge relating inputs to outputs are chief inhibiting factors at present. Furthermore, as Quade[105] points out analysis is always incomplete because of time, costs, and the fact that all relevant factors cannot be considered, measures of effectiveness are at best approximations for indicating the attainment of vaguely defined objectives, and there is no satisfactory way to predict a single future for which an optimum policy or system can be worked out.

Implications for Educational Organization and Administration

Problems concerned with the limitations of the technologies will undoubtably continue to occur. There will be improper adaptation of models developed elsewhere to educational situations, an overemphasis on the gathering of quantitative data through crude testing devices, and overemphasis on economic efficiency. It would also seem likely that because of the complexities involved in comprehensive analysis and lack of adequate data concerning educational outputs that extensive use of formal methods of analysis will be somewhat limited during the next five to ten years. There will be a quantitative increase in the use of the techniques but formal analysis will be directed at new programs, middle range programs with similar objectives, programs where information is available or can be obtained at minimum costs, and programs where there is a clear relationship between input and output. However, even within these limitations a number of new trends associated with the use of management technologies may emerge that will effect educational organization and administration.

New Patterns of Organization. Application of the systems approach to management has created new patterns of internal organization in some industries and in some agencies of the federal government. Project management as adopted in the development of new weapons systems and space programs in the military and contracting defense industries has somewhat reduced reliance on patterns of vertical hierarchy and required integrated efforts on a horizontal basis to achieve specific outcomes. Due to a variety of factors, not the least of which is the complexity of modern problems requiring the integrated efforts of teams of specialists, a system approach to organization, such as reflected at least in part in project management, has provided a directional force toward the modification of bureaucratic structures. Increasing specialization makes it more and more difficult for line administrators to perform integrative functions. As Bennis[106] points out organizations may become rapidly changing, temporary systems, characterized by organization around task forces or problems-to-be-solved groups. Such groups would evolve in response to particular problems rather than programmed expectations, and organizations may consist of numbers of these project groups rather than functional departments.

However, a number of institutional factors within educational organizations will impede substantial change in the direction of systems management during the next five to ten years. Resistance to innovation in educational institutions is legendary. Although change is increasingly accepted as a condition of progress, the qualities of educational organizations, deeply rooted in traditional bureaucratic practices, tend to ensure individual security and mitigate against meaningful innovation. Problems perceived in one part of the bureaucracy and subjected to technological analysis will probably tend to be solved in that part rather than being viewed in interrelationship with problems in other parts. In educational organizations where there is some need for permanence and continuing functions as opposed to temporary sub-systems, there will be no drastic revolution to encompass the system approach to organization during the immediate future. Some new programs that are assigned to the schools may be organized along the project management design but the basic bureaucratic structure will remain.

The logic of systems analysis and PPBS would seem to indicate the necessity of a certain amount of restructuring of local governments. Organizational units that perform related functions from a programmatic point of view may eventually be brought together.[107] For example, educational and public welfare organizations could be combined into a single agency in order to facilitate solutions to interrelated problems. Due to the number of vested interests involved strong resistance to such reorganizations can be anticipated. PPBS has been in Washington for a number of years and virtually no interdepartmental reorganization has occurred. However, PPBS may ultimately provide state and local officals with the tool necessary to overcome the inertia inhibiting effective reorganization. It can be expected that a few such inter-agency combinations may appear within the next several years. In any event, more informal cooperation and interdependency among public agencies to take advantage of special facilities and programs such as data storage and retrieval systems, special planning staffs, and OR specialists will most likely occur within the coming five to ten year period.

Centralization. An additional issue concerned with the application of management technologies in organizations involves the degree of centralization commensurate with it. Discussion of centralizing tendencies is usually made with reference to information systems, but planning and budgeting activities imply a centralization of policy making as well. Experience in the Department of Defense with PPBS indicates that authority has become more centralized. Whisler[108] indicates that "the current impact of information technology is to centralize the control structure of organizations in the parts of them to which it has been applied." However, he does point out that the technology is really too new to conclude that the long range effect will be the same. Centralization of information systems and planning processes has some advantages as well as disadvantages. For example, centralization can permit correlations and integrations that are quite difficult in a decentralized system.[109] On the other hand, control of data at a central level has the potential for impeding the flow of information among sub-systems and of essential and critical feedback to them

The centralization of information in data banks and the use of formal analysis can greatly increase the power of the administrator in decision making processes.

> ...In an intellectualizing society and an intellectualizing government, information and its analysis are more than ever power. And if PPBS can strengthen the influence of one or another contributor upon decisions in the administrative maelstrom, it is in fact changing the organization in a significant way. This may have been the most important single result of PPBS in the Department of Defense: to strengthen the hand of the Secretary in his relations with the Joint Chiefs, the three military services, the Congress, and private industries.[110]

This power will not only influence the administrator's position in relation to teachers but will effect his position in the whole educational policy making process. Public policy making has traditionally been seen as revolving around central decision making bodies with lines of authority clearly drawn from elected officials to appointed administrators. Models of local, state, and national educational government are fashioned according to bureaucratic designs with public and educational administrators being held accountable to legislative bodies or public boards. Since administrators have no theoretical justification for making value choices, an administrator's ability to defend his decisions on reasoned grounds through the use of new management technologies may have some political significant for this traditional relationship.

Control. Closely related to the centralization of power in organizations is the issue of control. Control in organizations adopting management technologies will be greater than in the past. Increased information processing capacities and the PPBS format providing for the precise arrangement of resources to attain certain objectives will facilitate evaluation of performance. When performance of teachers can be measured on the basis of objective criteria there seems little reason to believe that all teachers may continue to have the same responsibilities and receive the same rewards as all others. Thus, differentiated salary schedules based on performance may become a significant factor within educational organizations in the next few years.

It is in the area of operational control involving programmed decisions such as implementing policies, maintaining facilities, and scheduling that many of the techniques associated with management technology may receive their largest frequency of educational application in the immediate future. As computer capabilities are increased, applications in heuristic problem solving and unprogrammed situations will occur and become relevant to management control processes such as budgeting. Sequencing, scheduling, routing, and replacement problems will be in large measure solved by OR techniques in a routine way. An increasing number of the reporting practices commonly associated with the schools (e.g., attendance reporting) will be handled by electronic data processing systems.

Staffing. School systems will see the advent of new staff specializations in the next five to ten years. As in government and industry, however, the new units which may include computer and data processing experts, systems analysts, and operations researchers, will be attached in the hierarchy probably at the central office level and then only in the larger school districts. Middle management (the principal in this case) will not wither away simply because more and more of his control activities are taken over by programmed operations and new specialists are added at central levels. The fact is that EDP systems will allow him, as they will the teacher, to spend more time in planning activities.[111] One result of this could be that differentiated schools with more programs relating to the needs of local clientele and the special competencies of the professional staff may begin to appear. The line-staff concept will be maintained but the content of management jobs will shift. More planning will be accomplished at the attendance unit and managers at these levels will be held more accountable for their programs than is presently the case. Increased emphasis at the central office level will be placed on integrating the activities of the total organization, systematic evaluation, and long-range planning activities.

Conclusion. No revolutionary change in educational organization or management is expected within the next decade. Although the new management technologies place great emphasis on defining and measuring outputs, the lack of adequate data regarding what outputs should be, how they can be attained, and how to measure their attainment presents a serious obstacle. Evidence contained in the chapter on Research and Development would seem to indicate that it is doubtful if such information will be forthcoming in the near future.

The technologies will have some effect, however. Organizations will remain bureaucratic but new staff positions to include management technology experts will be added at the central level or at regional centers. Problems that can be submitted to quantiative analysis will be increasingly solved using OR techniques. However, such problems that are amenable to quantitative analysis are really not the central political, psychological, or sociological considerations facing the school administrator. Most problems involving complex qualitative variables will continue to be solved on the basis of intuition and judgement, but applications of the systems approach will place greater emphasis on planning, throughtful analysis, and increased information requirements. Attention to specific issues may become more focused and value premises on which plans are based will become increasingly important. There will be more pressure toward rational dissent utilizing factual information and reasoned analyses of data. All this would seem to suggest that there will be more questionning of values, alternatives, and programs in educational policy making; yet as educators are more able to articulate objectives and expected gains and losses from various alternatives, one could possibly expect increased public support for the schools.

Notes

[1] Max Ways, "Tommorrow's Management: A More Adventurous Life in a Free-Form Corporation," *Systems, Organizations, Analysis, Management: A Book of Readings,* Eds. David I. Cleland and William R. King (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1969), p. 38.

[2] David I. Cleland and William R. King, "Introduction," *Systems, Organizations, Analysis, Management: A Book of Readings*, p. 1.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 1.

[4] See L. von Bertalanffy, "General Systems Theory," *General Systems*, Vol. 1 (1956).

[5] Donald R. Miller, "A System Approach for Solving Educational Problems," Operation PEP, November, 1967, p. 3.

[6] Ways, "The Road to 1977," *Fortune,* Vol. LXXXV, No. 1, (January, 1967).

[7] William H. Read, "The Decline of the Hierarchy in Industrial Organizations," *Systems, Organizations, Analysis, Management: A Book of Readings*, p. 19.

[8] David I. Cleland, "Project Management," *Systems, Organizations, Analysis, Management: A Book of Readings,* p. 289.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 282

[10] Drawn from a more extensive discussion of these characteristics by Cleland, *op. cit.*, pp. 283-284.

[11] Robert M. Fulmer, "Product Management: Panacea or Pandora's Box," *Systems, Organizations, Analysis, Management: A Book of Readings*.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 26.

[13] John F. Mee, "Matrix Organization, "*Systems, Organizations, Analysis, Management: A Book of Readings.*

[14] Roger A. Kaufman, "A System Approach to Education: Derivation and Definition," Department of Instructional Technology, School of Education, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, California, 1968, p. 1.

[15] The following discussion is drawn from John Pfeiffer, *New Look at Education* (New York: Odyssey Press, 1968), pp. 22-32.

[16] E. S. Quade, "Systems Analysis Techniques for Planning-Programming-Budgeting," Planning-Programming-Budgeting: A Systems Approach to Management, Eds. Fremont J. Lyden and Ernest C. Miller (Chicago: Markham Publishing Company, 1967), p. 300.

[17] E. S. Quade, "Introduction," Systems Analysis and Policy Planning: Applications in Defense, Eds. E. S. Quade and W. I. Boucher (New York: American Elsiver Publishing Company, 1968), p. 10.

[18] For more complete description see SDC Magazine, "Systems Analysis - Performance," Vol. 9, No. 10 (October, 1966), and Thomas C. Rowan, "Systems Analysis: Problems, Progress, and Potential," System Development Corporation, October, 1966.

[19] SDC Magazine, "Systems Analysis - Performance."

[20] Ibid.

[21] Jack Culbertson, "Identifying Emerging Administrative Technology and the Underlying Concepts," (mimeo).

[22] See Operation PEP, "Symposium on the Application of System Analysis and Management Techniques to Education Planning in California," June, 1967.

[23] Richard I. Miller, "A Systems Analysis of Education in Kentucky Public Schools," paper presented at the American Educational Research Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, Illinois, February, 1968.

[24] Office of Research and Evaluation, School District of Philadelphia, "Report of Activities: 1967-1968," pp. 19-20.

[25] Stephen C. Clark, Richard J. O'Brien, C. Marston Case, "Urban Education Systems Analysis," Technical Note Number 24, National Center for Educational Statistics, Division of Operations Analysis, United States Office of Education, January, 1967 (mimeo).

[26] For more extended treatment see Harry J. Hartley, "Economic Rationality in Urban School Planning: The Program Budget." Urban Education, Vol. III, No. 1 (1967), pp. 42-43.

[27] Ibid., p. 43.

[28] Harry J. Hartley, Educational Planning-Programming-Budgeting (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1968), p. 31.

[29] Advisory Commission on School District Budgeting and Accounting, State of California, "Report on Planning-Programming-Budgeting System for California School Districts," June, 1968, p. 1.

[30] Charles J. Hitch, *Decision Making for Defense* (University of California Press: Berkeley, California, 1965) pp. 24-26 as quoted in Steven Lazarus, "Planning-Programming-Budgeting Systems and Project PRIME," *Planning-Programming-Budgeting: A Systems Approach to Management.* Eds. Fremont J.. Lyden and Ernest C. Miller (Chicago: Markham Publishing Company, 1967), pp. 361-362.

[31] Robert N. Grosse and Arnold Proschan, "The Annual Cycle: Planning-Programming-Budgeting," *Defense Management,* Ed. Stephen Enke (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1967), pp. 32-34.

[32] U.S. Bureau of the Budget, *Bulletin 66-3 Planning-Programming-Budgeting* (October 12, 1965), p. 1.

[33] *Ibid.*

[34] Wayne F. McGowan, "How to Apply Program-Planning-Budgeting in Your State," paper delivered at the National Conference of State Legislators, Washington, D.C., December, 1966.

[35] *Ibid.*

[36] Advisory Commission on School District Budgeting and Accounting, Department of Education, State of California, "Progress Report #1," December, 1968.

[37] C.E. Brewin, A.M. Nerman, J.K. Parker, R.L. Sisson, W.B. Castetter, "Intermediate Unit Planning Study, Phase I Progress Report," Office of the Superintendent, Bucks County Public Schools, Pennsylvania, March, 1968.

[38] Hartley, *Educational Planning-Programming-Budgeting*, p. 114.

[39] *Ibid.*, p. 114.

[40] See LaMar L. Hill, "Program Budgeting in Public School Districts, Part I," and Frank L. Mattox, "Program Budgeting in Public School Districts, Part II," *Proceedings, Addresses, and Research Papers*, Association of School Business Officials of the United States and Canada, 1967.

[41] See Donald W. Hill, "Progress Report on Program Budgeting in Chicago." *Trends in Financing Public Education* (Washington, D.C." National Education Association, 1965).

[42] *Ibid.*

[43] Reported by Hartley, *Educational Planning, Programming, Budgeting,* pp. 118-119. See also E.C. Stimbert, "Progress Report on Programmed Budget in Memphis," *Trends in Financing Public Education.*

[44] Hartley, *Educational Planning, Programming, Budgeting,* pp. 118-119.

[45] Ibid., p. 120.

[46] *Ibid.*, p. 117.

[47] For more complete discussion see Russell L. Ackoff and Patrick Rivett, *A Manager's Guide to Operations Research* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1963), pp. 24-25.

[48] C.W. Churchman, R.L. Ackoff, and E.L. Arnoff, *Introduction to Operations Research* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1957), p. 14.

[49] N.L. Senensieb, *The Role of Operations Research in Business* (Cleveland, Ohio: Systems and Procedures Association, May, 1961), p. 22.

[50] Ackoff and Rivett, *op.cit.,* p. 34.

[51] Alderson Associated, Incorporated, "Solution of Management Problems Through Mathematical Programming," *Scientific Decision Making In Business,* p. [illegible]4.

[52] Senensieb, *op.cit.*, p. 13.

[53] Alderson Associated, Incorporated, *op.cit.*, p. 205.

[54] Adapted from Senensieb, *op.cit.*, pp. 13-14.

[55] Abe Shuchman, "The Nature and Characteristics of Dynamic Programming Problems," *Scientific Decision Making in Business,* p. 207.

[56] *Ibid.*, p. 208.

[57] F. de P. Hanika, *New Thinking in Management* (London: Hutchinson and Co., Ltd., 1965), p. 58.

[58] Charles D. Flagle, "Simulation Techniques," *Operations Research and Systems Engineering,* eds. Charles D. Flagle, William H. Huggins, and Robert H. Roy (Baltimore, Maryland: The John Hopkins Press, 1960), p. 425.

[59] Donald G. Malcolm, "Systems Simulation," Scientific Decision Making in Business, p. 408.

[60] J. Hailing, "Simulation Techniques in Operations Research: A Review," Operations Research, Vol. 6, No. 3 (May-June, 1958).

[61] Malcolm, op.cit., p. 409.

[62] F. de P. Hanika, op.cit., p. 44.

[63] Desmond L. Cook, Program Evaluation and Review Technique, Cooperative Research Monograph No. 17 (Washington, D.C.: United States Office of Education, 1966).

[64] John E. Justus, "PERT", School Management (December, 1967), p. 25.

[65] Robert S. Wasbey, "A Perspective of Operations Research," The Business World: Introduction to Business Readings, eds. R. Joseph Monsen and Borje O. Saxberg (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1967), p. 343.

[66] Ibid., p. 344.

[67] Ibid., p. 344.

[68] Charles C. Schumacher and Barnard E. Smith, "A Sample Survey of Industrial Operations Research Activities II," Operations Research, Vol. 13, No. 6 (November-December, 1965), pp. 1023-1027.

[69] Frank Banghart, "A Management Support System Approach to Food Service and Transportation," paper presented at the Eighteenth UCEA Career Development Seminar, Syracuse University, April, 1968.

[70] Pfeiffer, op.cit., pp. 40-41.

[71] John E. Uxer, An Operations Research Model for Locating Area Vocational Schools (Las Cruces, New Mexico: New Mexico State University, 1967).

[72] S. Clarke and J. Surkis, "An Operations Research Approach to Racial Desegregation of School Systems," Socio-Economic Planning Sciences (July, 1968), pp. 259-272.

[73] Alexander M. Mood and David S. Stoller, "USOE is Knee-Deep in Operations Analysis," Nation's Schools, Vol. LXXX, No. 4 (October, 1967).

[74] Roger L. Sisson, "Some Results of a Simulation of an Urban School District," Report No. 142467, Wharton School of Finance and Commerce, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, March 30, 1967.

[75] Pfeiffer, op.cit., pp. 100-109.

[76] Ibid., pp. 1-2.

[77] Peter P. Schoderbek, "A Study of the Applications of PERT," The Academy of Management Journal, Vol. 8, No. 3 (September, 1965).

[78] Desmond L. Cook, "Applications of PERT to Education," paper prepared as consultant to Operation PEP: A Statewide Project to Prepare Educational Planners for California, February, 1968.

[79] Philip G. Kopfer, "An Instructional Management Strategy for Individualized Learning," Phi Delta Kappan, Vol. XLIX, No. 5 (January, 1968), pp. 260-263.

[80] Britton Harris, "Computers and Urban Planning," Socio-Economic Planning Sciences, Vol. 1, No. 3 (July, 1968), pp. 223-230.

[81] Robert L. Howe, "The Concept of Regional Educational Data Processing Centers," Automated Educational Systems, ed. Enoch Haga (Elmhurst, Illinois: The Business Press, 1967), p. 82.

[82] Gilbert Burck, "The Boundless Age of the Computer," Guide to the Quantitative Age, ed. Donald F. Mulvihill (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1966), p. 104.

[83] Ibid., p. 105.

[84] Hartley, Educational Planning-Programming-Budgeting, p. 193.

[85] Murray Tondow, "Computers: Concepts and Hardware," Man-Machine Systems in Education, ed. John W. Loughary (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1966), p. 17.

[86] John I. Goodlad, John F. O'Toole, Jr., Louise L. Tyler, Computers and Information Systems in Education (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World, Inc., 1966), p. 36.

[87] John P. Van Uxem, "A Brief Survey of Types of Data Processing Equipment and Their Uses," Educational Data Processing: New Dimensions and Prospects. eds. Richard A. Kaimann and Robert W. Marker (Boston, Massachusetts: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1967), p. 23.

[88] Neal J. Dean, "The Computer Comes of Age," Harvard Business Review, Vol. 46, No. 1 (January-February, 1968), pp. 82-91.

[89] Ibid., p. 57. For additional information on this subject see Kaimann and Marker, op.cit., and Don D. Bushnell and Dwight W. Allen, eds., The Computer in American Education (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1967).

[90] Francis E. Rourke and Glenn E. Brooks, "Computers and University Administration," Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol. II, No. 4 (March, 1967), pp. 575-600.

[91] For description of these programs see Goodlad, O'Toole, and Tyler, op.cit., pp. 69-76.

[92] For more extensive discussion of this system see E.F. Lindquist, "Implications and Potential of Information Systems in Public Schools" and Robert W. Marker, "Computer-Based Educational Information Systems," Computer Concepts and Educational Administration, eds.. Robert W. Marker, Peter P. McGraw, and Franklin D. Stone (Iowa City, Iowa: The Iowa Educational Information Center, College of Education, University of Iowa, 1966).

[93] Adapted from Howe, op.cit., pp. 85-86.

[94] Drawn from a report in Hartley, Educational Planning-Programming-Budgeting, pp. 108-109.

[95] SDC Magazine. "The Development of Management Information Systems," Vol. II, No. 1 (Winter, 1968).

[96] William M. Capron, "The Impact of Analysis on Bargaining in Government," The Politics of the Federal Bureaucracy, ed. Alan A. Altshuler (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1968), p. 197.

[97] Alice Rivlin, "Education Policy and Education Research," paper presented at AERA Symposium, Chicago, Illinois, February, 1968. Reproduced by the Educational Program Management Center, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio.

[98] Educational Research Management Center, Ohio State University, "Extracts from Report of the Subcommittee on Economy in Government of the Joint Economic Committee, Congress of the United States," 90th Congress, 1st Session, December, 1967, (mimeo).

[99] Ibid.

[100] Joint Economic Committee, Congress of the United States Hearings, The Planning-Programming-Budgeting System: Progress and Potentials, 90th Congress, First Session, September, 1967, p. 5. As quoted in Aaron Wildavsky, Rescuing

Policy Analysis from PPBS," Public Administration Review, (Vol. XXIX, No. 2 (March/April, 1969), p. 195.

[101] See Charles E. Lindblom, "The Science of Muddling Through," Public Administration Review, Vol. 19 (Spring, 1959), pp. 79-88; and David Braybrooke and Charles E. Lindblom, A Strategy of Decision (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1963).

[102] Charles J. Hitch and R. N. McKean, The Economics of Defense in the Nuclear Age (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961), p. 161.

[103] E. S. Quade, "Systems Analysis Techniques for Planning-Programming-Budgeting," Planning-Programming-Budgeting: A Systems Approach to Management, p. 105.

[104] Roland N. McKean, "Costs and Benefits from Different Points of View," Planning, Programming, Budgeting: A Systems Approach to Management, p. 350.

[105] E. S. Quade, "Systems Analysis Techniques for Planning-Programming-Budgeting," Planning-Programming-Budgeting: A Systems Approach to Management.

[106] Warren Bennis, "Organizations of theFuture," Personnel Administration, Vol. 30, No. 5 (September - October, 1967), p. 12.

[107] William M. Capron, "PPB and State Budgeting," Public Administration Review, Vol. XXIX, No. 2 (March/April 1969), p. 158.

[108] Thomas L. Whisler, "The Impact of Information Technology on Organizational Control," The Impact of Computers on Management, ed. Charles A. Myers (Cambridge: The M.I.T. Press, 1967), p. 47.

[109] Francis E. Rourke and Glen E. Brooks, "Computers and University Administration," Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol. II, No. 4 (March, 1967), p. 596.

[110] Frederick C. Mosher, "Limitations and Problems of PPBS in the States," Public Administration Review, Vol. XXIX, No. 2 (March/April 1969), p. 163

[111] See David R. Shaul, "What's Really Ahead for Middle Management," Public Administration: Readings in Institutions, Processes, Behavior, eds. Robert T. Golembiewski, Frank Gibson, and Geoffrey Y. Cornog (Chicago: Rand McNally Company, 1966).

Chapter Six

NEGRO PROTEST AND THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

> "We shall have our manhood. We shall have it or the earth will be leveled by our attempts to gain it."[1]
>
> Eldridge Cleaver

Institutions derive from and feed into a larger cultural context. They reflect to one degree or another the goals and aspirations of the society in which they exist. Of all the corporate and governmental institutions in the United States, schools may be closest to the people, more nearly under local community control. Perhaps because of their special relationship to grassroots society, schools very sharply reflect the essential nature of that society, the values it holds, its beliefs about the nature of men and the world they live in, and its attitudes toward specific groups and ideas.

There is a vast array of historical, sociological, economic, political, and psychological data which draws the objective observer to the inescapable, if tragic, conclusion that American society is indeed a racist society. As the report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders pointed out:

> ...certain fundamental matters are clear. Of these, the most fundamental is the racial attitude and behavior of white Americans toward black Americans.
>
> Race prejudice has shaped our history decisively. It now threatens to affect our future.[2]

As oppression bestirs protest so the Negro protest movement in the United States rests upon a firm foundation of three hundred years of racial tyranny. This chapter proposes to treat this force as it bears upon the future of organization for education in the cities of this nation. It will view the current protest movement and projections for the future within the context of the past. It will seek to characterize the powerful spiritual, psychological, and organizational aspects of black protest and endeavor to project the future of the force and its impact upon urban schools within a general theoretical framework.

Backdrop to Protest: The Consciousness of Deliberate Cruelty

Slavery and racial oppression have since almost before the beginning composed an inexplicable and hostile malignancy within the developing tissue of the American democratic ideology.

> It is one of the bitter ironies of American history that the seeds of the contradiction which created black nationalism were sown in the colony of Jamestown in 1619. When the settlers accepted twenty captured Africans as servants - an act which eventually led to slavery - the reality of black inequality in America was established at the same time that the rhetoric of democracy was articulated.[3]

The debates at the constitutional convention of 1787 gave accurate expression to the prevailing attitudes of white Americans toward black men and women. In the very formulation of the United States Constitution, the basic document of American political democracy, the fathers of our country characterized the black as three-fifths of a man.

There seems little need to recount the needless cruelties and inhuman indignities heaped upon the backs of a race of "invisible men." Black bitterness is evident, however. Of the infamous "middle passage" a Negro poet wrote:

> Deep in the festering hold thy father lies,
> of his bones New England pews are made,
> those are altar lights that were his eyes.[4]

Carmichael and Hamilton wrote in more prosaic terms:

> The fact of slavery had to have a profound impact on the subsequent attitudes of the larger society toward the black man. The fact of slavery helped to fix the sense of superior group position. Chief Justice Taney, in the Dred Scott decision of 1857, stated ... that they (black people) had no rights which the white man was bound to respect. And that the negro might justly and lawfully be reduced to slavery for his benefit. The emancipation of the slaves by legal act could certainly not erase such notions from the minds of racists. They believed in their superior status, not in paper documents. And that belief has persisted. When some people compare the black American to 'other immigrant' groups in this country, they overlook the fact that slavery was peculiar to the blacks. No other minority group in this country was ever treated as legal property.[5]

Negro literature and Negro history are replete with allusions to whippings, burnings, lynching, and rape. These express eloquently the bitter awareness of these events in the cultural consciousness of American Negroes, a consciousness which has engendered protest and revolt throughout the course of American history. The following excerpts illustrate this sense of violent oppression and deliberate cruelty. One is a recounting of the recollections of an old man:

> The Negro man of eighty told a story. He was twelve and a playmate was tied in a cage waiting to be taken away and lynched. The shackled boy stood accused or raping a white woman.

> The old man recalled the fright which caused him to run away the next day. From that time on he never knew a home. His years were spent roaming about the country. He became an itinerant preacher, forever invoking God, but always too terrified to return to his place of birth. When asked why, he would reply: 'the white folks down there are too mean.'
>
> For most of his life he was tortured by memories. Every place he stopped, he soon became frightened and moved on. Sometimes in the middle of a sermon he would cry out: 'how could they do that to a boy?'[6]

Another is a fictional description of mob violence:

> Louisa was driven back. The mob pushed in. Its pressure, its momentum was too great. Drag him to the factory. Wood and stakes already there. Tom moved in the direction indicated. But they had to drag him. They reached the great door. Too many to get in there. The mob divided and flowed around the walls to either side. The big man shoved him through the door. The mob pressed in from the sides. Taut humming. No words. A stake was sunk into the ground. Rotting floor boards piled around it. Kerosene poured on the rotting floor boards. Tom was bound to the stake. His breast was bare. Nail scratches let little lines of blood trickle down and mat into the hair. His face, his eyes were set and stony. Except for irregular breathing, one would have thought his already dead. Torches were flung onto the pile. A great flare muffled in and black smoke shot upward. The mob yelled. The mob was silent. Now Tom could be seen within the flames. Only his head, erect, lean, like a blackened stone. Stench of burning flesh soaked the air. Tom's eyes popped. His head settled downward. The mob yelled. Its yell echoed against the skeleton stone walls and sounded like a hundred yells. Like a hundred mobs yelling. Its yell thudded against the thick front wall and fell back. Ghost of a yell slipped through the flames and out the great door of the factory. It fluttered like a dying thing down the single street of factory town.[7]

The following summary description is frightening in its telltale understatement:

> Late-nineteenty-century statistics of lynching are unreliable. The 'Miscellaneous Items' sections of contemporary Southern newspapers carry sentences like these: 'four negroes were lynched in Grenada last week; also one at Oxford.' Whatever the inadequacies of statistics, however, there is no doubt that the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were a heyday of Negro murder.[8]

Much of the overt violence and covert discrimination wreaked upon black men in this great American democracy has derived not only from motives of selfish economic aggrandizement and status preservation but from an insidious view of Negroes as inferior creatures. In many, most perhaps, the attitude is hidden, even unperceived; in others, it finds its way into open expression.

> The Negro is an ape; hence his status in the universe, his relation to Man, like that of every other animal, was fixed irrevocably by God in the Creation, and no act upon man's part, whether legislative, executive, or judicial, can change it.[9]

The Constitution of the United States guarantees protection to all citizens against cruel and unusual punishment. As the following excerpt from a newspaper report (datelined Paris, Texas, February 1, 1893,) makes clear, this projection has not so protected "gentlemen of color."

> Words to describe the awful torture inflicted upon Smith cannot be found. The Negro, for a long time after starting on the journey to Paris (from Hempstead County, Arkansas, where he was apprehended), did not realize his plight. At last when he was told that he must die by slow torture he begged for protection. His agony was awful. He pleaded and writhed in bodily and mental pain. Scarcely had the train reached Paris than his torture commenced. His clothes were torn off piecemeal and scattered in the crowd, people catching the shreds and putting them away as mementoes. The child's father (Smith was accused of murdering the young daughter of a police officer who, it is said, had cruelly mistreated him), her brother, and two uncles then gathered about the Negro as he lay fastened to the torture platform and thrust hot irons into his quivering flesh. It was horrible - the man dying by slow torture in the midst of smoke from his own burning flesh. Every groan from the fiend, every contortion of his body was cheered by the thickly packed crowd of 10,000 persons. The mass of beings 600 yards in diameter, the scaffold being the center. After burning the feet and the legs, the hot irons - plenty of fresh ones being at hand - were rolled up and down Smith's stomach, back, and arms. Then the eyes were burned out and irons were thrust down his throat.
>
> The men of the Vance family have wreaked vengeance, the crowd piled on all kinds of combustible stuff around the scaffold, poured oil on it and set it afire.[10]

The fear and hatred engendered by events such as these, recounted through generations of Negro families and compounded by the daily denial of dignity and opportunity, have etched in acid upon the black American's brain the endemic racism of his native land. Under the whiplash of slavery and postbellum oppression, he has fashioned elaborate mechanisms of compliance and self-denigration. He has also fashioned violent revolt and a sense of striving toward freedom and redemption as a man.

Negro Protest: Historical Development

> If there is no struggle, there is no progress.... Power concedes nothing without a demand."
>
> Frederick Douglass

Black protest has roots deep in the American past. Slave revolts were common from the very beginning as evidenced not only by accounts of those uprisings but by inference from the nature of the slave statues in the several colonies. A Virginia statute of 1680 reads in part:

> Whereas the frequent meeting of considerable numbers of negroe slaves under pretence of feasts and burialls is judged of dangerous consequence....This act, titled An act for Preventing Negroes Insurrections, prohibits Negroes from carrying clubs, staffs or arms of any type. Lifting up a hand in opposition to any Christian is punishable by thirty lashes. A Negro runaway refusing apprehension is punishable by death. Negro slaves must have a pass to leave the grounds of their owner.[12]

The continuing nature of the threat of insurrection is clear in the passage of an additional statute passed by the Virginia legislature only two years later (1682) which laid further restrictions on slaves and set down even harsher penalties for acts of insurrection. The preamble to this act is revealing:

> Whereas a certaine act of assembly, held at James City the 8th day of June, in the yeare of our Lord 1680, instituted an Act preventing negroes insurrections hath not had its intended effect....[13]

Clearly slave revolts such as that led by Nat Turner which, on August 21,1831, took the lives of fifty-nine people, were not isolated events. Black men were not totally docile, even in the face of cruel laws and inhuman treatment.

> Between 1699 and 1845, a total of fifty-five insurrections were reported on slave ships at sea....Between 1663 and 1864, well over one hundred slave insurrections occurred on land.[14]

Black nationalism is by no means a twentieth century phenomenon. Black nationalist movements date back more than a century. A group looking toward the establishment of a black nation in Africa or some other territory was active in the decade preceding the Civil War. At the Emigration Convention of 1854, three men were commissioned to investigate the possibilities of emigration of blacks to Central America, the Black Republic of Haiti, or the Niger Valley in West Africa.[15] It should be noted that this movement, which gave expression to black political nationalism, was quite independent of the earlier, and subsequent, work of the American Colonization Society which in 1822 sent the first of some 15,000 blacks to that area in West Africa which eventually became the Republic of Liberia. The Society included some well-intentioned Quakers, some practical-minded Northerners, and a few free black men who saw emigration as a last resort to escape white domination, but the largest segment consisted of Southern slave-holders.[16] In the view of one historian of Negro protest, "From the beginning, the American Colonization Society had been essentially ani-black."[17]

The Integration Issue

For more than a century, the Great Divide among concerned Negroes has been the question of integration. Even before the Civil War, the contrary sides of the integration issue were articulately represented by Martin R. Delany and Federick Douglass. Delany, in 1859, organized the Niger Valley Exploring Party to look for possible sites on which to resettle black freedmen. They sought sites in Latin America and Canada as well as in Africa. This early black nationalist trend sought a solution to the emancipation problem through emigration. Douglass, on the other hand, "considered any Negro interest in Africa as a troublesome, impractical and worthless diversion of energies needed to win full equality for Negroes."[18]

Emancipation stirred black hopes for an equal place in American Society. The Reconstruction and post-Reconstruction periods, however, provided clear evidence that such was not to be the case. The mantle of Negro leadership passed from the shoulders of Frederick Douglass, who died in 1895, to those of Booker T. Washington. Continued ideological conflict in the twentieth century between Washington and W. E. B. DuBois, and Marcus Garvey, Garvey and the Black Socialists, or between the NAACP, CORE, SNCC, and SCLC on the one hand and the Black Muslims on the other all devolved fundamentally upon the integration issue. Further differences, but lesser ones, among these organizations hinge upon the degree of militancy each is willing to exhibit and upon differences in their special substantive areas of concern.

For example, although modern black separatist ideology clearly traces many of its most significant roots back to his thinking, Booker T. Washington has been strongly criticized both directly and indirectly by modern-day black militants. He is typically demeaned as an "Uncle Tom" and he has been richly caricatured by black writers.[19] It is interesting that the same militants who denigrate Washington idolize Garvey despite the close personal and ideological relationship which existed between the two men.

Marcus Garvey

Garvey was a disciple of Booker T. Washington. When Garvey came to the United States in 1916, he came to see Washington, who had died in 1915.[20] Garvey's wife testified to Garvey's feelings for Washington:

> While in Alabama we went to Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute. Primarily to pay homage to the late Booker T.. Washington at his monument erected to his memory in front of the chapel.[21]

Garvey was quite familiar with the works of Booker T. Washington and had indeed begun to correspond with him before his death.[22] Tuskegee, itself, stood as a model in Garvey's mind of a school he would have liked to build for Negroes on his native island of Jamaica, British West Indies.

> In 1914 Garvey returned to Jamaica and organized the Universal Negro Improvement Association, to 'take Africa, organize it, develop it, arm it, and make it the defender of Negroes the world over.'
>
> Garvey was impressed with Washington's accomplishments and dreamed of establishing a school like Tuskegee in Jamaica. In 1915, Washington invited Garvey to come to the United States, but by the time he arrived a year later, Washington was dead.[23]

Garvey combined Washington's economic nationalism with a political nationalism of his own. It was as if he had put Delany and Washington together. By the mid-twenties, before he went to prison on a charge of using the mails to defraud, his followers numbered more than a million.[24]

> His basic objective was outlined in a speech he made in New York City in 1922:
>
> We ask for nothing more than the rights of 400,000,000 Negroes.
>
> We of the Universal Negro Improvement Association....resolve to bring together the 15,000,000 of the United States, the 180,000,000 of the West Indies and Central and South America, and the 200,000,000 in Africa. We are looking forward to political freedom on the continent Africa, the land of our fathers.[25]

The "Back-to-Africa" movement foundered upon the imprisonment and deportation two years later of its founder and principal spokesman but it demonstrated forty-five years ago the power of the call to black pride. Although Garvey took a more militant stance, both he and Washington sought the betterment of Negroes through their own efforts, Garvey in Africa, Washington in the United States. Both sought the development of black capitalism -- Washington, in fact, had organized the African Union Company scheme for promoting trade between American Negroes and the Gold Coast, a scheme which came out of a conference on Africa held at Tuskegee in 1912[26] -- and both had a keen sense of their African heritage.

Booker T. Washington

Simplistic judgments of Booker T. Washington are misleading, as are the criticisms based upon those judgments. In his time he was alone above the crowd, one of the most popular leaders American Negroes ever had. Cruse's questions seem to counsel a bit of caution to those who would judge yesterday's heroes harshly in the new light of today's world. He asks:

> Does it make any sense to look back into history and expect to find Negroes involved in trade unionism and political action in the most lynch-ridden decade the South has ever known?[27]

And further:

> In view of the Southern situation in the 1890's, a period of intense post-Reconstruction political and racial oppression, was Washington's program abject submission or a tactial compromise with reality?[28]

The influence of Booker T. Washington upon modern black radicalism is nowhere more clear than it is when one compares his ideology with that of the Black Muslims. As Cruse points out, the nation of Islam is "nothing but a form of Booker T. Washington's economic self-help, black unity, bourgeois hard work, law-abiding, vocational training, stay-out-of-the-civil-rights-struggle agitation, separate-from-the-white-man, etc., etc., morality."[29] He suggests further:

> The only difference was that Elijah Mohammed added the potent factor of the Muslim religion to a race, economic, and social philosophy of which the first prophet was none other than Booker T. Washington. Elijah also added an element of 'hate Whitey' ideology which Washington, of course, would never have accepted. The reason Washington would have considered Malcolm X a madman was that Washington practiced moderate separatism while Malcolm and Elijah preached militant separatism. But it is still the same separatism whose quality only changes from era to another.... Washington preached a form of separatism which laid the ideological ground work for both Garvey and Mohammed. But can anybody be serious if he thinks Booker T. Washington could have preached Mohammed's kind of militant separatism in 1895 in the deep Alabama South? Anybody who thinks so must be a consummate fool and romantic (after the fact)![30]

W. E. B. DuBois

On the other side of the divide from the separatists (accommodationists or radicals as the case may be) one finds the integrationists, those whose primary aim is racial equality in the melting pot - or, more accurately, the mixing pot of American pluralism. These are the philosophical descendants of Frederick Douglass. Into the ideological shoes of that giant of a black abolitionist, who died in 1895, stepped a university-trained intellectual, W. E. B. DuBois.

In 1895, in the speech which had won him national fame for his "cast down your bucket where you are" philosophy, Booker T. Washington had laid down his policy of accommodation:

> The wisest among my race understand that the agitation of questions of social equality is the extremest folly, and that progress in the enjoyment of privileges that will come to us must be the result of severe and constant struggle rather than of artificial forcing. No race that has anything to contribute to the markets of the world is long in any degree ostracized. It is important and right that all privileges of the law be ours, but it is vastly more important that we be prepared for the exercises of those privileges. The opportunity to earn a dollar in a factory just now is worth infinitely more than the opportunity to spend a dollar in an opera-house.[31]

DuBois, writing a few years later, was sharply critical of Washington:

> Mr. Washington represents in Negro thought the old attitude of adjustment and submission; but adjustment at such a peculiar time as to make his programme unique... It has been claimed that the Negro can survive only through submission. Mr. Washington distinctly asks that black people give up, at least for the present, three things,
> First, political power,
> Second, insistence on civil rights,
> Third, higher education of Negro youth--and concentrate all their energies on industrial education, and accumulation of wealth, and the conciliation of the South.
> This policy has been courageously and insistently advocated for over fifteen years, and has been triumphant for perhaps ten years. As a result of this tender of the palm-branch, what has been the return? In these years there have occurred:
> 1. The disfranchisement of the Negro.
> 2. The legal creation of a distinct status of civil inferiority for the Negro.
> 3. The steady withdrawal of aid from institutions for the higher training of the Negro.
>
> These movements are not, to be sure, direct results of Mr. Washington's teachings; but his propaganda has, without a shadow of a doubt, helped their speedier accomplishment.[32]

The NAACP

Under DuBois' leadership the Niagara Movement was organized in 1905. It constituted a protest group composed originally of twenty-nine articulate critics of Booker T. Washington. At its height, the Niagara Movement never gained a membership of more than four hundred, and it dissolved at the end of five years.[33] In 1910, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was founded and incorporated most of the leaders of the Niagara Movement, including W. E. B. DuBois. Lacking funds to support an all-black organization, the black leadership opted to support an integrated association. Some blacks refused to go along. William Monroe Trotter, for example, is reputed to have said simply, "I distrust white folk."[34] Nevertheless, the NAACP was formed and went on to play the dominant role in the black man's struggle for civil rights over the next half century.

Illustrative of the program goals of the NAACP are the following which express its objectives for 1920:

> 1. A vote for every Negro man and woman on the same terms as for white men and women.
>
> 2. An equal chance to acquire the kind of an education that will enable the Negro everywhere wisely to use this vote.
>
> 3. A fair trial in the courts for all crimes of which he is accused, by judges in whose election he has participated without discrimination because of race.
>
> 4. A right to sit upon the jury which passes judgment upon him.
>
> 5. Defense against lynching and burning at the hands of mobs.
>
> 6. Equal service on railroad and other public carriers. This to mean sleeping car service, dining car service, pullman service, at the same cost and upon the same terms as other passengers.
>
> 7. Equal right to the use of public parks, libraries and other community services for which he is taxed.
>
> 8. An equal chance for a livelihood in public and private employment.
>
> 9. The abolition of color-hyphenation and the substitution of straight-Americanism.[35]

In its legal and moral struggle with white America, the NAACP represented the determination of many Negroes, especially the better educated, to work within the system to achieve the constitutional guarantees and ethical rights of all Americans for black Americans. Although the term was not in vogue in the 1920's, the thrust was essentially an integrationist one. This thrust was in sharp contrast, as indicated earlier in this chapter, to the black separatist back-to-Africa movement of Marcus Garvey which, during the same post-World War I period of history, sought relief from oppression by withdrawing outside the system.

The Black Socialists

A third force, also an integrationist one, derived from a labor-oriented, socialist perspective of the social scene. Leading spokesmen of the black socialists were A. Philip Randolph and Chandler Owen, editors of The Messenger. The following statements of philosophy illustrate the socialist dynamic of The Messenger's appeal:

> ...the history of the labor movement in America proves that the employing class recognizes no race lines. They will exploit a white man as readily as a black man.
>
> ...It is apparent that every Negro worker or non-union man is a potential scab upon white union men and black union men.
>
> ...if the employers can keep the white and black dogs, on account of race prejudice, fighting over a bone, the yellow capitalist dog will get away with the bone -- the bone of profits.[36]

Even its view on the lynching question, an issue of vital concern to the entire Negro community, was colored by its socialist perspective.

> Today lynching is a practice which is used to foster and to engender race prejudice to prevent the lynchers and the lynched, the white and black workers from organizing on the industrial and voting on the political fields, to protect their labor power.

Early Examples of Militant Tactics

Not only do the basic issues of Negro protest go deep into the past, but some of the tactics of militancy commonly identified with the sixties actually were first begun in earlier times. For example, the don't-buy-where-you-can't-work campaigns began back in the thirties[37] and CORE began its sit-in activities in Chicago in 1943.[38] In June, 1941, a march-on-Washington movement was begun by A. Philip Randolph and led by him, Walter White, Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., and Frank Crosswaith. The threat was "to rally fifty thousand black men in Washington on July 1, to demand that the federal government take action to stop discrimination in the defense industries and the armed forces."[39] As a result of the threat, President Roosevelt signed Executive Order No.8802 - The Fair Employment Practices Act - banning discrimination in defense plants and government offices and services on the basis of race, creed, color, or national origin and the march, which had achieved its objective, never needed to be carried out.[40]

The Turn-A-Bout of W. E. B. DuBois

In 1940, W. E. B. DuBois, who had been earlier Booker T. Washington's most articulate critic and a founder of the NAACP, resigned from the national association and, in a strong statement criticizing its direction, took a stand remarkably similar to Washington's cast-your-buckets-down-where-you-are philosophy.

> It must be remembered that in the last quarter of a century, the advance of the colored people has been mainly in the lines where they themselves working by and for themselves, have accomplished the greatest advance. . . . .
> . . . .
> It is the race-conscious black man cooperating together in his own institutions and movements who will eventually emancipate the colored race, and the great step ahead today is for the American Negro to accomplish his economic emancipation through voluntary determined cooperative effort.[41]

The NAACP's Legal Campaign

Despite the withdrawal of DuBois across the Great Divide to a separatist stance, the NAACP continued to move forward in its strategy of utilizing the courts to force compliance with existing laws against anti-Negro violence and discrimination. In 1944, Thurgood Marshall explained the NAACP's legal strategy and concluded, in summary, that:

> ...although it is necessary and vital to all of us that we continue our program for additional legislation to guarantee and enforce certain of our rights, at the same time we must continue with ever-increasing vigor to enforce those few statutes, both federal and state, which are now on the statute books.[42]

Jim Crow in the Armed Services and the Concept of Civil Disobedience

During World War II, even while black men were dying in defense of freedom and their country, Jim Crow was rampant in the military services of the United States.

> When World War II began Negroes were excluded from the Air Corps and Marines, and permitted to serve in the Navy only in menial capacities.... Throughout the war there were Jim Crow blood banks, air raid shelters, recreational facilities, and officers' clubs. Perhaps the most flagrant iniquity occurred on a troop train passing through Texas when Negro soldiers had to eat in the Jim Crow section as German prisoners of war dined with the whites.[43]

It wasn't until July, 1948, that President Truman established the President's Committee on Equality of Treatment and Opportunity in the Armed Services, not until 1949 that the Secretary of Defense supervised the initial program ending military segregation, and only in the Korean War that desegregation in the armed services was finally accomplished on a large scale.[44] It was instructive to Negroes that such steps were taken, after centuries of injustice, only in the heat of a political campaign and in the wake of threats of Negro civil disobedience and threats of Negro refusal to participate, in the armed forces. A. Philip Randolph's response to a question put to him in 1948 about the potentially treasonous nature of such acts by Negroes (put to him by Senator Wayne Morse) sets out the basic reasoning which was to underlie important strategies of black militancy during the fifties and sixties.

> I would be willing to face that doctrine (of treason) on the theory and on the grounds that we are serving a higher law than the law which applies to the act of treason to us when we are attempting to win democracy in this country and to make the soul of America democratic.[45]

The essential oneness of Randolph's position and that expressed, for example, in a SCLC leaflet distributed in 1964, sixteen years later, is evident:

> SCLC sees civil disobedience as a natural consequence of non-violence when the resister is confronted by unjust and immoral laws....The Conference firmly believes that all people have a moral responsibility to obey laws that are just. It recognizes, however, that there are also unjust laws. From a purely moral point of view, an unjust law is one that is out of harmony with the moral law of the universe, or, as the religionist would say, out of harmony with the Law of God.[46]

The Legal Breakthrough

A major breakthrough in the NAACP's long-term legal struggle was achieved in 1954 with the U. S. Supreme Court decision in the famous case of Oliver Brown, et. al., v. the Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas, et. al., in a landmark decision, the Court concluded:

> That in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. Therefore, we hold that the plaintiffs and others similarly situated for whom the actions have been brought are, by reason of the segregation complained of, deprived of equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment.[47]

Disappointed Hopes

High hopes raised by the NAACP's success in the Brown case were in large measure dashed by the years of legal maneuvering and practical tactics of delay employed by boards of education and state officials anxious to avoid meaningful integration of the public schools. Even as this chapter is being written the legal and political battle for desegregation of public education continues. A national news magazine characterized President Nixon's new federal school-desegregation guidelines as "a jerry-built document that confused even its authors but unmistakably diminished the pressure on Southern schools to integrate once and for all by this fall." And so, fifteen years after the Brown decision, the game goes on.

Largely as a result of heightened Negro expectations inadequately met by white America, the nation - including the schools and universities - has found itself increasingly besieged by young militants - and some older ones - both black and white. A number of Negro organizations have been especially closely associated with the "new militancy." Notable among these are the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE). All of these have been essentially integrationist organizations. Separatist organizations include the nation of Islam (Black Muslims), the Black Panthers and, more recently, the National Black Economic Development Conference. Established organizations specializing in less demonstrative kinds of civil rights activities include the NAACP and the National Urban League. The former, as previously indicated, specialized primarily in legal and political action; the latter has traditionally emphasized the need for increased economic opportunity and education for Negroes.

Modern Militancy

The concepts of passive resistance and civil disobedience, Ghandian in nature, began to find expression in the United States in the early forties. CORE organized economic boycotts and sit-ins in a Chicago restaurant in 1943 and A. Philip Randolph spoke of massive Negro civil disobedience and non-participation in the armed services in 1948, the "new militancy," however, can probably be said to have been born in Montgomery, Alabama, bus boycott of 1955-56 (SCLC). Further escalation of black militancy was evident in the lunch counter sit-ins of 1960 (SNCC) and in the famous "freedom ride" to Alabama and Mississsippi in 1961 (CORE). The crescendo-like character of the black revolt became increasingly evident as the sixties rolled on:

> The spring and summer of 1963 were momentous months. The Negro Revolt assumed a new urgency as 'Freedom Now!" became the slogan. The NAACP annual convention enthusiastically passed a resolution calling for more direct action. For the first time, substantial numbers of lower-class citizens were swept into direct action, as ever and ever larger numbers of people 'took to the streets' and went to jail. At the same time small but significant numbers of upper-class people became engaged in direct action and permitted themselves to be arrested.[48]

Non-violent direct action in the South was spearheaded by SCLC and CORE, but most especially by SNCC. By 1963-64 there were evidences of even more militant action, perhaps even violent action.[49] Indeed there was violence in 1963 - in Birmingham, Cambridge, Md., Nashville, Chicago, and Philadelphia. Some, like Robert F. Williams, now an exile in Cuba, advocated calculated violence as a reasoned necessity.

> What is integration when the law says yes, but the police and the howling mobs say no? Our only logical and successful answer is to meet organized and massive violence with massive and organized violence. Our people must prepare to wage an urban guerrilla war of self-defense.[50]

Violence came, too, in even greater measure, as the rising tide of protest inundated the great Northern cities. The hot summers of 1965-66 moved the nation into a new era of racial warfare. The final statistics of the Watts riot (August 11-16, 1965) provide some grim sense of the intensity of the event:

> There were 34 persons killed and 1,032 reported injuries, including 90 Los Angeles police officers, 136 firemen, 10 national guardsmen, 23 persons from other governmental agencies, and 773 civilians. 118 of the injuries resulted from gunshot wounds. Of the 34 killed, one was a fireman, one was a deputy sheriff, and one a Long Beach policeman.[51]

According to the U. S. Riot Commission Report, "the Los Angeles riot, the worst in the United States since the Detroit riot of 1943, shocked all who had been confident that race relations were improving in the North, and evoked a new mood in the ghettos around the country."[52] Riots continued into 1966 and the U. S. Riot Commission has detailed case studies of riots in eight American cities in 1967. Its statistics for the first nine months of 1967 provide a profile of the national situation: eight major disorders, thirty-three serious disorders, one hundred and twenty-three minor disorders. Major and/or serious disorders occurred on forty-one occasions in thirty-nine cities.[53] Although riot activity diminished somewhat in 1968-69, major disturbances continue to erupt. At this writing, for example, gunshots and firebombings are creating havoc in Youngstown, Ohio:

> Youngstown, Ohio. (UPI) - Snipers fired at National Guard troops, police and sheriff's deputies Thursday in the third night of racial violence in this northeastern Ohio steel city.
>
> The guardsmen, ordered to 'return fire with fire,' exchanged shots with police at snipers, Policy Chief John Terlesky said.[54]

At the same time, the National Black Economic Development Conference, under the militant leadership of James Forman, is demanding half a billion dollars in "reparations" from the American religious establishment:

> We the black people assembled in Detroit, Michigan for the National Black Economic Development Conference are fully aware that we have been forced to come together because racist white America has exploited our resources, our minds, our bodies, our labor. For centuries we have been forced to live as colonized people inside the United States, victimized by the most vicious, racist system in the world. We have helped to build the most industrial country in the world.

> We are therefore demanding of the white Christian churches and Jewish synagogues which are part and parcel of the system of capitalism, that they begin to pay reparations to black people in this country. We are demanding $500, 000, 000 from the Christian white churches and the Jewish synagogues. This total comes to 15 dollars per nigger.[54A]

What, then, the future? Prognostication in the realm of human affairs is at best a risky venture; yet practical futures need be seen -- sometimes in order that they may not have to happen.

Spirit in Transition: The Psychology of Militancy

> The individual enters as such into his own experience only as an object, not as a subject; and he can enter as an object only on the basis of social relations and interactions, only by means of his experiential transactions with other individuals in an organized social environment... only by taking the attitudes of others towards himself - is he able to become an object to himself.[55]
>
> George Herbert Mead

Projections toward the future of black militancy cannot accurately be made without a view toward the psychological base from which the movement derives - a base anchored in the oppressive history of the Negro in white America. The kinds of experiences alluded to in the introductory section of this chapter have provided the context within which the Negro's search for identity has taken shape, a search for identity which has seemingly - and hopefully - entered upon a new and promising stage over the last several years.

It is very difficult for one man who is not marked by the peculiar personal stigma of another nor, therefore, conscious of imminent personal danger as a pervasive element of his everyday life to comprehend fully and meaningfully the terrible psychological burden of him who is marked through no fault of his own as an object of descriptive derision and socially sanctioned assault by an oppressive and hostile majority.

The following interchange between an Austrian Prince (Von Berg) and a Jewish French Psychiatrist (LeDuc), although set in a superficially different context from that of black and white America, speaks dramatically and powerfully to the essential nature of prejudice. The scene is a French policy station in Vichy during the Nazi occupation of France. Those suspected of being Jewish are being rounded up for deportation to the Polish concentration camps. Both Von Berg and LeDuc have been taken into custody. They are awaiting interrogation.

> VON BERG - There are ideals, Doctor, of another kind. There are people who would find it easier to die than stain one finger with this murder. They exist. I swear it to you. People for whom everything is not permitted, foolish people and ineffectual, but they do exist and will not dishonor their tradition. Desperately: I ask your friendship.

> LeDUC - I owe you the truth, Prince; you won't believe it now, but I wish you would think about it and what it means. I have never analyzed a gentile who did not have, somewhere hidden in his mind, a dislike if not a hatred for the Jews.
>
> VON BERG, clapping his ears shut, springing up - that is impossible, it is not true of me!
>
> LeDUC - standing, coming to him, a wild pity in his voice - Until you know it is true of you you will destroy whatever truth can come of this atrocity. Part of knowing who we are is knowing we are not someone else. And Jew is only the name we give to that stranger, that agony we cannot feel, that death we look at like a cold abstraction. Each man has his Jew; it is the other. And the Jews have their Jews. And now, now above all, you must see that you have yours - the man whose death leaves you relieved that you are not him, despite your decency. And that is why there is nothing and will be nothing - until you face your own complicity with this ... Your own humanity.[56]

To understand the relationship of LeDuc's important insight to the plight of the black man in America, one has only to substitute white for gentile and Negro (or NIGGER!) for Jew. For example:

> Nigger is only the name we give to that stranger, that agony we cannot feel, that death we look at like a cold abstraction. Each man has his Nigger; it is the other.

This psychologically unbridgeable gulf between the majority, even the "liberal" members of the majority, and the oppressed minority is implicit in the Riot Commission's indictment of white America:

> What white Americans have never fully understood - but what the Negro can never forget - is that white society is deeply implicated in the ghetto. White institutions created it, white institutions maintain it, and white society condones it.[57]

Carmichael's intuitive understanding of this fundamental state of affairs is implicit in his accusatory yet agonized restatement of Damus' and Sartre's question, "Can a man condemn himself?":

> Can whites, particularly liberal whites, condemn themselves? Can they stop blaming us, and blame their own system? Are they capable of the shame which might become a revolutionary emotion?[58]

Williams spoke for many blacks when he said of white liberals:

> They have a patient sense for good public relations. But we're not interested in a good press. We're interested in becoming free. We want to be liberated. To me, oppression is harmful. It is painful. I would wake up in the morning as a Negro who was oppressed. At lunchtime, I would eat as a Negro who was oppressed. At night, I would go to bed as a Negro who was oppressed. And if I could have been free in thirty seconds, it would not have been too soon.[59]

Indeed oppression is harmful, especially the kind of total, insidious, pervasive oppression which poisons the minds of people against themselves. Don Quixote's quest for the impossible dream notwithstanding, to aspire to the impossible is to be doomed -- doomed to intolerable frustration and bitter self-denigration, doomed to despair or to uncontrollable displays of aggression and hostility. As Hughes put it in one of his best known poems:

> What happens to a dream deferred?
>
> Does it dry up
> Like a raisin in the sun?
> Or fester like a sore -
> And then run?
> Does it stink like rotten meat?
> Or crust and sugar over -
> Like a syrupy sweet?
>
> Or does it explode?[60]

To take a man's identity is to do a very dangerous thing. Tell a man all of his life that he is nothing and he has got to be either scared or mean or both. And he has got to hate -- himself for being ugly and stupid and afraid; and those who have made him that way. And that man must destroy -- himself, those around him (whom he cannot love because he is so unworthy of them), or those who have kept him from his manhood. Two black psychiatrists with wide experience treating black patients put it this way:

> Under slavery, the black man was a psychologically emasculated and totally dependent human being. Times and conditions have changed, but black men continue to exhibit the inhibitions and psychopathology that had their genesis in the slave experience. It would seem that for masculine growth and development the psychological conditions have not changed very much. Better jobs are available, housing is improving, and all the external signs of progress can be seen, but the American heritage of racism will still not allow the black man to feel himself master in his own land....The black man in this society, more than other men, is shaped by currents more powerful than the course of his own life. There are rules which regulate black lives far more than the lives of white men.[61]

The problem of black women in white America is a comparable one. Price and Cobbs suggest, for example, that:

> ...femininity is only imperfectly grasped by most black women in any event since femininity in this society is defined in such terms that it is out of reach for her. If the society says that to be attractive is to be white, she finds herself unwittingly striving to be something she cannot possibly be; and if femininity is rooted in feeling oneself eminently lovable, then a society which views her as unattractive and repellent has also denied her this fundamental wellspring of femininity.[62]

The internal conflict for black men and women between the need to love themselves and the need to find acceptance and security in the wider white world must be almost unbearable. One can sense it strongly in Negro literature, especially in the ambivalence of blacks toward whites of the opposite sex. The following poem by Eldridge Cleaver illustrates this theme:

TO A WHITE GIRL

I love you
Because you're white,
Not because you're charming
Or bright.
Your whiteness
Is a silky thread
Snaking through my thoughts
In redhot patterns
Of lust and desire.

I hate you
Because you're white
Your white meat
Is nightmare food.
White is
The skin of Evil.
You're my Moby Dick,
White Witch,
Symbol of the rope and hanging tree,
Of the burning cross.

Loving you thus
And hating you so,
My heart is torn in two.
Crucified.[63]

The tortured bitterness of the double-bind which jeeringly holds forth to every black manchild a place in this promised land if only he can make himself into a white man is perhaps nowhere more poignantly recapitulated than in Ellison's comment upon the blues:

> Their attraction lies in this, that they at once express both the agony of life and the possibility of conquering it through sheer toughness of spirit. They fall short of tragedy only in that they provide no solution, offer no scapegoat but the self.[64]

Less and less are Negroes turning their anger inward; more and more are they focussing it outward upon the wider society toward genuine change. Some of this anger is blind rage, basically destructive, the kind of aggression which "leaps from wounds inflicted and ambitions spiked... (which) grows out of oppression and capricious cruelty."[65] Much of the new approach to self-concept, much that seems to have sprung almost full-blown from the travail of the sixties, from a young generation freeing itself in words and deeds from the crippled generations which preceded it, is enormously healthy and replete with pride of self and faith in the future. Proud young blacks are indeed beautiful - ornery, but beautiful. They represent the hope of American, not of Negro-America but of all America. In the words of Price and Cobbs:

> The contorted efforts to be white, the shame of the black body, the rejection of youth - may all vanish quickly. Negro women need only see that, truly, "black is beautiful."[66]

One might add that the same is true for Negro men. And the black-is-beautiful movement finds itself not only in the political arena and on the campuses, but in literature and theater as well. A recent article in the New York Times sounded a most optimistic note:

> The theater season of 1968-69 will long be remembered as that moment in American cultural history when Black Theater came of age. For the first time in New York there were two major repertory companies performing works written by blacks primarily for blacks: the New Lafayette Theater up in Harlem and the Negro Ensemble Company downtown on Second Avenue.[67]

There may be excesses of pride an unseemly vanity but these seem a small price to pay for the psychological redemption of a generation and a culture. The militant action and "non-negotiable" demands of black students for black autonomy and "third world" quotas (regardless of academic competence) may be contrary to everything the white liberal has fought for for a generation or more and the tactics they employ (e.g., guns at Cornell) may be totally unacceptable from the white middle-class viewpoint but it is significant that, over the past fifteen years, blacks have, under their own leadership, taken increasingly widespread and effective action on their own behalf. What they're doing may not always be right, in the eyes of the majority or even at all, but that they are doing it at all is clearly the healthiest event in the history of American racism, for as Ron Karenga put it, out of his own perspective:

> - We say Negroes are suffering from 'mass insanity.' Any man who burns his hair, bites his lips, or bleaches his skin has got to be insane.

> - The revolution being fought now is a revolution to win the minds of our people. If we fail to win this we cannot wage the violent one.
>
> - We must tell Blacks they are great and then make them so.
>
> - The white man tricked us into fighting to be given civil rights when all along we should have been fighting to exercise human rights. For human rights cannot be given, they can only be exercised.[68]

At last the black men, or at least a significant number of black men, are fighting to exercise human rights. But what of the violence? Many of us doubt that violence can provide solutions. "Work within the system," we advise. But isn't violence an essential element -- the element of last resort -- of the system itself? Don't the police and the armed forces engage in violence where it is necessary to uphold the laws of the system? But what assumptions underlie those laws? Don't they implicitly define the "rules of the game," rules which have systematically loaded the odds for success in favor of certain kinds of people at the expense of other kinds of people? Don't the laws protect and maintain the status and privileges of the haves against the potential incursions of the have-nots, of the whites against the blacks? Is it really unreasonable for the black man to see the system much as a crooked roulette wheel, rigged against him, which he must bring down, even upon himself, in order to survive. He may be wrong - or at least no more right than those who control the system as it is - for wouldn't he simply substitute another rigged wheel for the one he would destroy, a system rigged to his benefit? That as it may be, however, it is important for the existing establishment to be able at least to perceive the world, the matters of right and wrong, through the eyes of the disestablishment and to understand and accept that there is no unalterable morality on the side of "the system" and no unalterable immorality on the side of those opposed to it. "The system" is simply more arbitrary than it may appear to those who have been enveloped in it all their lives. Cleaver, for example, had this to say of it:

> Everywhere there are those who want to smash this precious toy clock of a system, they want ever so much to change it, to rearrange things, to pull the whites down off their high horse and make them equal. Everywhere the whites are fighting to prolong their status, to retard the erosion of their position. In America, when everything else fails, they call out the police. On the international level, when everything else fails, they call out the armed forces.[69]

This is a fundamental truth without which one cannot understand the black revolution. All of history is in this very instant - political, economic, social, psychological history - and it tells us clearly that black men can no longer be given - they need to take for themselves: power, pride, self-identity, and self-respect. We must somehow, find ways, together, to make this possible for if we do not our nation as we know it and value it may not survive.

Memphis go
By floof or flame;
Nigger don't worry
All de same -
Memphis go
Memphis come back,
Ain' no skin
Off de niggers back.
All dese cities
Ashes, rust....
De win' sing sperrichals
Through deir dus'.[70]

How, then, can the system develop adaptive mechanisms adequate to the demands of the disestablishment? What special mechanisms, processes, and strategies are particularly appropriate and necessary for educational institutions? The next sections of this chapter attempt to establish a framework for answering these kinds of questions.

The Politics of the Protest Movement

Inasmuch as previous sections of the chapter have dealt with many of the environmental conditions leading to the goals of the Negro movement, this section proposes to focus primarily upon the politics of protest within the social context of American life. Because politics is a social activity that is very much intermingled with other aspects of human interaction little agreement exists as to what constitutes a political act and what does not. In a narrow sense politics is often defined as the activities of role incumbents in various governmental institutions or the competition among various candidates for public office. More comprehensive distinctions reflect that politics involves those interactions and conflicts leading to the specification of public goals. Banfield,[71] accepting the broad definition, provides the following boundaries for what can be termed political activity.

> Politics denotes those processes of human action by which conflict concerning on the one hand the common good and on the other hand the interests of groups is carried on or settled, always involving the use of, or struggle for power.

Analysis of conflict activities, power relationships, and policy outcomes within the framework of American political culture, political processes, and governmental institutions does, then, provide a basis for understanding the politics of the protest movement. Within that framework this discussion focuses upon the interdependent political phenomena of interest groups; elections and political party associations; spontaneous riots; and the response of the political systems to these activities. It is believed that such an analysis can provide insight into not only the recent history of the movement but a basis for future prediction about its course and ultimate effects.

Political organizations provide the principal avenue for the expression of political power within the American political system. They can be public or private, temporary or ad hoc, and have either broad or narrow goals. Likewise their influence on public policy can be heavy or light, general or specific depending on variable conditions. Political parties serve chiefly to mobilize votes on issues of policy or for candidates to elected office. Their principal aim is to control the exercise of governmental powers through their elected candidates, who in turn appoint numerous other officials, and at the same time to effectuate a legislative program relating to their stated goals. Interest groups, which represent the other form of political organization, are usually private in nature and organized to exert rather specific influence on the substance of public policies. Interest groups involve a concentration of power of a number of individuals which is far greater than that of any one of its members acting independently. There are, of course, bases of power other than organization. Control over jobs, social standing, wealth, control over information, technical expertise and knowledge are a few of the other factors determining the capacity for influence.[72] However, Negroes do not possess such power resources in great amounts relative to others in the population and, therefore, their most effective political assets would seem to be organization and whatever group influence they can exert on political parties through a variety of means.

Possessing a base of power and employing it effectively are, however, quite different aspects of the political equation. Effective use of group power depends on two interrelated sets of factors. The first set, the purpose of the group activity, could be, for example to influence legislation, influence executive proposals for legislation, articulate public opinion, initiate litigation, influence appointments, supervise administrative agencies, or any combination of the foregoing. The extent to which the group achieves these objectives is dependent on a number of factors such as the perceived public interest at any given point in time; the status of the group within the society at large and within the community it endeavors to represent; the human, material, and organizational resources it can bring to bear on a situation; and the intensity of preference being expressed.

Negroes, having been systematically excluded from participation in predominately white organizations, created their own separate associations at an early period in American history. The Negro church, which facilitated a wide variety of activities, is an example of such an arrangement. However, with the exception of the NAACP and the National Urban League, which have existed since the early 1900's, most Negro political activity tended to be locally based and sporadic. Events such as the 1954 and 1955 Supreme Court decisions on segregation, the migrations of the Negro from the rural South to the urban North, the emergence of African nations from colonialism, and improved communications networks contributed significantly to a change in the frequency, intensity, and organizational aspects of the Negro protest over the past several years.

Psychologically, the basis for the growth of this organized protest can be attributed to a number of factors. Where dominant majorities severely deprive and humiliate an entire minority population over a long period of time accommodation and apathy may result.[73] However, the same combination may become explosive when combined with

> ....(1) a high level of intragroup communication, resulting in a widely shared and intense sense of collective fate, (2) a recent history of rapidly rising aspirations, (3) a strong sense of legitimacy of these aspirations, (4) a strong sense of arbitrary or immoral character of the blockages to those aspirations, (5) an awareness of power or potential power of the minority in the political arena, and finally, (6) failure of the dominant grouping to evidence realistic action to remove the basic sources of grievance.[74]

Thus, recent events stimulated the organization of collective protest action and a series of psychological conditions has continued to maintain it through the present.

Any treatment of recent Negro political activity is at best incomplete because the movement is current and in a constant state of flux as appropriate forms and mechanisms for exercising power are sought. As feelings of resignation, hope, and despair have alternatively characterized the attitudes of American blacks throughout history, these psychological conditions have been reflected in varied political philosophies and strategies. The historical dilemma of seeking integration into the larger society or separation from it have been reflected in various attempts to work through existing channels making incremental progress toward equality here and there, dramatically attacking the system in the hope that awareness of deprived conditions will ensue, or withdrawing and attempting to establish separate power relationships away from the main flow of majority political activity. While the foregoing are not all the forms of general political activities, they are representative of a number of currents that are present in the Negro population. They are not mutually exclusive activities and each finds some expression through a large number of national or local interest groups. Furthermore, the political philosophies on which the strategies are based provide insight into the entire protest movement as they serve not only to reflect the sentiments of various groups within the Negro population but in large measure serve to shape and influence Negro thought.

The Civil Rights Movement

The dominant thrust of the Civil Rights movement has been toward removal of those restrictions that have maintained the Negro in a subordinate status in American society. Civil Rights advocates propose integration of the Negro into the mainstream of American life rather than basic changes in political institutions, democratic processes, or class structure. Broadly interpreted the goal has been to secure equal treatment under the law and equal social status for the Negro. The movement has been largely directed at Southern laws and practices restricting the Negro from equal use of transportation.

facilities, public accommodation, and the political process. Participants have been largely middle class and both white and black.

Political Strategies -- The most traditional and conservative form of interest group activity has been to attempt to influence public policy through legal and informational activities. The strategies employed may be direct such as those involving contact with legislative, executive, or administrative agencies in an attempt to encourage favorable legislation or favorable application and adjudication of existing legislation; or they may involve legal suits or test cases of wide import in an attempt to secure favorable interpretations of law that can then be applied through judicial precedent to other similar situations. The maneuvers described above are indicative of middle-class Negro politics and have been traditionally employed by the NAACP and the Urban League in the context of national politics and by numerous local social action groups at state and local levels. Since the decision making centers of government are dispersed, as was pointed out earlier, these strategies impact on the total political system at different points and with varying degrees of success.

The NAACP with a membership that varies in the neighborhood of 400,000 blacks and whites operates hundreds of local chapters throughout the country. It possesses the capability of dealing with a number of separate local conditions through its chapters as well as mounting collective demands at the national level. In the absence, until recently, of executive and legislative action concerning the Negro problem, the NAACP has tended to direct many of its influence attempts toward the judicial system -- specifically, the federal courts. Because the objectives in a judicial case are somewhat concrete and the Supreme Court has been noted for its liberal stance with regard to civil rights litigation during the past fifteen years, the NAACP has had considerable success in court actions, winning almost every Supreme Court case in which it has been involved.[75] Decisions relating to desegregation of public schools, enforcement of racially restrictive covenants in housing and outlawing white primaries in the South are a few examples of major breakthroughs in securing basic civil rights.[76] In terms of influencing legislative action NAACP lobbyists are credited with playing a major role in the enactment of fair employment practices in fifteen states and twenty-six cities,[77] and with the passage of federal legislation dealing with civil rights and voting rights that has occurred since 1957.[78] Pressure on the executive and administrative agencies is more difficult to document but it is rather apparent that influence attempts by the NAACP and other civil rights organizations probably have resulted in a number of executive orders concerning abolishment of discrimination in federally controlled activities, the establishment of numerous committees and commissions to study various ramifications of the Negro problem, and rather firm administrative guidelines in enforcing civil rights legislation and court decisions. At least, it can be postulated that had the pressure not occurred the government may have taken a more moderate stance.

The National Urban League, a non-membership organization, stresses the dual goals of removing discriminatory barriers and assisting Negroes to qualify themselves to enter the main stream of American political, economic, and social activity. The principal thrust of its activities are social research to identify the causes of the manifestations of the Negro problem, to communicate such information to private and public policy makers at all levels, and community and social action projects. The chief cause of many Negro problems, according to the League's philosophy, is the lack of employment opportunity. In this connection a considerable amount of effort has been directed toward securing jobs for Negroes through persuasion and cooperative activities with the white business community. Although not dramatic, when compared to other forms of protest, this program seems to have met with substantial success. Lomax[79] comments:

> The quiet joke among Negroes for the past five years, for example, has turned on the fact that the Urban League has opened up more job opportunities for Negroes in 'white' industry than it can find Negroes to fill. And each year the League is out raising money - mostly from white people - to open more jobs which it does not have Negroes to fill.

Recognizing this deficiency, the Leage has established a number of programs to motivate ghetto youth toward employment and with the cooperation of business has created new training opportunities to provide them needed skills. Additionally, the League has been active in other social areas such as highlighting the problem of inadequate housing in several cities and the conditions of health and medical care in Negro communities.

The relative success of the NAACP and the Urban League in achieving some of their goals probably was a major reason for creating an awareness within the black population that other forms of collective activity might be undertaken, but they also created a consciousness that neither interest group was really getting at the problem of racism. In response to this new awareness and the relative lack of any meaningful improvement in the life of the Negro population more militant forms of political behavior emerged through a number of organizations. Non-violent demonstrations, civil disobedience, and coercion replaced bargaining through legal channels as the main thrust of Negro protest.

Non-violent direct protest associated with civil disobedience is the tactic of influence most obviously attributed to the SCLC and, until about 1966, with CORE and SNCC as well. The reason for the emergence of this tactic and the philosophy behind its use were summarized by Dr. Martin Luther King in the famous "Letter from Birmingham City Jail.[80]

> ...You are exactly right in your call for negotiation. Indeed, this is the purpose of direct action. Non-violent direct action seeks to create such a crisis and establish creative tension that a community that has constantly refused to negotiate is forced to confront the issue. It seeks to dramatize the issue that it can no longer be ignored.

Non-violence is then the politics of confrontation and depends largely upon the response of the other party to determine at what point the confrontation will end. Conceivably, in this process, compromise solutions acceptable to both sides could be worked out or the demonstration, sit-in, or boycott could continue indefinitely until the other party is coerced into capitulation by practical considerations.

CORE, SNCC, and the SCLC are by nature activist organizations and rely on direct action to achieve specific objectives -- integrated beaches, integrated lunch counters, integrated transportation facilities, improved working conditions for Negroes, and so forth. The activist approach is basically moral and achieves its goals by confronting society's conception of right directly instead of working through legal proceedings or reasonable persuasion. The essence of the strategy has appeared to be to gain limited objectives in economic and social relationships and in so doing to dramatize to political leaders the incredible conditions that exist regarding the Negro. Direct political activities particularly by SNCC and CORE involved massive voter registration drives in the South in the assumption that ending the disenfranchisement of the Southern Negro might eventually lead to black elected officials, or at least white ones that support Negro causes, and this, in turn would lead to at least some modifications of racist policies.

Although SCLC strategy has been primarily aimed at improving the civil rights situation of the Southern Negro, it has been instrumental in dramatizing the plight of the Negro to the nation at large. Mass marches on Washington involving hundred of thousands were designed to draw the attention of government representatives and the population at large to the need for immediate action.

The Political Response -- Although the Civil Rights Movement was directed at state and local governments and business establishments, its principal ally in the struggle has been the federal government. Primarily due to Southern contol of key congressional committees the initial responses to the protest came largely from the federal courts and the federal executive. Civil Rights Acts were passed by Congress in 1957, 1960, 1964, 1965, and 1968, although it was only the last three measures that seemed to have been responses to protest.[82] Furthermore, the assassinations of Kennedy and King undoubtedly played a significant part in the 1964 and 1968 enactments.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 was adopted following a year when demonstrations and boycotts by Negroes had occurred in eight hundred communities and the "March to Washington" of some 200,000 persons demanding jobs and freedom for the Negro had transpired.[83] The Voting Rights Act of 1965 can be regarded as a response to a series of demonstrations in the South protesting voting discrimination and the sympathy that was aroused after the peaceful protests in Selma, Alabama gave way to violence.[84] The 1968 Civil Rights Act may have been passed by Congress eventually but the assassination of King undoubtedly contributed to a rather prompt legislative response.

All these acts were initiated by the federal executive who was also largely responsible for guiding them through Congress. Prior to 1963 Presidential leadership in civil rights had been limited largely to removing discrimination barriers in federally connected employment and in law enforcement activities such as those connected with the Little Rock school integration problem and the enrollment of James Meredith at the University of Mississippi. Additionally, during the Kennedy administration there was a sharp upsurge in the number of voting suits initiated by the Justice Department and federally promoted litigation to end school segregation in the South.[85] Both those trends continued through the Johnson administration.

Commenting on the federal executive and civil rights activity during 1961-65, Flemming[86] has indicated that:

> ...The federal executive tends to innovate forcefully and effectively only in response to an evident sense of national urgency. No administration, however wisely or humanely led, is likely to initiate far-reaching action in the face of public indifference, to say nothing of hostility. The quality of federal civil rights performance, then, depends directly on the ability of Negro Americans to dramatize their cause in such a way that it enlists the support of other influential segments of the society.

Thus, it was not until discontent was evident that the brutal methods used to contain it won the sympathy of a large number of Americans that Congress provided legislation to attack discrimination on a large scale.[87]

While the strategies of bargaining, persuasion, and demonstration have had some effect at the federal level, the same approaches have met with varying levels of conflict at local and state levels. Because of its pervasive nature striking at the roots of many traditional white American values and norms, civil rights legislation or court rulings on desegregation are virtually unenforceable without citizen support. Studies conducted by the National Opinion Research Center show that there has been a decrease in anti-Negro prejudice over the past several decades. Most whites interviewed in the representative sample expressed agreement with the general goals of the Negro protest, and the majority indicated they favor school integration and integrated housing.[88] However, to many Americans the protest movement appears as a zero-sum game. The Negroes demand and the whites must give up. This group sentiment has been intense enough to effectively thwart the realization of many of the ideals expressed in federal policy. For example, school segregation in the South continues although some incremental gains have been made. Most Negroes in the large urban areas of the North attend schools that are overwhelmingly black.[89] Negroes continue to be confined to ghetto areas even though open housing legislation has become law; and they are underemployed and earn less income than whites when they are employed despite fair employment standards. Hence, despite considerable legislation to the contrary, the black American has made only incremental gains toward achieving integration.

Black Power

Civil rights victories in the South bear little relationship to the problem of the Negro in northern city ghettos. Basic civil rights were long ago achieved for these blacks but the quality of their life has steadily deteriorated relative to that of the Northern white. Some gains have been made but in comparison with the social and economic standing of the Northern white, Negroes are probably worse off than they ever have been. The drive for civil rights in the South continues but much of the present attention of the Negro protest is focused on the problem of true equality in the North. The civil rights struggle has given way to a more intense and infinitely more complex struggle for more fundamental rights. The demand being expressed now is for basic change in American society. The new goal is independence rather than integration and the concept of non-violence has been replaced by a concept of self defense.[90]

According to the report of the Task Force on Violent Aspects of Protest and Confrontation, of the National Commission of the Causes and Prevention of Violence, four factors have influenced the transition.

> ...First, the failure of the civil rights movement to improve significantly the social, economic, and political position of most Negro Americans has led to doubts about the possibility of meaningful progress through law. Second, urban riots of the 1960's, which symbolized the frustration, have met with armed force, which in turn has mobilized militant sentiment within black communities. Third, the worldwide revolution against colonialism has induced a new sense of racial consciousness, pride, and affirmative identity. Fourth, the war in Vietnam has diverted resources away from pressing urban needs and reinforced the prevailing skepticism about white America's capacity or interest in addressing itself to the social, economic, and political requirements of black communities.[91]

Thus, because of increasing frustration and in response to the challenge of black militancy, Negroes of all occupations and ages, but particularly the youth, have become unwilling to accept the assumptions of white culture, white values, and white power.[92]

Within the context of the new demands the term "Black Power" has emerged as the central concept. Although the term has been bandied about by the press, participants in the movement, and observers of protest to a point where it takes on many different meanings for many different people, it is clear that it does imply power as a goal rather than a means to achieve goals. The "Black Power" movement is, then, chiefly aimed at overcoming the psychological effects of powerlessness among Negroes through establishing a political and economic base of power.

Political Strategies -- In contrast to the Civil Rights Movement, which was led by a number of national organizations, the Black Power movement more nearly reflects the characteristics of a mass social movement. This is not to say, of course, that there are not hundreds of Black Power groups including national organizations like the Black Muslims and Black Panthers. However, national leadership of the movement is lacking and much of the political expression of Black Power emanates from local organizations which have formed to act upon specific issues. As a result a number of young, charismatic leaders have emerged on the national scene for brief periods of time and then disappeared. On every new issue new leadership seems to surface. There is a spontaneity about the movement that is not characteristic of the civil rights struggle.

Much of this is due to the nature of the participants in both movements. The Civil Rights Movement was largely middle class in orientation while the chief Black Power advocates are found among the urban poor Negroes in the ghetto areas of the North. The movement is largely local because ghetto Negroes are largely dependent on the city for sources of income, public services, and other needs and, therefore, their contacts with persons other than in their immediate neighborhood are limited. It is only through the local community that the poor can achieve some sense of status and identity.[93] Carmichael and Hamilton[94] in describing Black Power point out that

> It does not mean merely putting black faces into office. Black visibility is not Black Power....The power must be that of a community, and emanate from there.

Whereas in the past urban blacks have had to look for leadership outside their community context, the Black Power movement encourages organized community action led by local blacks.

Extreme Black Power advocates believe that self-segregation and use of violence to destroy the system is desirable. Separation and dominance is the real message of spokesmen such as H. Rap Brown.[95] A more moderate position, and one that would seem to capture the main thrust of the movement, is the use of political, economic, or violent means to attack inequalities. Equality and separation reflect the direction of this segment of the movement, epitomized by Stokely Carmichael.[96] Neither division wants anything to do with white leadership or moderate civil rights organizations.

Although Black Power advocates can hardly be held accountable for the violent riots that have occurred in urban areas, their philosophy accepts riots as a form of political protest. Since the Black Power movement has rejected the current system, riots or revolts can be seen as expressing a denial of that legitimacy. They are attacks upon law and order because that represents the status quo.[97] The principle of self-defense has often led to riotous confrontations between blacks and whites. The Black Panther Party has, for example, been continually harrassed by police and attacked by groups of whites.[98] However, even though riots are receiving increasing support among the Negro population this cannot be directly attributed to Black Power leaders. The Kerner Commission Report[99] firmly rejected the theory that the riots had been part of any organized plan or conspiracy.

The powerless status of Negroes limits their access to political resources other than what limited resources they can muster through mass demonstrations.

> ...The rules of the game in this society's pluralistic democracy have ensured a reasonable measure of majority rule but, as yet, a very insufficient measure of black minority freedom. On basic issues of race relations, the pattern of community leadership tends to be oligarchical, whereas, on most other issues, the pattern of leadership tends to be pluralistic.[100]

The long-range political strategy of the principal Black Power advocates is to create within the black community enough political power so that blacks can become a force in a pluralistic society. To achieve this, separation and solidarity are interim strategies. The need for solidarity is expressed by Carmichael and Hamilton:[101]

> The concept of Black Power rests on a fundamental premise: Before a group can enter the open society, it must first close ranks. By this we mean that group solidarity is necessary before a group can operate effectively from a bargaining position of strength in a pluralistic society.

To gain a measure of power for change or for self-preservation, a group has two choices: it can "take over existing institutions (as certain immigrant groups took over some city political structures) or develop institutions of its own (as did other groups through labor unions)."[102] Such institutions must possess enough power to confront other institutions on a relatively equal footing.[103] Finally, in the sense that achievement of Black Power is successful it may ultimately lead to assimilation. Separation and assimilation are stages in a developmental process through which many groups have passed to achieve equal standing in a pluralistic society.[104]

The Political Response -- At the federal government level response to the Black Power movement has been considerable in rhetoric but limited in action. Generally, the demands for separation have been ignored with the exception of federal programs that have put the control of training and recreation programs in ghetto areas in the hands of blacks. Investigation of the riots conducted under federal auspices by the Kerner Commission produced significant findings but little has been done to implement any of the recommendations. Strengthening local policy agencies has been the major recent policy proposal. Policies directed toward integration and desegregation have continued to be the chief characteristics of federal action.

The response at the local level has been toward increasing polarization of whites and blacks particularly with respect to police conduct and control of public schools. The white response to black demands for economic, political, and social control of ghetto institutions is usually disbelief or hostility.

Because of the nature of the movement demands of black leaders tend to be highly symbolic.

> When black militants make demands, these demands are absurd-sounding in inverse proportion to their perception of the confidence they feel white influentials have in them: the less confidence they believe white influentials have in them, the more absurd-sounding the demand.... If past relations between white leaders and black spokesmen have been poor, the white influentials may have to accede to the original symbolic demand before realistic next steps can be taken.[105]

Demands tend to be taken as unrealistic primarily because they are for forms of control and influence which the whites are used to exercising themselves.[106] In addition, because of the scant political resources of the Negro, they have no bargaining power,[107] and the result generally has been white intransigence.

One result of the increasing militancy of the Negro protest is that it has made the more moderate demands of the conservative protest groups more palatable. Not only have the demands seemed more acceptable but so have their leaders. The "irrationality" of the Black Power leaders has led the white community to largely reject them as being impossible to reason with. They are, therefore, largely omitted from political discussions about the black problem where whites are also present. This is a critical point because if whites are not willing to pay the price of effective action now the Black Power movement will be just another step in the increasing escalation of racial conflict between whites and blacks.

Political Party Activity

While the main conflict of the Negro protest has been carried on outside the formal political party structure, the importance of the Negro vote and Negro elected officials is becoming increasingly evident. Many who accept the general philosophy of democratic government hold that as Negroes increase in numbers in urban areas and exercise their vote in elections, then politicians will have to accede to their demands. However, the linkages between votes cast in elections and public policy outcomes are imprecise and complex because of the pluralistic nature of power and the varied decision making centers of government. Elected officials must consider the demands of a wide variety of groups of which the Negro is only one.

At present a key factor in determining the influence of the Negro vote is how evenly divided white voters are.[108] In situations where the white vote is nearly equally split the Negro can hold the balance of power and thus gain some concessions that may eventually become translated into public policy. The Presidential elections of 1960 and 1964 reflect the centrality of the Negro vote to the ultimate decision. In the 1960 election more than 70 per cent of the national Negro vote went to Kennedy and the percentage was even greater in the key industrial cities of the North. Thus, with the white vote split the Negro ballots provided a margin of victory. The outcome of the 1964 election was quite different. Johnson won 61.1 per cent of the popular vote as opposed to Goldwater's 38.5 per cent and accomplished an electoral college total of 486 as compared to Goldwater's fifty-two. "Johnson's victory was so overpowering that he could have lost all five Northern states whose black votes gave Kennedy his margin of victory and still have won."[109] Within cities another factor related to the balance of power question is important. In cities where one party controls all the activities of government Negro political demands must be processed through existing channels. There is little opportunity in Chicago, for example, for a Negro to be elected in a city-wide election; whereas in New York, where there is inter-party competition, chances for success at the polls are increased.[110]

Because of the overwhelming identification of the Negro vote with the Democratic Party, the ballot has not been a particularly effective political resource for Northern blacks. The way the vote will be cast is predictable from the beginning. There are, of course, some exceptions to this pattern. In cities where party organization is almost nonexistent and where an attractive Negro candidate is nominated by the Republican party, Negroes will cross party lines in large numbers. In Boston, for example, Edward Brooke carried Negro precincts by margins of ten to one while Johnson was carrying the same precincts by margins of fifty to one.[111] However, in Northern city elections usually the only question is the size of the vote and not its direction.[112] All other things being equal, the black vote to become a true balance of power in city elections must be cohesive (a bloc vote), a two-way split in the white vote must exist, and most importantly the Negro vote must swing back and forth between the two parties.[113]

According to Banfield and Wilson,[114] Negro politics within the city depends mainly on the nature of that city's political system. In a "ward-based machine system," such as in Chicago, Negroes tend to be organized as a sub-machine and have as many representatives in council as those areas controlled by the sub-machine. However, because of civil service reforms and the dominance of the over-all city machine by whites, the effectiveness of this political style for the Negro is rapidly diminishing. New York and Cleveland are examples of "ward-based, weak organization" systems. Influence in such a system is based on personal followings or factional alliances rather than economic patronage. In this situation the Negro is apt to have more influence providing the Negro community does not divide along class lines. Under the rare "proportional representation" systems the Negro candidate has to develop a personal following and appeal to what amounts to an all-Negro constituency. The "non-partisan, at-large" electoral system is probably the least conducive to Negro influence. In this system he must appeal to the majority of whites to get elected and once in office he is forced to be moderate on Negro problems on the one hand to maintain his white vote, and be aggressive on racial issues on the other so as not to lose Negro support.

Despite these conditions there are rising numbers of Negro elected and appointed officials at the national and local level. Due to the solidarity of the Negro vote both Cleveland and Gary have Negro mayors. There is some Negro representation in both the Congress and the Supreme Court. However, in proportion to their numbers in the population at large the Negro is badly under-represented. A recent study in Chicago indicated that of 1,088 policy making positions in federal, state, and local government in Cook County only five per cent were held by Negroes in 1965, although blacks comprise 20 per cent of the county's population. In addition, the policy making positions held had less power than those maintained by whites.[115] Progress at the state level has been equally slow. In a sample of 27 states Negro representation in state legislatives was about four per cent of the total number of representatives and senators.[116] Negro representation in governorships or high state court positions is non-existent.

Because of low proportional registration of Negroes, the traditional one-party voting pattern, and their lack of other political resources, it would seem that they might have a better opportunity to achieve racial objectives by means other than party politics. However, with urban areas rapidly becoming more black, the possibility of black voting majorities may dramatically reverse present conditions.

Conclusions

Within the context of a political system the expression of demands and adaptations to those demands are critical factors. Demands flowing into a system constitute a major source of stress. For example, if demands are ignored or dissipated a decline in the support of the system may be anticipated or if the relationship between demands and outputs if out of balance active opposition to the authorities in the system or to the system itself may be expected.[117] Often these conditions are based on a number of demands which exceed in volume the limit which the system can process effectively, or a situation where the content of the demands is such that an inordinate amount of time is needed for the system to produce outputs.[118] Depending on the nature of the demand, failure to produce outputs under conditions of high volume or content stress can lead to a number of additional and more stressful situations. New political groups or factions may be created, direct tactics such as demonstration or riot may occur, and demands for replacement of authorities usually are expressed. Thus, the political system is constantly faced with the problem of adequate response to demands. A responsive system can adapt to the processing of demand inputs from new interests and the loss of support of other interests, but a closed, unresponsive system may collapse under such pressures. Clearly, the capability of the American political system to adapt and respond to the Negro protest is in question. The system is suffering from both volume and content overload, and furthermore, it is incapable of responding to all the demands. Many of the demands are beyond its jurisdiction and must be processed by other systems in the environment. However, as long as the political system is seen as a prime focus for Negro protest serious questions can be raised about its arrangement in future times.

Negro Demands Upon the Public Schools

As suggested earlier, the demands of Negroes upon the institutions of society, and more specifically their demands upon the public schools, are a function of attitudes (toward themselves and others) and expectations (of themselves and others) which have been colored by a multitude of environmental forces, historical and contemporary. It follows, too, that their demands cannot be accurately understood outside of that total context. There are those who note with surprise and a touch of accusation that many of the demands which black protest groups place upon the schools often have seemingly little to do with strictly "educational" issues. However, students of black protest in this country are neither surprised nor chagrined at the character of the demands for it is clear that although Negro parents are indeed concerned with the objective quality of the cognitive education their children receive, they are very importantly concerned with other aspects of the educational situation as well.

Members of the black community are aware, whether explicitly or intuitively, that their children are critically involved in a kind of social-psychological interaction with the school as an organization. They are keenly aware that the school organization, with its network of norms and sanctions, may be largely external to the culture which is theirs and their children's. They are aware that those norms and sanctions may impinge upon their children in a way which is more or less helpful to them as individuals and to the race as a cultural entity. The physical and psychological press of schools upon black children may be used to redress the intellectual, economic and emotional injustices of the past or, on the contrary, it may be used to further impress upon them the stereotypic image of racial inferiority which has been worked upon black minds for more than three hundred years. Indeed they want their children to have a good education in the traditional sense of training for upward mobility but they want, too, for them to gain a sense of personal and racial pride (which, in a racist society, can go only hand in hand) and they want, too, for the community to gain a sense of power and involvement, racial price, and the ability to control the destiny at least of its own children.

The discussion in this chapter focuses primarily upon the local urban school system as the focal educational sub-system. However, it is recognized that (1) Negro demands fall upon other local school systems, especially the local suburban school system and (2) many demands and supports which significantly affect local school systems, and will continue to do so, are processed through the state and federal systems with their legislative bodies and administrative agencies. Also, implicit in the projection of demands are certain assumptions about the nature of the forces in interaction from which probable trends are extrapolated into the future. For example, in the present analysis it is assumed that (1) present demographic trends with respect to the internal migration of the races will continue (i.e., the trend toward black inner cities surrounded by white suburbs)* and (2) there will be no transcendent white backlash which will fundamentally alter the democratic nature of the society in the direction of totalitarian fascism.

---

*This assumption may not be valid in the light of the new welfare legislation recently proposed by the Nixon administration (August, 1969).

Negro demands hold a number of potentially significant implications for the public schools, implications for the structure and processes of school organizations and of their external interactive mechanisms and linkages. It is important, however, in analysis, to separate the demands from their implications because connecting the one to the other is an action component -- which may or may not find its way into being. Thus, the demands of the Negro protest movement are discussed separately and prior to their implications.

The demands of the Negro community do not constitute an harmonious whole any more than the Negro protest movement constitutes a monolithic dynamic. Schisms exist and the brothers are strongly divided about what and how they want to accomplish. Certain kinds of demands, however, have been clearly emergent, even though in some cases they are conflicting. Some of their demands are mutually compatible or even mutually reinforcing; others are competing and, in some cases, mutually exclusive. Citizen participation and political decentralization, for example, tend to be mutually reinforcing whereas political decentralization and racial integration may be essentially competing goals.

Racial Integration

The underlying goal of all Negro protesters, with few, if any, exceptions, is to redress the status balance between the races. The first section of the chapter traced briefly the history of this effort and identified the fundamental and continuing schism between the integrationists and the separatists along one continuum and between the militants and the accommodationists along another. Each of the major black protest organizations could, at any given point in history, be place, at least approximately, somewhere along the continuum on each of those two dimensions. Changing positions along these continua have clear and potential implications for the schools.

The main thrust of the civil rights movement, as articulated first by the NAACP and the Urban League and later by SCLC, CORE, and SNCC, has been toward racial integration. Although the goal of the civil rights movement has been primarily "to obtain public commitment to the principle of racial equality,"[119] which is what Almond and Powell[120] would classify as a demand for a "symbolic output,"* specific demands upon school districts have tended to be those seeking various forms of "regulations of behavior."[121] Significant examples include demands for (1) redrawing attendance area boundaries, (2) construction of new schools, (3) bussing, (4) staff integration, (5) broad attendance area schools (e.g., middle schools, skill centers, and educational parks), (6) pre-construction open-housing agreements, and (7) metropolitan organization of schools.

Boundaries, Bussing, and Construction of New Schools -- The most bitter controversies in the battle to integrate schools over the past fifteen years have probably been those over attendance area boundaries, bussing, and the construction of new schools. The NAACP, in a series of court suits which it instituted against a number of school districts during the early sixties, charged that attendance area boundaries had been gerrymandered in order to maintain de facto segregation. It sued to force boards of education to redraw those boundaries toward better racial balance. Despite favorable rulings by state courts and state commissioners, however, practical results have not been encouraging. Tokenism at best is still the order of the day. Similarly, bussing compromises have had more symbolic than practical significance. Open enrollment plans have achieved public commitment to the principle of racial equality without the substance of integrated schools. For whatever their reasons, parents have for the most part failed to take advantage of open enrollment options. The new school construction issue achieved perhaps its greatest national prominence, through extensive radio, television, and press coverage, in the case of I.S. 201, Harlem. It was in fact the I.S. 201 case which marked the strategic shift on the part of many Negro civil rights groups from demands for integration to demands for community control. A summary of the controversy in a recent magazine article pointed up the dynamics of this shift:

---

*Almond and Powell include among types of symbolic outputs affirmations of values, displays of political symbols, and statements of policies and intents. Other types of outputs include extractions, regulations of behavior, and allocations or distributions of goods and services, etc.

> New York came up with a scheme to move fifth-grade children into intermediate schools, cutting their time in the highly segregated primary schools. In late summer, 1966, the war for city schools began at Harlem's new Intermediate School 201, which the Board of Education had promised would be integrated. Parents complained that the site was unlikely to draw white students, and were put off by the starkly modern and windowless design. "That's when they explained to us what they meant by integration,' recalls David Spencer, the fierce-faced chairman of 201's governing board. 'They meant 50 percent Puerto Rican and 50 percent black,' which is roughly how the neighborhood shapes up. 'So that's what moved us to say, 'If we're going to have a segregated school, we'll have it segregated all the way.' The parents threatened a boycott unless they were allowed to name a black principal and have some say about what was going to be taught.[122]

Other Integration Strategies -- Two sets of strategies for attacking de facto school segregation in urban areas, strategies which are still being advocated with at least some hope of success, and which have translated themselves into demands upon the schools, include plans for desegregating new neighborhoods even before they are built and plans for broadening school attendance areas across racial boundaries. Those strategies which are most limited in their objectives, most specific in their implementation, and which are entirely within the decision-making jurisdiction of a single school district, have proven most susceptible to successful implementation. These include the reorganization of the grade structure to include middle schools between primary schools and high schools and the establishment of centrally-located special education schools which draw students across traditional attendance area boundaries.

Other strategies which are more ambitious in scope and which may involve more than one decision-making jurisdiction have faced rougher going. These include the development of educational parks, the negotiation of pre-construction open-housing agreements, and the establishment of metropolitan school organizations which would include urban and suburban school systems under a common administrative umbrella. The development of educational parks is a massive multi-million dollar effort, untested and fraught with potential problems; it seems an open question now as to whether the idea hasn't lost much of its momentum.

The idea of pre-construction open-housing agreements is an imaginative and significant one which would strike at the real roots of the school segregation problem -- which is the segregated housing problem. One of the recommendations of an advisory commission which examined the problems facing the Columbus, Ohio, public schools suggested the approach as a viable strategy:

> The Board of Education should take immediate steps to place all plans for new school construction or additions to existing facilities under pre-construction open housing agreements hammered out in advance. The Board of Education can work with state legislative leaders in the passage of state-wide legislation calling for such agreements to precede all public service developments in Ohio.[123]

Examination of the suggested procedures for implementing the recommendation makes clear, however, the broad scope of the recommendation and the complex and difficult political negotiations necessary to secure its successful implementation. The commission suggested a developmental strategy to the Board which included the following kinds of specific actions to be taken:

1. The writing of an exploratory legal framework.

2. The convening of legislators, officers of the State Department of Education and city government, realtors, bankers, and other financiers, and community leaders to work out the features of pre-construction open housing agreements.

3. Legislation to make pre-construction open housing agreements mandatory throughout Ohio.

4. The development of future school sites only where housing in several price ranges, mortgage money, rental housing and job opportunities are available to both blacks and whites.

5. A moratorium on school construction until the recommended legislation is passed.[124]

A number of experts have suggested metropolitan school organization as a workable approach not only to the satisfaction of integration demands but to the partial solution of the very serious financial problems which are currently facing core cities around the country. Cunningham discussed a number of alternative patterns of metropolitan educational government in a chapter he did for the 1968 N.S.S.E. yearbook.[125] Alkin, in a subsequent chapter, suggested as solutions to the fiscal equalization problem two alternatives, among others, which would fall under the general rubric of metropolitan government:

> 1. To reorganize school districts in such a way that they will include both segments of the central city and portions of surrounding suburbs.[126]
>
> 2. A metropolitan-wide tax could be levied on all property, the tax to be collected by . . . (a) metropolitan government and distributed to all districts on a per pupil basis.[127]

Despite these suggestions, however, the outlook for the establishement of metropolitan educational governments does not seem bright. The possibility of court-ordered urban-suburban mergers seems even less likely today than it did four years ago when Judge J. Skelly Wright raised such a prospect in a lecture he delivered at New York University.[128] Political events over the past three years suggest that the political conservatism of the late sixties seems destined to continue into the seventies and the recent results of the general mayoral election in Los Angeles and the Republic mayoral primary in New York City do nothing to alter the outlook. Too, the mood of the suburbs does not yet seem to reflect widespread readiness to welcome black inner-city youngsters into white suburban schools.

Black Independence

It was suggested implicitly in an earlier discussion of the new school construction issue that the shift in objectives in the I.S. 201 situation from integration to community control was illustrative of a fundamental shift in Negro thinking nationally. The diminishing satisfaction of black parents with symbolic victories and the increasing recognition on the part of Negroes of the fundamental failure of the integrationist movement to achieve substantial practical results, coupled with the black community's growing psychological need to assert its cultural independence, led to mounting disaffection with the goals of the traditional civil rights movement.

Black assertiveness began to take different forms. Skolnick described one aspect of it on the national scene:

> The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee excluded whites from leadership positions in 1966... The rejection of white leadership was mistakenly viewed as a form of 'racism in reverse' by many white and some black commentators. But this rejection was not necessarily or consistently a withdrawal from whites *qua* whites. Rather it was the assertion of the ability of blacks to control their own organizations, and a rejection of white claims, symbolic or explicit, of political leadership. As such, it

> represented one aspect of a general thrust toward black political independence.[129]

Mothner, focussing directly on the public schools, characterized another aspect of this "black independence movement":

> Angry mothers are loud in the chorus sounding out in the ghetto, demanding community control, the right to run schools on their own turf. The move is to carve neighborhood-size chunks out of super-systems in Chicago, Detroit, Boston, Philadelphia, Washington, and Los Angeles, as well as New York.[130]

A SNCC position paper put it in cultural and psychological terms:

> The systematic destruction of our links to Africa, the cultural cut-off of blacks in this country from blacks in Africa are not situations that conscious black people in this country are willing to accept. Nor are conscious black people in this country willing to accept an educational system that teaches all aspects of Western Civilization and dismisses our Afro-American contribution...and deals with Africa not at all. Black people are not willing to align themselves with a Western culture that daily emasculates our beauty, our pride and our manhood.[131]

Political Participation -- The integration-be-damned black independence movement has manifested itself on the educational scene in demands for political participation and quality black education. Demands for political participation have focused upon such issues as (1) citizen participation, (2) administrative decentralization, (3) community control, and (4) black teachers and administrators for black children, including the introduction of indigenous paraprofessionals into the school organization.

Three of these issues -- citizen participation, administrative decentralization and community control -- are difficult to separate. In a way, they are almost points on a continuum with citizen participation constituting the most moderate demand on the continuum and community control the most advanced. Within this perceptual framework, each of the more extreme positions would incorporate all of the more moderate ones. That is, the demand for administrative decentralization envisions an enhanced responsiveness on the part of the system to citizen participation whereas community control presupposes both administrative decentralization and citizen participation.

Perhaps the best example of a school system facing incessant demands for administrative decentralization and community control is the New York City Public Schools, although similar demands are being articulated to one degree or another in other large cities. The decentralization demand has been supported not only by the black community through organized political activity, demonstrations and riots, but by major political elites and the Ford Foundation. Mayor John V. Lindsay's Advisory Panel on Decentralization of the New York City Schools, under the chairmanship of McGeorge Bundy, published a report on the issue entitled, "Reconnection for Learning."[132] The so-called Bundy Report recommended the creation of thirty to sixty Community School Districts governed by Community School Boards. According to the report, Community School Board membership should comprise a balance among people who would reflect local community interest, on the one hand, and those who would reflect broader municipal interests, on the other.

The report provided the basis for recommendations by the Mayor to the State Legislature. Strong counter-forces, not the least of which were the U.F.T. and the Council of Supervisory Associations within the public school system, itself, developed in opposition to the plan but after some delay and much conflict over the operation of several experimental local control districts -- most notably Ocean Hill-Brownsville -- the Legislature mandated a compromise form of decentralization to go into effect by September, 1969. Most school systems, however, are resisting decentralization and the outlook for further widespread implementation of the notion is in doubt.

An interesting phenomenon associated with a protest movement, one which is especially prominent in this age of electronic mass media, is the "ripple effect." This is the tendency on the part of protest movements to motivate reaction behavior in segments of the population previously unconcerned. The reaction may be positive (i.e., reinforcing) or negative (i.e., a backlash). The ripple effect has been particularly noticeable with respect to demands for citizen participation.[132A] The Negro protest movement has, in its peripheral and unanticipated effects, stirred demands for participation on the part of both middle-class whites and students, black and white. In some cases, particularly on some university campuses, student demands have gone beyond those for participation to those for control. The reverberations of all of these protest movements have, in turn, engendered a backlash effect of significant proportions. There seems to be no question that parents and other lay citizens of both races want more information about schools -- about both input and output -- and more of a share in planning and evaluation. Accountability is becoming a key word in the vernacular of school politics.

Quality Black Education -- A number of relatively more concrete demands fall under the general rubric of quality black education. Most are clearly welfare-oriented demands which relate primarily, in Almond and Powell's terms, to the allocation of goods and services. Others, though, are essentially symbolic in nature. Along with demands for black teachers, administrators and indigenous paraprofessionals (partly symbolic, partly allocative demands discussed above under political participation), the black community has been increasingly vocal in its demand for a black curriculum. Skolnick sees curriculum demands and control demands as part of the same underlying dynamic:

> The struggle for educational autonomy is both a cultural and political struggle. It is a cultural struggle in the sense that the school can provide youth with an education which gives proper attention to black history and black values, thus providing a positive sense of self-appreciation and identity. But it is also a political struggle, for it is widely felt that the educational system is a predominant means used by those in power to teach people to 'unconsciously accept their condition of servitude.' According to Edgar Friedenberg, a white sociologist who has written extensively on education, 'the school is the instrument through which society acculturates people into consensus before they become old enough to resist it as effectively as they could later.' Thus, local control of the educational system will provide an opportunity to build a resistance movement as well as to achieve some cultural independence from the values of white America.[133]

It should be pointed out, though, that for those -- and there are many -- who still stress goals of inclusion and integration, integrated schooling is an educational as well as a symbolic goal. For the loyal veteran of the civil rights movement, especially for many of the white liberals, integration is an indispensable prerequisite to quality education. Integration is, indeed, part of the curriculum. Inclusion goals may, however, be limited mainly to the older generation of blacks. Skolnick takes the position that:

> The available evidence suggests that we are presently witnessing the rise of a generation of black activists, enjoying wide support from their communities and relatives, committed to the principles of local community control and cultural autonomy, and disenchanted with techniques of peaceful protest associated with the civil rights movement of the 1950's... The available evidence suggests that 'inclusion' and 'integration' have become largely irrelevant to black youth.[134]

Demands for black studies are an important part of the curriculum demands being made by the Negro community, particularly because of their high symbolic content, but other curriculum objectives have received support as well. Student testing and evaluation programs are of great concern to the Negro community, partly for symbolic reasons having to do with implications of black inferiority but also for related educational reasons. There is a strong feeling among blacks that the basic assumptions underlying so-called "intelligence" tests work against black children, that the tests are culturally biased, and that the results are damaging to them educationally and psychologically. Teacher attitudes toward children, and their expectations of them, are based at least in part on the results of standardized tests. It is the black contention, supported by Rosenthal's work on the relationship between teacher expectations and student achievement[135], that the end result of biased testing is that teachers expect little of black children -- and get it. The drive for culture-free tests is a strong one.

Another drive is for the development of teaching methods and instructional strategies specifically suited to the needs of black children. An example of this would be the institution of the bi-lingual approach to the teaching of English as a second language, not only for Spanish-speaking youngsters but also for black children whose Negro patois is their first language.

A large number of significant demands are subsumed under the heading of "compensatory education," although that term is not in full favor in all black circles, since it has a connotation, at least to some, of white condescension to "black inferiority." It is generally recognized, however, that ghetto children require special services and special educational programs which are very expensive and beyond the capability of the ghetto community to support without drawing upon financial resources in the outside world.

More money is needed to educate a ghetto child than to educate, to the same level of proficiency, a child of the establishment. Money is needed to buy programs and services which poverty does not normally bestow upon its children: smaller classes, intensive remediation and counseling, expensive vocational education programs, medical and dental services, family services and, for those for whom hunger is a constant shadow on the mind, hot breakfasts and hot lunches.

To what extent is middle-class America willing to pay more to educate the children of the poor than to educate its own children? This is an open question but all compensatory education plans ultimately depend on an affirmative response. The moral principle of taxation only with representation is a time-honored one in this country, with political roots as deep as those of local control. It is maxim that, on the one hand, one doesn't get told what to do by total strangers and, on the other, one doesn't get to spend someone else's money.

These trusty old aphorisms have, however, been sorely pressed in recent years with the ascendance of the welfare state and the growing national concern for the protection of minority rights. As has been well-publicized in the national press, welfare recipients are told what to do by total strangers and do get to spend someone else's money. Many Southern states and some Northern cities (Chicago, for example) have been told either to follow the federal guidelines with respect to protection of minority rights or lose their right to funds supported, at least in part, by their own tax monies.

It is increasingly evident, with the failure of efforts to provide a racially integrated education for the vast majority of America's children, that (1) the possible right of black parents to run black ghettoized schools is going to have to be considered and (2) adequate monies to support those schools are going to have to be provided out of general taxes levied, at least in part, outside of the ghetto, itself. Thus it seems necessary, at this critical juncture in American history, to accede to the necessity -- based upon a general recognition of the existence of seemingly unbridgeable racial segregation -- for an oppressed people to politically control funds and institutions which are beyond their ability to raise and support entirely out of their own pockets.

The equalization principle is not new to American education. Traditionally, however, equalization assistance has been appended to substantial locally levied tax funds. Numerous studies have been made which show the wide discrepancy among states and among school districts within states in their ability to support public education.[136] Clearly, traditional equalization efforts have not been adequate. Alkin suggested a number of alternative solutions, two of which have already been indicated, based upon the essential principles of (1) broad financial responsibility and (2) inequality of educational need. Two others relate specifically to demands for compensatory education:

> 1. ... (A) needs appropriation would be distributed to districts on the basis of an inverse relationship to their predicted mean achievement scores, the scores to be predictable, within reasonable limits, on the basis of various socioeconomic attributes of the school community. Thus, the achievement score, derived from a given set of community variables, would be the predicted score. By using the predicted scores rather than the actual scores, a good deal of variation is permitted without penalizing districts which achieve actual scores higher than those normally predicted from their socioeconomic characteristics.[137]
>
> 2. Block grants for general aid to state governments, which are becoming increasingly more representative of metropolitan areas, may very well fulfil the need for more federal funds to be distributed upon an equitable and acceptable basis.[138]

To recapitulate, then, the demands are for political decentralization combined with fiscal centralization and compensatory equalization. Some degree of compensatory equalization is being achieved through federal funding (e.g., Title I, Elementary and Secondary Education Act). Whether further compensatory equalization can be achieved through state and/or metropolitan efforts remains to be seen.

Given the economic conditions of the ghetto, demands for quality vocational education assume particular importance for the black community. Questions of motivation and relevance -- to the job market on the one hand and the technological state of the industrial arts on the other -- are closely related to the ability potential of Negroes to move out of the ghetto and into the mainstream of American economic life. To a lot of youngsters, especially those who have spent their lives in poverty, relevance is a job and motivation is money. The student in vocational training needs to know that his training is such that it will indeed qualify him for job openings which actually exist and that, if he completes his training satisfactorily, he is practically assured of a decent job. Thus specific demands in the vocational education arena include those for increased work-school opportunities (to enable youngsters to earn money while they stay in school), union and industry support for particular vocational schools and programs (to guarantee relevance and job opportunity), and job placement services in the school, itself (to further assist with entry and continued mobility in the job market).

Finally, there are powerful demands for new and experimental forms of organization for instruction. Illustrative of this thrust is Philadelphia's Parkway Project, the so-called "school without walls." This unusual school was conceived "as a way of offering high school students an education that they would find both relevant and useful."[139] The following description suggests the experimental nature of the program:

> The schoolroom is the city, the teachers are the city's employes and businessmen, the curriculum is the day-to-day events of the city. This is the concept of Philadelphia's Parkway Program, probably the most radical of all current high school experiments. Parkway has no classrooms or school building and its only facility is a rented loft where 150 students -- half black, half white -- have their lockers and hold a weekly meeting with the faculty.[140]

The program is a small one at the present time but there are plans for expanding it. Bremer indicated that he hopes to enlarge the student body to 700 for the 1969-70 school year.[141] Radical experimental programs are being tried elsewhere, too. The Cleveland Public Schools, for example, have been experimenting with a program similar to the Parkway Program.

While there are demands for experimentation within the public schools, there are also demands for experimental programs involving organizations outside of the public schools. Plans for introducing publicly supported competition into the educational arena include those for store front schools, educational script which would permit parents to "buy" schooling for their children in any accredited institution -- public or private, and privately contracted instructional services whereby the public schools would contract with private, commercial firms to accomplish specific educational tasks -- such as remedial reading, for example. Radical as these plans may appear, they may evoke considerable support from a public increasingly concerned with educational accountability -- that is, with output rather than input. Political support may prove to be available, also, from those who traditionally send their children to non-public schools and would like to obtain public support toward that end.

The demands, then, are many. Some are limited to the black community; others have generated wider support. Some are politically viable; others less so, but the Negro protest movement is making its mark on the public schools. What are the implications of these demands for public school organization and administration?

The Implications of Negro Demands for the Public Schools

In the last section of the chapter, a number of the more significant demands of the Negro protest movement were explicated and some examples were given. Major demands, under which more specific demands tend to be subsumed, include those for integration, political participation and quality black education. The final section of the chapter deals with the implications of these broad, inclusive demands, with all of their pertinent sub-demands, for the future of the public schools.

Clearly, some of these demands will affect schools more than others. Why is this so? For one thing, some of the demands will never be met; others will be met only in some token fashion. But even those which successfully work their way through "the *conversion processes* of the political system -- the processes which transform the flow of demands and supports into the political system into a flow of *extraction*, *regulation*, *distribution*, and the like, out of the political system into the society..."[142] will not have equal impact upon schools. Let us consider the relative impact of demands upon organizations along two dimensions: *organizational readiness* and *the ripple effect*.

Organizational readiness refers to the relative ease with which an organization can adapt to a specified change. Some demands require substantial changes in the structure and/or processes of the organization for acquiescence; others can be handled routinely or with relatively limited organizational adaptation. It is suggested that the more ready an organization is for a particular change, the less impact, by definition, that change will have upon the organization. Also, the more ready an organization is for a particular change, the more likely it is to acquiesce to demands for that change. It should be pointed out, however, that an organization will acquiesce to demands which place great strains upon it if the threatened loss of support or the anticipated gain in support is substantial enough. On the other hand, it may refuse demands which it could accomplish easily if the pressure toward change is very weak. These generalizations follow logically from the general systemic law of dynamic equilibrium.

The ripple effect, introduced previously[143], refers to the tendency on the part of protest demands to motivate reaction behavior in segments of the population previously relatively unconcerned. *Contagious demands* induce additional demands and provoke to action previously inert segments of the population; *non-contagious demands* manifest very little ripple effect. Contagious demands, however, may provoke both positive (reinforcing) demands and/or negative (counter) demands. Thus it may be said, in the terminology of a well-known game of skill and chance, that contagious demands tend to "up the ante." Power equations for contagious demands tend to become much more complex than those for non-contagious demands.

Within the general demand-support framework, then, and with the additional concepts of organizational readiness and the ripple effect, the potential impact of the demands set forth in the previous section can now be evaluated.

Most of the demands included under the general heading of integration have had little impact upon school systems in the past and are unlikely to have substantial impact in the future. During the years immediately following the *Brown* decision, vocal Northern white liberal support for school desegregation (in the South) permitted some optimism with respect to the chances for genuine and substantial *de facto* school desegregation in the North. It became increasingly clear, however, as strong Negro demands for Northern desegregation began to be articulated, that more than token integration didn't have a chance. It was a simple matter of the demand-support ratio: it was mostly the blacks who made the demands and mostly the whites upon whom the schools depended for support. The result was not surprising to anyone who is familiar with racial attitudes in the United States. As Crain described it, based upon his study of school desegregation in eight Northern cities:

> If the incidents described in the eight cities are representative, we can hypothesize that, generally, white parents will not protest integration as long as (1) the school their children are to attend is not predominantly Negro; (2) white students are not transferred (sic) out of their present schools; (3) white students are not forced to attend schools located in the ghetto; and (4) neighborhood racial stability is not threatened. To this we might tentatively add one qualifying statement -- whites may protest if they feel that the school integration program is too obviously a surrender to Negro political power.[144]

Thus, the vast preponderance of strategies to achieve significant integration in urban schools - redrawing attendance area boundaries, locating new school sites specifically for integration, bussing, pre-construction open housing agreements, educational parks, and metropolitan school organization -- seem most unlikely to be employed to achieve more than symbolic ends.

Specialized vocational training centers such as skill centers will probably find their way into being -- largely because they are voluntary, lower-class oriented, and require minimal organizational adaptation on the part of schools which have long experience with both special schools and vocational programs -- but, for the very same reasons, will have little impact on schools as organizations. The only kind of integration likely to have a significant effect upon school organizations in the future is not student integration, but staff integration. The introduction of black teachers and principals into the public schools is, at least in many cases, infusing new values and new attitudes, especially toward black children and black parents, into the schools. Their impact is being felt not only directly, through the formal organization of the schools, but indirectly as well, through the way in which they affect the policies and practices of teacher organizations (teachers) and school administration (principals and central office administrators). Both black and white administrators are being forced to operate in increasingly pluralistic organizational environments. This trend should continue to accelerate.

Of great import for schools are demands for political participation. Although community control may never get beyond the experimental stage (although it may) and even administrative decentralization may be difficult to achieve in many large systems, the very contagious demands for citizen participation and the introduction of indigenous paraprofessionals into schools which are by no means organizationally ready for them will both have very powerful effects on schools as organizations. In fact, not nearly enough has been done to conceptualize the potential impact of these forces, especially that of the introduction of paraprofessionals.

Negro demands for political participation have had perhaps the most significant ripple effect in American society today. Similar and mutually reinforcing demands have spread not only to white parents but to other lay citizens and to students, black and white. Even teachers have been affected by the contagion of the movement toward pluralistic participation.

The effect upon schools has been and will continue to be toward opening them up as political systems. In Columbus, Ohio, for example, pressure for accountability has led the school system to publish and distribute publicly a 180-page document detailing staff profiles, staff distribution and student achievement on a school-by-school basis among other kinds of information.[145] In the same system, school advisory councils have been established, including parents, students, teachers, and administrators. Other city systems may be forced to follow suit, especially with respect to the school profile. Pressure for participation and accountability produces information, which in turn fuels demands for further participation and continued accountability by raising questions which in earlier days had remained hidden behind a veil of professional secrecy.

Negro teachers and administrators, and paraprofessionals, too, become additional sources of questions and answers as in many ways pluralism within and without the system hammers at the traditional monolith which was the educational establishment. Administrators are being forced toward openness, accountability, and the inclusion of multiple groups in the school decision-making process.

The organizational implications of the introduction of indigenous paraprofessionals into school organizations have not yet been adequately recognized. A great deal of theoretical work needs to be done in analyzing the potential effects. It is not the intent here to begin that task; rather it is sufficient to suggest a few superficial possibilities:

1. Paraprofessionals will constitute a "third force in the classroom between the teacher and his students.

2. The presence of paraprofessionals in the system will require a reworking of traditional role relationships which are deeply ingrained after years of setting in.

3. Relations between school and community will be significantly altered by the presence of indigenous paraprofessionals operating as (a) interpreters of the community to the school and (b) interpreters of the school to the community.

4. The introduction of paraprofessionals into the instructional process will necessitate a substantial restructuring of that process (e.g., toward more optimal utilization of specialized skills and more extensive utilization of the tutorial mode).

5. Paraprofessionals, already beginning to organize, constitute a new element in collective negotiations (e.g., if paraprofessionals become strikebreakers, what effects will this have on schools?).

6. The introduction of paraprofessionals may raise some legal questions (e.g., with respect to school liability for pupil safety).

Demands for quality black education have generated a powerful ripple effect, too. For one thing, the very concept of "black education" has raised serious questions about the nature of education generally and about the relationship between content and instructional methodology, on the one hand, and student differences, on the other. If there is such a thing as black education, what, then, is white education? If special services -- compensatory education -- helps black youngsters, why shouldn't some of the same kinds of things help all youngsters, even some in lily-white high achieving suburban schools who may not be doing as well as everybody else? If cultural pluralism in the form of "storefront schools" and other competitive models which have been suggested as alternatives to compulsory public education for Negroes, then why not public support for church schools and other types of non-public education? In fact, black demands for quality black schools have provided a focal point for powerful white interests concerned with educational output, school accountability and the equitable financing of the education of all children in all schools. The result has been increasing pressure on school teachers and administrators for organizational openness, effectiveness, and broad political participation in school policy-making. Thus, demands for quality black education have, in additional ways, put heavy pressure upon school administrators to become political animals, open to conflicting points of view and skilled in the art of pluralistic decision-making. This is especially true with respect to the squeeze that school administrators find themselves in as a result of powerful black demands, on the one hand, and the growing white backlash, on the other. The need to find an accommodation between the two may force superintendents toward creative new solutions, especially those involving suburban-inner city cooperation (e.g., Boston's METCO).

Summary

Negroes have a long history of protest going back over three hundred years. Some of the protest has been violent, some of it peaceful, but all of it directed toward redressing the just grievances of an oppressed people in a racist society. Political disfranchisement, economic deprivation, and cultural oppression, even after the Civil War and the Emancipation Proclamation, have battered the black man psychologically and left him groping for self-identity and self-esteem. Under changing historical conditions, black men of various persuasions have opted to fight back in different ways. There have been integrationists and separatists, accommodationists and militants, and just plain men in the street burning down the city in helpless and unarticulated rage.

In the last fifteen years, the Negro protest movement has been a dynamic force in American society whose accusations and demands have reverberated the length and breadth of the land. Demands have focussed upon schools as, along with the police, the most salient arm of the white establishment in the black community; as the agent of maximal effect, positive or negative, upon black children; and as potentially the only viable hope for the social reconstruction of the ghetto and of the macro-society itself. Demands have shifted from those for integration, now considered practically hopeless in the near future, to those for participation and control. The prospects for the satisfaction of many specific demands is meager but the implications of others for school organization and administration are very real. Generalizations with respect to these implications include the following:

1. Most of the demands included under the general heading of integration have had little impact upon school systems in the past and are unlikely to have substantial impact in the future.

2. The only kind of integration to have a significant effect upon school organizations in the future is not student integration, but staff integration.

3. Both black and white administrators are being forced to operate in increasingly pluralistic organizational environments.

4. Negro demands for political participation have had perhaps the most significant ripple effect in American society today.

5. The effect upon schools has been and will continue to be toward opening them up as political systems.

6. Administrators are being forced toward openness, accountability, and the inclusion of multiple groups in the school decision-making process.

7. The introduction of paraprofessionals will affect school organizations in a number of significant ways: (1) as a "third force" in the classroom, (2) in requiring new sets of role definitions and role relationships, (3) in defining a new "communicator" between the school and the community, (4) in forcing changes in organization for instruction, (5) in providing a new element in negotiations and in raising issues of career progression, and (6) in raising new legal questions.

8. Demands for quality black education have, in additional ways, put heavy pressure upon school administrators to become political animals: open to conflicting points of view, skilled in the art of pluralistic decision-making, creative in the formulation of imaginative new solutions, and ingenious in the development of effective political strategies of self-survival.

NEGRO PROTEST

1. Eldridge Cleaver, Soul on Ice (New York: Dell Publishing Company, 1968), p. 61.

2. Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (New York: New York, Times Company, 1968), p. 10.

3. Vincent Harding, "The Uses of the Afro-American Past," Negro Digest, Vol. 17 (February 1968), p. 5.

4. Robert Hayden, "Middle Passage," in Black Voices, edited by Abraham Chapman, (New York: New American Library, 1968), p. 445.

5. Stokely Carmichael and Charles V. Hamilton, Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America (New York: Vintage Books, 1967), p. 25.

6. William H. Grier and Price M. Cobbs, Black Rage (New York: Bantam Books, 1968), p. 21.

7. Jean Toomer, "Blood-burning Moon," Cane (New York: Harper & Row, 1969 (First Published by Boni & Liveright, 1923)), pp. 66-67.

8. Gilbert Osofsky, The Burden of Race (New York: Harper & Row, 1967), p. 178.

9. From "The Negro a Beast" or "In the Image of God": The Reasoner of the Age, the Revelator of the Century! The Bible as it Is! The Negro and his Relation to the Human Family!.... (St. Louis, Mo., 1900), pp. 288-292, Ibid., p. 185.

10. Ida B. Wells, "A Negro Journalist's Description of a Lynching Bee," Osofsky, op. cit., pp. 183-4 (from A. Red Record: Lynchings in the United States, 1892-1893-1894 (Chicago, 1895, pp. 25-29).

11. Frederick Douglas, Cited in Chronicles of Black Protest, edited by Bradford Chambers (New York: Mentor Books, 1968), frontispiece.

12. "Colonial Slave Statutes," in Chambers, op. cit., p. 38.

13. Ibid., p. 39.

14. Chambers, op. cit., p. 62.

15. J. Herman Blake, "Black Nationalism," The Annals of the American Academy of Political Science, Vol. 382 (March 1969), p. 16.

16. Chambers, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 51.

18. Harold Cruse, *Rebellion or Revolution?* (New York: Morrow, 1968), p. 201.

19. For example, Jean Toomer's Hanby in the novelette, "Kabnis" may be satirizing Washington when he says to Kabnis, who has been discovered drinking on school property, "even, Professor Kabnis, to come straight to the point: the progress of the Negro race is jeopardized whenver the personal habits and examples set by its guides and mentors fall below the acknowledged and hard-won standard of its average member. This institution, of which I am the humble president, was founded, and has been maintained at a cost of great labor and untold sacrifice, its purpose is to teach our youth to live better, cleaner, more noble lives. To prove to the world that the Negro race can be just like any other race." Toomer, *op. cit.*, pp. 185-6.

    In a similar vein, Ralph Ellison may have had Washington in mind when he created the character of Dr. Bledsoe (even the name is cutting). The following statement by Bledsoe, president of the State College for Negroes, suggests that this may have been the case: "Negroes don't control this school or much of anything else - haven't you learned even that? No, sir, they don't control this school, nor white folk either. True they *support* it, but *I* control it. I's big and black and I say yes, suh' as loudly as any burn-head when it's convenient, but I'm still the king down here. I don't care how much it appears otherwise. Power doesn't have to show off. Power is confident, self-assuring, self-starting and self-stopping, self-warming, and self-justifying. When you have it, you know it. Let the Negroes snicker and the crackers laugh! Those are the facts, son. The only ones I even pretend to please are *big* white folk, and even those I control more than they control me. This is a power set-up, son, and I'm at the controls. You think about that. When you buck against me, you're bucking against power, rich white folk's power, the nation's power!" (*The Invisible Man*, New American Library, 1947, p. 127).

20. Cruse, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

21. Amy-Jacques Garvey, *Garvey & Garveyism* (Published by the author, 1963), p. 26, cited in Cruse, *op. cit.*, p. 209.

22. Chambers, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

23. *Ibid.*

24. *Ibid.*, p. 166.

25. Marcus Garvey, "The Principles of the Universal Negro Improvement Association," in Chambers, op. cit., p. 167.

26. Cruse, op. cit., p. 209.

27. Ibid., p. 85.

28. Ibid., p. 218.

29. Ibid., p. 211.

30. Ibid.

31. Booker T. Washington, "Address Delivered at the Opening of the Cotton States Exposition, Atlanta, Georgia (September 18, 1895)," in Chambers, op. cit., p. 147.

32. W. E. B. DuBois, "Of Mr. Booker T. Washington And Others," from The Souls of Black Folk (Atlanta, Georgia: 1903), in Chambers, op. cit., p. 156.

33. Francis L. Broderick & August Meier (eds.), Negro Protest Thought in the Twentieth Century (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1965), p. 48.

34. In Chambers, op. cit., p. 161.

35. NAACP, Tenth Annual Report, "The NAACP Confronts the Post-World War I Challenge," Broderick & Meier, op. cit., pp. 63-64.

36. The Messenger, "Our Reason for Being" (August 1919), Broderick & Meier, op. cit., pp. 67-68.

37. Claude McKay, "Negroes in the Depression: Claude McKay Describes a Direct Action Approach to Jobs," Broderick & Meier, op. cit., pp. 109-118.

38. Congress of Racial Equality, "Dinner at Stoners," Broderick & Meier, op. cit., pp. 221-227.

39. Chambers, op. cit., p. 175.

40. Ibid.

41. W. E. B. DuBois, "Segregation," Broderick & Meier, op. cit., pp. 143-144.

42. Thurgood Marshall, "The Legal Attack to Secure Civil Rights," Broderick & Meier, op. cit., p. 238.

43. Osofsky, op. cit., pp. 329-330.

44. *Ibid.*, p. 465.

45. *Ibid.*, p. 468.

46. SCLC, *This Is SCLC* (leaflet: Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Revised Edition (1964), Broderick & Meier, *op. cit.*, p. 271.

47. U. S. Supreme Court, *Brown V. Board of Education* (May 17, 1954), Osofsky, *op. cit.*, p. 478.

48. Broderick & Meier, *op. cit.*, pp. 304-305.

49. See, for example "An Interview with John Lewis," *Dialogue Magazine*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (Spring 1964), pp. 7-9, in Broderick & Meier, *op. cit.*, pp. 313-321.

50. Robert F. Williams "USA: The Potential of a Minority Revolution," *The Crusader Monthly Newsletter* (published in Cuba as a private publication, Robert F. Williams, Publisher in exile), Vol. 5, No. 4 (May-June 1964), pp. 1-7, in Broderick & Meier, *op. cit.*, p. 330.

51. John A. McCone, "144 Hours in August 1965," from *Violence in the City - An End or a Beginning?* (Los Angeles, 1965), pp. 10-25, in Broderick & Meier, *op. cit.*, p. 619.

52. National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

53. *Ibid.*, p. 113. (Lists of cities in each category are included on pp. 158-159 of the Commission report.)

54. *Columbus Citizen-Journal*, Vol. 10, No. 216 (Friday, July 18, 1969), p. 1.

54A. National Black Economic Development Council, *Black Manifesto* (Detroit: Leaflet, 1969), p. 2.

55. George Herbert Mead, "Self," *On Social Psychology*, edited by Anselm Strauss (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), pp. 244-245.

56. Arthur Miller, *Incident at Vichy* (New York: Bantam, 1964), pp. 104-105.

57. National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

58. Stokely Carmichael, "What We Want," in Chambers, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

59. Robert F. Williams, "Self Defense: An American Tradition," in Chambers, *op. cit.*, p. 196.

60. Langston Hughes, "Harlem," *Montage of a Dream Deferred* (New York: Holt, 1951), p. 71.

61. Grier and Cobbs, op.cit., pp. 50-51.

62. Ibid., p. 40.

63. Cleaver, op. cit., pp. 13-14.

64. Ralph Ellison, "Richard Wright's Blues," Antioch Review (Summer 1945) in Albert Murray, "Something Different, Something More," Anger & Beyond, edited by Herbert Hill (New York: Harper & Row, 1966), p. 131.

65. Price & Cobbs, op. cit., p. 1.

66. Ibid., p. 45.

67. Dan Isaac, "From the Black Experience, A New Kind of Theater," The New York Times (Sunday, July 20, 1969), Section II, p. 1.

68. Maulana Ron Karenga, from The Quotable Karenga, in The Black Power Revolt, edited by Floyd B. Barbour (Boston: Porter Sargent, 1968), pp. 162-170.

69. Cleaver, op. cit., p. 131.

70. Sterling A. Brown, "Memphis Blues," Chapman, op. cit., p. 407.

71. Edward Banfield, "Politics," A Dictionary of the Social Sciences, eds. Gould and Kolb (New York: The Free Press, 1964), pp. 515-517.

72. See, for example, Nelson Polsby, Community Power and Political Theory (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963).

73. Robin M. Williams, "Social Change and Social Conflict: Race Relations in the United States, 1944-1964," Sociological Inquiry, Vol. 35, No. 1 (Winter, 1965), p. 15.

74. Ibid.

75. W. Haywood Burns, The Voices of the Negro Protest in America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1963), p. 23 as cited in Harry A. Bailey, "Negro Interest Group Strategies," Urban Affairs Quarterly, Vol. IV, No. 1 (September, 1968), p. 28.

76. Bailey, op. cit., p. 28.

77. R. Joseph Monsen and Mark W. Cannon, The Makers of Public Policy (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1951), p. 142

78. Bailey, op. cit., pp. 28-29.

79. Louis E. Lomax, The Negro Revolt (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1962), p. 209.

80. Martin Luther King, Jr., "Letter from Birmingham City Jail," April 16, 1963 as quoted in The Negro in 20th Century America, eds., John Franklin and Isidore Stan (New York: Vintage Books, 1967),p.156.

81. James H. Lane, "The Changing Character of Negro Protest," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 357 (January, 1965).

82. David Mars, "The Federal Government and Protest," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 382 (March, 1969), p. 123.

83. Ibid.

84. Ibid.

85. Harold C. Fleming, "The Federal Executive and Civil Rights:1961-1965," Daedalus, Vol. 94, No. 4 (Fall, 1965).

86. Ibid., p. 945.

87. Ibid.

88. Reported in The Politics of Protest, A Report by the Task Force on Violent Aspects of Protest and Confrontation of the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence (New York: Ballantine Books, 1969), p. 181.

89. See, for example, Thomas R. Dye, "Urban School Segregation: A Comparative Analysis," Urban Affairs Quarterly, Vol. IV, No. 2 (December, 1968).

90. The Politics of Protest, p. xxii.

91. Ibid.

92. Ibid.

93. Helen Icken Safa, "The Case for Negro Separatism," Urban Affairs Quarterly, Vol. IV, No. 1 (September, 1968).

94. Stokely Carmichael and Charles V. Hamilton, Black Power (New York: Random House, 1967), p. 46.

95. J. Milton Yinger "Recent Developments in Minority and Race Relations," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 378 (July, 1968), p. 143.

96. *Ibid.*

97. Charles V. Hamilton, "Ritos, Revolts and Relevant Response." *The Black Power Revolt,* ed. Floyd Baibour (Boston: Porter Sargent Publisher, 1968).

98. *The Politics of Protest*, p. 152.

99. *Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders* (New York: The New York Times Company, 1968).

100. Arnold Schuchter, *White Power/Black Freedom* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1968), p. 93.

101. Carmichael and Hamilton, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

102. Charles E. Fager, *White Reflections on Black Power* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eidmans Publishing Company, 1967), p. 84.

103. *Ibid.*

104. Safa, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

105. Ralph W. Conant,"Black Power: Rhetoric and Reality," *Urban Affairs Quarterly,* Vol. IV, No. 1 (September, 1968), p. 23.

106. *Ibid.*

107. *Ibid.*

108. Bailey, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

109. Chuck Stone, *Black Political Power in America* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, Inc., 1968), p. 52.

110. See James Q. Wilson, "Two Negro Politicians: An Interpretation," *Negro Politics in America,* ed. Harry A. Bailey (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Books, Inc., 1967).

111. James Q. Wilson, "The Negro in Politics," *Daedalus,* Vol. 94, No. 4 (Fall, 1965), p. 959.

112. *Ibid.*

113. *Ibid.*

114. Edward C. Banfield and James Q. Wilson, *City Politics* (New York: Vintage Books, 1963). Also see E.S. Evans, "Ghetto Revolts and City Politics," *Riots and Rebellion*, eds. Louis H. Masotti and Don R.Bowen (Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publications, Inc., 1968) as a source from which several of the following generalizations were drawn.

115. Harold M. Baron, "Black Powerlessness in Chicago," Transaction, Vol. VI, No. 1 (November, 1968), p. 28 as cited in The Politics of Protest.

116. Stone, op. cit., p. 77.

117. David Easton, A Systems Analysis of Political Life (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1965), p. 57.

118. Ibid., pp. 58-59.

119. Ibid.

120. Gabriel A. Almond and G. Bingham Powell, Jr., Comparative Politics: A Developmental Approach (Boston: Little, Brown, 1966), p. 27.

121. Ibid.

122. Ira Mothner, "The War For City Schools," Look (May 13, 1969), p. 43.

123. The Ohio State University Advisory Commission on Problems Facing the Columbus Public Schools, A Report to the Columbus Board of Education (Columbus, Ohio: The Ohio State University, 1968), p. 86.

124. Ibid., p. 89.

125. Luvern L. Cunningham, "Organization of Education in Metropolitan Areas," in Metropolitanism: Its Challenge to Education, Robert J. Havighurst (ed.), The 67th Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part I (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), pp. 91-122.

126. Marvin C. Alkin, "Revenues for Education in Metropolitan Areas," in Havighurst, op. cit., p. 134.

127. Ibid., p. 136.

128. Quoted in Clifford P. Hooker and Van D. Mueller, Equal Treatment to Equals, a report to the Missouri School District Reorganization Commission (Minneapolis, Minn.: The University of Minnesota, 1969), p. 44.

129. Jerome Skolnick, The Politics of Protest, Violent Aspects of Protest and Confrontation, a staff report to the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1969), p. 118.

130. Mothner, op. cit., p. 43.

131. Quoted in Skolnick, op. cit., p. 117.

132. McGeroge Bundy, *Reconnection for Learning* (New York: Mayor's Advisory Panel on Decentralization of the New York City Schools, 1967).

132A. See Luvern L. Cunningham and Raphael O. Nystrand, *Citizen Participation in School Affairs,* a report to the Urban Coalition (paper, 1969).

133. Skolnick, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

134. *Ibid.*, p. 127.

135. Robert Rosenthal and Lenore Jacobson, *Pygmalion in the Classroom* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968). The reader may want to see Thorndike's powerful critique of Rosenthal's work (*American Educational Research Journal*, Vol. 5, No. 4, November, 1968). The dubious quality of Rosenthal's conclusions, however, has not substantially reduced their impact upon lay thought. The influence of the "Rosenthal Effect" has been great, although, in Thorndike's words, "The indications are that the basic data upon which this structure has been raised are so untrustworthy that any conclusions based upon them must be suspect."

136. See, for example, Cunningham, *op. cit.*, pp. 116-117; Committee on Educational Finance, National Education Association, *Financial Status of the Public Schools, 1969* (Washington, D. C.: National Education Association, 1969), pp. 48-51; and Alan K. Campbell, "Inequities of School Finance," *Saturday Review* (January 11, 1969), pp. 44 ff.

137. Alkin, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

138. *Ibid.*, p. 147.

139. John Bremer, quoted in "An Experiment: Philadelphia's 'School Without Walls'," *Life* (May 16, 1969), p. 40.

140. *Life*, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

141. *Ibid.*

142. Almond and Powell, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-12.

143. *Supra*, p. 235.

144. Robert L. Crain, *The Politics of School Desegregation* (Chicago: Aldine, 1968), p. 128.

145. Howard O. Merriman, *The Columbus School Profile* (Columbus, Ohio: The Columbus Public Schools, 1969).

Chapter Seven

Teacher Militancy and Public School Organization

The phenomenon of teacher militancy has come upon the American educational scene suddenly, forcefully, and with thunderous impact. Evidence of this impact is to be found in the voiced expressions of leading spokesmen for organized labor, professional associations, school board members, administrators, students of education and labor relations, and public officials across the land. Laws dealing with the rights of teachers to organize and negotiate have been passed in many states from New York to California, from Florida to Alaska. Field publications and popular magazines from the American School Board Journal to the Saturday Review had published articles detailing the phenomenon, projecting its growth, analyzing its roots and probable directions, extolling its virtues, and sounding the death knell of American education as its result. Sufficient information seems available now, in the light of increasingly intensified experience, to assay at least tentatively it potential impact upon schools and school administrators. It is defined, for the purposes of this chapter, as the collective articulation by teachers of demands for political participation in organizational decision-making and/or for desired extractions, regulations of behavior, allocations of resources, or statements of policies or intents.[1]

Historical Background

Industrial unions in the United States, despite long periods of intense strife and hard setbacks, have achieved considerable success in organizing workers in the basic industries and negotiating for them significant advances in wages, working conditions and, more recently, in numerous fringe benefits. In the recruitment and organization of white-collar workers, however, they have met with something considerably less than signal success. In 1958, white-collar workers, who comprised over 40 percent of the total work force, consisuted only 12 percent of the total union membership.[2] Although there are differing schools of thought among professional students of labor about the likelihood of white-collar unionization,[3] there is no doubt in anyone's mind that organized labor's probability of success in recruiting members from the white-collar segment of the work force in private industry is closely related to its ability to first attract white-collar government employees, including teachers. Concern for the recruitment of white-collar workers has been voiced at the highest levels of union leadership. Six years ago, Nicholas Zonarich, (then) director of the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department, stated:

> We know that in the past twelve to fifteen years, American labor unions have not kept pace with the growth of population and the growth of the labor force. We have been successful in organizing the basic industries, the durable goods industries. Now we have to

> go after the white-collar and service industries if the American labor movement--as we know it--is to survive.[4]

What is even more significant is that the satement was made on the occasion of the elevation of the A. F. T. into the I. U. D. Clearly the support of the international union for its teacher affiliate is part and parcel of its drive to organize all white-collar workers. The feeling of the leadership was clear that if teachers could be brought into the union fold, the job of organizing other white collar workers will be made so much easier.

The American Federation of Teachers has been in existence for over fifty years. For one short period of time, just after World War I, it actually had more members than the rival National Education Association.[5] However, anti-labor feeling during the 1920's and the subsequent rapid growth of the N.E.A., partly, at least, due to pressure by superintendents upon teachers, soon left the teachers union far behind in the race for members. In comparison to the more than one million members of the N.E.A., the A.F.T. has a current membership of approximately 140,000.[6] Especially within the past decade, the rivalry between the two organizations has been intense. Competition for members and, perhaps more importantly, for rights of representation has stiffened sharply in all areas of the country but especially in those states where laws have been enacted which grant teachers the right to designate an organization as their agent in the conduct of negotiations with the board of education.

Salient Features of the Force

The development of a conceptual framework sufficient to encompass the phenomenon of teacher militancy and provide some explanation for its seemingly precipitous outcropping is an important, if difficult, task. This task will be dealt with later in this chapter. First, it is important to point out that there are available considerable data, many of them from the Research Division of the N.E.A., which establish empirically the existence of the phenomenon, help to define the trend of the competition between the N.E.A. and the A.F.T., and make clearer the nature of the emerging laws and procedures and the direction of the current round of negotiations.

Growth of the Force

Teacher militancy does exist and is increasing. The rise has been rapid and the evidence is compelling. Ten years ago, the concept of teacher negotiations in which there is "...compromise and concession-making on matters over which there is conflict between the parties involved..."[7] was almost unthinkable in educational circles. Even in New York City, where today teachers have perhaps the most comprehensive bargaining agreement in the nation, fragmentation and disarray were the order of the day. In 1960, speaking of New York City, Myron Lieberman was able to say:

TABLE I

GEOGRAPHIC REGIONS:* PERCENT OF INSTRUCTIONAL STAFF IN SCHOOL SYSTEMS WHICH HAVE WRITTEN AGREEMENTS BY WHICH LOCAL TEACHERS NEGOTIATE FOR ALL OR PART OF THE PROFESSIONAL STAFF IN RESPONDING SCHOOL SYSTEMS

Year	Northeast	Mideast	Southeast	Great Lakes	Plains	Southwest	Rocky Mountains	Far West
1966 -67	44.7%	44.1%	6.8%	55.0%	21.8%	25.1%	44.9%	81.7%
1967 -68	66.6	58.3	17.7	63.9	43.4	23.4	57.4	87.1

* Northeast: Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Vermont; Mideast: Delaware, District of Columbia, Maryland, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania; Southeast: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, West Virginia; Great Lakes: Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Ohio, Wisconsin; Plains: Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota; Southwest: Arizona, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Texas; Rocky Mountain: Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Utah, Wyoming; Far West: Alaska, California, Hawaii, Nevada, Oregon, Washington.

TABLE 2

LINEAR RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SIZE OF ENROLLMENT, PROPORTION OF SYSTEMS WITH WRITTEN AGREEMENTS, AND PROPORTION OF INSTRUCTIONAL PERSONNEL IN SYSTEMS WITH WRITTEN AGREEMENTS

Stratum and Enrollment	1966-67		1967-68	
	Proportion of Systems	Proportion of Instructional Personnel	Proportion of Systems	Proportion of Instructional Personnel
1 (100,000 or more)	45.8%	69.5%	78.2%	89.6%
2 (50,000-99,999)	46.0	52.4	62.2	65.2
3 (25,000-49,999)	42.5	45.4	52.3	52.1
4 (12,000-24,999)	40.3	41.8	52.5	53.7
5 (6,000-11,999)	33.3	36.4	45.8	47.7
6 (3,000- 5,999)	28.1	32.6	39.8	41.1
7 (1,200- 2,999)	21.1	23.9	28.8	30.3
8 (1,000- 1,199)	16.4	17.9	22.6	23.0

> As things stand now, the teachers in New York City are fragmented into more than seventy organizations because they have not learned how to provide adequate protection for minority interests within the structure of a comprehensive teachers' organizations. One would be hardpressed to find a more over-organized group, or one weaker for its size, than the 40,000 New York City teachers.[8]

In 1961, after N.L.R.B. elections had been held, the U.F.T. was sole representative of all classroom teachers in the city, the issue was joined nationwide between the U.F.T. and the gate was swung open on a torrent of activity. As a Michigan educator recently commented:

> In my humble opinion, the act of negotiation has started an educational revolution. We are just in its beginning stages. What is prevalent in Michigan, I am sure, will become common practice everywhere. Indeed, negotiation is like an avalanche that is sweeping the country. I see no restraining walls that can stop it.[9]

The national statistics are dramatic. N.E.A. figures show that by the 1966-67 school year 1,531 systems had completed written agreements between the school boards and teachers. That represented 25% of the systems responding to the survey. By the following year, agreements had risen to 2,212, 34.8% of the systems responding.[10]

The Pattern Of Negotiations Agreements

The pattern of negotiation agreements continues, however, to be an uneven one, both geographically and with respect to the size of the systems. From a geographic point of view (Table 1), written agreements are currently operative in more than three-quarters of the school systems only in the Far West. The majority of teachers are covered by agreements in the Great Lakes states and large numbers of teachers are so covered in the Northeast, Mid-east, and Rocky Mountain States. Only in the Southeast are very few professional staff covered by agreements; even in those states the number of teachers covered by written agreements more than doubled from 1966-67 to 1967-68.

Although the geographic pattern is somewhat unordered, although not completely so, the distribution with respect to system size is highly ordered and evident by inspection. There is a clear linear relationship between the size of enrollment of the system and the proportion of systems with written agreements.

In the same way, there is a linear relationship between size of enrollment and proportion of instructional personnel in systems with written agreements (Table 2). The effect of these relationships is to reduce the percent of school systems which have written agreements (regardless of geographic region) in comparison to the percent of instructional staff in school systems which have written agreements. (Table 3).

TABLE 3

GEOGRAPHIC REGIONS: PERCENT OF SCHOOL SYSTEMS WITH WRITTEN AGREEMENTS IN COMPARISON TO PERCENT OF INSTRUCTIONAL STAFF IN SCHOOL SYSTEMS WITH WRITTEN AGREEMENTS

Year	Northeast		Mideast		Southeast		Great Lakes		Plains		Southwest		Rocky Mountains		Far West	
	Staff	System	Staff	System	Staff	System	Staff	System	Staff	System	Staff	System	Staff	System	Staff	System
1966-67	44.7%	31.7%	44.1%	22.5%	6.8%	1.3%	55.0%	34.0%	21.8%	13.7%	25.1%	5.0%	44.9%	24.4%	81.7%	72.5%
1967-68	66.6	51.7	58.3	32.4	17.7	3.7	63.9	44.9	43.4	30.4	23.4	7.8	57.4	32.0	87.1	80.4

Competition Between the NEA and the AFT

This same variable, size of enrollment, seems to be a factor in the competition between the N.E.A. and the A.F.T. The statistics seem to show, although not quite so strikingly as in the previous set of relationships, a relationship between the size of the system and the effectiveness of the A.F.T. as an organizer in comparison to the N.E.A. (Table 4). The significance of size is especially evident in the extremely large city systems.

Inspection of the data suggests a generally linear relationship (intensely skewed at the top) between size of enrollment and proportion of professional personnel covered by agreements with A.F.T. as opposed to N.E.A. affiliates. Only in the largest school systems (100,000 or more) does the A.F.T. hold the edge *vis-a-vis* the N.E.A. whereas N.E.A. affiliates represent almost all teachers in systems enrolling less than 100,000. Some union people have suggested that this is because it is harder for administrators in large districts to bring anti-union pressure to bear upon teachers than it is for those in smaller districts. In any case, there have been generally proportional gains and losses for both organizations from 1966-67 to 1967-68 among the various strata with the N.E.A. picking up some relative strength in the big cities and the A.F.T. making some gains in the middle-sized cities.

That the A.F.T. is strongest only the very largest cities of the upper stratus is evident in comparing Table 4 with Table 5. Although the A.F.T. represents almost two-thirds of the professional personnel in systems in stratum 1, the N.E.A. holds exclusive negotiating rights in more than half of those systems. The same trend follows throughout almost the entire array of strata. The A.F.T. represents a higher percent of the personnel in each stratum (with the sole exception of the lowest) than of the systems. On the average, then, the A.F.T. tends to represent the larger systems in each stratum compared to the N.E.A.

The available statistics richly document the surge of activity toward the development of written negotiations agreements between teacher groups and boards of education. Clearly emergent and continuing is the competition between N.E.A. and A.F.T. affiliates for the right to represent teachers in collective negotiations in all areas of the country. To date, the A.F.T. has been stronger in the very large cities with the N.E.A. preponderant everywhere else. Teacher militancy is real and growing. The trend toward negotiations is active and intense. What, then, is being negotiated?

The Issues of Negotiation

In a recent publication, a school superintendent offered a fervent, if somewhat innocent, prayer for the future. He said, "It is hoped that human relations--in the broadest sense--will replace suspicion and concern for the redistribution of power."[16] On the other side of the table, the teachers have indicated their desire to negotiate "all matters which affect the quality of the educational program" (N.E.A.) and "anything that affects the working life of the teacher." (A.F.T.)[17] Clearly,

TABLE 4*

RELATIVE PROPORTION OF PROFESSIONAL PERSONNEL REPRESENTED BY AFFILIATES OF THE N.E.A. AND THE A.F.T. IN SYSTEMS OF DIFFERENT SIZE ENROLLMENTS

Stratum and Enrollment	1966-67		1967-68	
	N.E.A.	A.F.T.	N.E.A.	A.F.T.
1 (100,000 or more)	31.0%	68.2%	36.2%	63.2%
2 (50,000-99,999)	93.4	6.6	95.3	4.5
3 (25,000-49,999)	92.5	7.3	87.3	11.8
4 (12,000-24,999)	92.2	7.5	90.7	8.4
5 (6,000-11,999)	93.5	5.4	93.3	5.7
6 (3,000-5,999)	96.2	3.4	95.6	4.1
7 (1,200-2,999)	98.3	1.7	98.3	1.5
8 (1,000-1,199)	99.2	0.0	97.8	1.5

* The remainder to 100% in each case is comprised of professional personnel represented by independent organizations unaffiliated with either the N.E.A. or the A.F.T. (Note: Representation of teachers by designated organizations is forbidden by statute in the State of Oregon.)

TABLE 5*

RELATIVE PROPORTION OF SCHOOL SYSTEMS WITH EXCLUSIVE REPRESENTATION OF PROFESSIONAL STAFF BY N.E.A. AND A.F.T. AFFILIATES IN SYSTEMS OF DIFFERENT SIZE ENROLLMENTS

Stratum and Enrollment	1966-67		1967-68	
	N.E.A.	A.F.T.	N.E.A.	A.F.T.
1 (100,000 or more)	54.5%	27.3%	55.6%	33.3%
2 (50,000-99,999)	90.9	4.5	93.8	3.1
3 (25,000-49,999)	85.3	2.9	79.5	9.1
4 (12,000-24,999)	87.6	6.2	84.6	6.2
5 (6,000-11,999)	88.3	3.7	88.4	4.4
6 (3,000-5,999)	93.6	3.3	93.1	3.2
7 (1,200-2,999)	97.4	1.6	97.4	1.3
8 (1,000-1,199)	99.0	0.0	97.1	1.5

* The remainder to 100% in each case is comprised of systems in which the professional staff is represented by two or more organizations with mixed affiliation. Only 0.2% of the systems grant exclusive representation to an independent organization unaffiliated with either the N.E.A. or the A.F.T.

despite the yearnings of some administrators and board members for a return to the paradise of paternalism and unchallenged power, organized teachers are seeking a greater share in the decision-making processes of their schools. A redistribution of power is precisely what teachers are seeking; not to see this is to miss the point of the whole movement.

How successful, though, have teachers been in their search for greater influence in the educational process? A study of even the comprehensive agreements, which constitute only a fraction of all agreements, seems to support the findings of Marilyn Gittell in her studies of six large city school systems:

> In comparing the relative power of teachers' organizations with other participants in the school policy process, it is evident that teacher power is minimal. In New York City, for example, the union and the Mayor are the major holders of power on salary questions. In all other areas of school policy, teachers and their organizations are virtually nonparticipant.[18]

Provisions contained in the majority of comprehensive agreements fall primarily into classifications dealing with personnel policy and practices, salary policy and fringe benefits, and other policy areas which directly concern the individual teacher as a worker (Table 6). Within the realm of instructional program and general educational policy, only the question of pupil ratio and class size finds its way into the majority of agreements. This leads one to conclude that this issue may still be seen more as a working condition than in the wider context of educational policy. In contrast, provisions dealing with selection and distribution of textbooks (antiquated in the light of modern multi-media approaches) were contained in 35.2% of the comprehensive agreements and provisions for curriculum review, a much more significant issue, were found in only 21.4% of these agreements.

Examination of the distribution of issues contained in the full array of 1, 540 written agreements (1966-67) suggests less consensus and less movement in the direction of the stated goals of the two major organizations representing teachers at this time. The only provision which appeared in more than half of the agreements was a general statement of recognition. Other provisions which were contained in more than one-third of the agreements were (in descending order of frequency): general statement of parties to agreement; individual or minority representation to the administration; information pertinent to negotiation, e.g., financial and budgetary reports made available to the representative organization; nondiscrimination clause against membership in employee organization; and procedure for impasse in negotiation. Still other provisions which were contained in more than one quarter of the agreements were (again in descending order of frequency): use of school communication system, bulletin boards, and mail boxes; a list of specific items included or excluded from negotiation; and classification of persons covered or excluded under agreement.

It is all too evident that in the vast majority of situations only basic organizational issues have found their way into written agreements; in some reasonable number of

TABLE 6

PROVISIONS CONTAINED IN A MAJORITY OF 398 1966-67 COMPREHENSIVE AGREEMENTS

Provision	Percent of Agreements Containing the Provision
Grievance procedure	92.7%
Salary schedule	92.0
Salary increments for professional preparation	90.7
Sick leave	72.6
Extra-duty pay for special activities	69.6
Salary credits for prior growth and experience	67.1
Transfers	66.6
School calendar or year	63.6
Promotion to higher classification, supervisor, or administrator	61.1
Teaching assignment in subject areas	60.8
Procedure for teacher evaluation	60.6
Lunch period for elementary teachers	59.5
Assault cases and pupil discipline	58.8
Maternity leave	58.5
Health insurance	56.8
Lunch period for secondary teachers	55.8
Pupil ratio and class size	55.8
Teacher facilities, e.g., lounge, parking space, desk, storage room	53.8
Duty-free periods for planning, etc.	53.5

comprehensive agreements significant questions of salary and teacher welfare are included; but in few, if any, agreements is provision made for extensive teacher participation in the formulation of basic educational policy. It is possible, however, that, at least in some cases, policy matters were proposed by teacher negotiators, but rejected by boards as "managerial prerogative."At any rate, it is yet early in the day and, as Marilyn Gittell points out, events of the future may bring greater participation by teachers in school affairs.

> Using the limited experience of the cities in which teacher organizations are well established as a basis for predicitng trends in other cities, it is plausible to assume that teachers' organizations (union and nonunion) will gradually move into other areas of school policy. In addition, public pressure has developed for teachers' organizations to respond to the needs of the school system in other areas, criticizing the selfish concern with salaries along. Public image cannot be long overlooked by organizational leadership.[21]

She goes on, though, to point out further her feeling that "their primary concern will continue to be with protecting the more immediate vested interests of their members in salaries, fringe benefits, working conditions--such matters will probably always dominate their goals."[22] There is nothing in the present body of data, most of them derived from sources outside of the large cities upon which she focused her attentions, to detract from her conclusions or predictions.

The Emerging Role of the Superintendent

In assaying the implications of teacher militancy for the preparation of school superintendents, it is well to establish the fact of militancy and to describe, on the basis of existing information, trends with respect to negotiable issues. Both of these have impact upon school administration and, therefore, upon the preparation of school superintendents. The specific nature of that impact, however, is dependent upon the emerging role of the superintendent in the process of negotiation.

Sufficient information is currently available to establish some preliminary trends in this regard. The Research Division of the N.E.A. has conceived a 5x6 typology for classifying patterns in negotiation. The cross-break includes five columns under the general rubric, negotiatiors for the school board, and six rows under the general rubric, role of the superintendent. As of January, 1968, 1,493 responses have been classified across the thirty cells of the typology (Figure 1). Although this writer senses some minor logical inconsistency (e.g., it doesn't seem possible, as in the first cell, for the superintendent to be a negotiator with full authority when only board members are negotiators), the classification scheme seems to be generally exhaustive (it doesn't seem likely that the superintendent would be advisor or negotiator only for the teachers) and the cells seem to be mutually exclusive.

The Research Division public cross-breaks illustrating patterns in negotiation in eleven states which reported 50 or more school systems with written negotiation agreements in 1966-67. In addition, a cross-break is included which illustrated patterns in negotiation for the entire United States.[23] Figure one shows the per cent of responses for each cell and indicates the location of the model response in each of the eleven states.

Clearly the modal situation nationally finds board members as negotiators with the superintendent serving as advisor to negotiators for both the board and the teachers. Only in California, where almost all school systems have written negotiation agreements, and, to a much lessen extent in Ohio and Michigan, do superintendents typically operate as negotiators for the school board, usually with full, but frequently with limited, authority.

Legislation

Teacher efforts toward organization and negotiation have not taken place without significant legislative assistance in a number of states. Laws dealing with the rights of teachers (and, in some cases, with other public employees as well) to organize and negotiate with boards of education are presently in the statute books of sixteen states.[24] The statutes in Minnesota, Nebraska and Texas are the most recent and in the last two states few written agreements have as yet been negotiated. Analysis suggests a significant relationship between the passage of laws and the conclusion of written negotiation agreements (Fig. 2). Even including Nebraska and Texas, states which have only recently passed laws dealing with teacher negotiations and which have, as yet, few instances of completed written agreements, the correlation between the existence of state statutes covering teacher negotiations and the existence of written negotiation agreements between teacher organizations and boards of education is .37.[25] Were those two states deleted from the calculations, the relationship would appear even stronger.

Causal Factors

The emergence of teacher militancy as a new force on the American educational scene is well-documented. It is real, it is vital, and it appears likely to be with us for quite some time to come. What though, has brought it about, and why in the past five or six years and not before? What confluence of events and circumstances can be made to account for this seemingly startling phenomenon?

Throughout the long history of public education in the United States, teachers, as "aspirant professionals,"[26] have shied away from identification with organized labor and the blue collar. Although they have not been private fee setters, not regulated access into the profession, nor been established in any state as a legally recognized profession, teachers have tended to view themselves psychologically as professionals.

Traditionally, collective bargaining (or collective negotiations) has been viewed as "unprofessional" by most teachers and anathema as a means of dealing with admin-

Role of the Superintendent	Negotiators for the School Board				
	Board members	Board members and superintendent	Board members and school administrators	Superintendent	School administrators
Negotiator with full authority	0.5%	2.5%	1.5%	11.9% Cal. Mich. Ohio	5.4%
Negotiator with limited authority	0.8%	3.7%	1.1%	8.8%	1.7%
Advisor to negotiators for the board	5.8%	3.3%	1.4%	0.5%	2.5%
Advisor to negotiators for both the board and the teachers	21.5% Conn. Ore. Ill. Wash. Mass. Wisc. N.J. U.S. N.Y.	10.6%	3.1%	4.3%	1.3%
Neutral resource person	4.5%	1.1%	0.5%	0.4%	0.1%
Nonparticipant	0.3%	0.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.6%

Fig. 1 -- United States: patterns in negotiation (1,493 responses) *Each state name indicates the location of the modal response for that state. (Only the eleven st states with more than 50 responses each are included.) The mode for the United States is indicated, also.

		State Statutes	
		No	Yes
Written Agreements	Yes	671	1541
	No	2864	1276

Fig. 2 -- Distribution of written negotiation agreements with respect to the existence of state statutes covering such agreements.

istrators and boards of education. Almost overnight, however, large and increasing numbers of teachers have reversed their traditional attitudes. They are organizing strong unions and associations, pushing state legislatures for legal recognition of their rights to organize and negotiate collectively, and writing collective negotiations agreements with boards of education in thousands of systems across the country. This revolutionary inversion of traditional norms constitutes a social-psychological phenomenon of the first magnitude, one which can be accounted for only by a powerful constellation of complex forces.

Urbanization

The force of history has had an exponential impact on the role of teachers and the nature of school systems. The snowballing process of urbanization has led teachers out of one-room schoolhouses and rural settings into large, consolidated suburban schools and mammoth municipal educational bureaucracies. As school organizations have grown taller, teachers and administrators have been increasingly removed from direct and frequent interpersonal contact. Strong patterns of geographic mobility have removed teachers from the solid social cohesion of small town localism into the relative alienation and fragmentation of metropolitan life. Traditional social structures have disintegrated and with them the total immersion of the teacher in the full fabric of local community life. With the erosion of traditional norms and status systems, teachers have sought security and a sense of "place" in society through increasing identification with reference groups of personal choice rather than of hereditary endowment. As urbanization and mobility have softened the social structure, place in society, at least within wide limits, has become a matter of personal achievement; as social constraints have been removed, the perceived range of potential achievement has widened and personal expectations have risen dramatically; as the normative constraints of small-town society have been left behind, the perceived arena for action has been enlarged and militancy has become, psychologically, a more realistic alternative. As norms, attitudes, and expectations of teachers have changed under the impact of urbanization, moving them more toward action as an acceptable behavioral response, the urban complex of strong competing forces has impressed upon them the practical advantages of an aggressive action orientation. Thus, psychological readiness and practical necessity have tended to reinforce one another in an increasingly urban environment.

The General Climate of Protest

Urbanization and geographic and social mobility have had significant impact on the norms, attitudes, and expectations not only of teachers but of large numbers of people within the society generally. As Charles Cogen, President of the A.F.T., said in a recent interview:

> The general atmosphere throughout the nation has been on of accelerating militancy and civil disobedience in the past decade or so. There is that factor of atmosphere--the general climate of opinion and action.[27]

The same interpretation was put forth by a political scientist in a recent issue of Public Administration Review:

> Not just teachers, but all government workers are influenced by the effectiveness of civil rights marchers, open-housing demonstrations, student sit-ins, and other forms of noncooperation or civil disobedience. The mood of the times is one of dissatisfaction with the status quo expressed in action more than words.[28]

Whereas the forces which have created this atmosphere and this mood have been generated by industrialization, urbanization, social and geographic mobility, and the impact of the population explosion, they have been intensified by the revolution in communications technology. The impact of the mass media, especially television, in molding the attitudes of large masses of people toward the acceptance of greater militancy, and even violence, as a way of life can hardly be overestimated. Television has enabled individuals who identify with certain reference groups, such as teachers, to see other individuals engaging in activities which, although perhaps unacceptable at first in the light of traditional attitudes, may be legitimated by time and circumstance to the point where they are seen as necessary and justified for and by their own ends.

Teachers have viewed activists in the cause of equality and humanitarianism employ militant techniques; some of them may even have participated in activist movements for what they considered a "higher cause." Thus, they are more amenable to the utilization of similar techniques on behalf of their own goals and objectives. Furthermore, the wide distribution of books and magazines championing the cause of teachers and other aspirants to power and detailing the course of their various revolutions has fed the fires of change in the minds and imaginations of teachers and provided fuel for the contagion of activity which has enveloped the teaching corps. In the McLuhanistic sense, the centripital force of technology has broken the pattern of professional isolation and fragmentation among teachers and drawn them together into the vortex of action and involvement. Through technology, the extension of the senses, everyone is where the action is--and the action is everywhere.

Countervailance

The forces of urbanization, mobility, and technology have had powerful impact upon the emergence of teacher militancy as a major thrust in recent years. The dynamics of centralization, however, operate not only socially and psychologically upon people, but economically and politically as well. Oswald Hall set the teachers' predicament in good perspective when he said:

> Teachers do tend to view themselves as members of an independent profession. They aspire to a high level of deference and respect. They aspire to make consequential decisions regarding education. They like to think that they should be allowed to determine curricula. They view themselves as being the best judges of who should be recruited into

> teaching, and how these recruits should be trained. They would like to help decide the size of their own pay checks. Of course, the actualities are quite otherwise. Teachers are hired by big employers. School Board and State Departments make the major decisions about their work. Government agencies prescribe their training and decide who shall be recruited. Outside agencies take the initiative in trying to get teachers to improve the quality of their work and to raise the level of their qualifications. Boards and Government Departments prescribe the curricula of their daily lives; they supervise, inspect, and evaluate the product of the teachers work. No matter how bravely teachers may wish for the status of the "independent profession," they are anchored firmly (though not irrevocably) in the status of service employees.[29]

The present militancy must be viewed essentially as a revisionist movement. Teachers are attempting to alter the "actualities" by collective action. As John Horvat found in his recent interviews with approximately 150 working classroom teachers:

> Negotiations activity has spread rapidly because in the very beginning the teachers of a few school districts were highly successful in gaining increased salaries and benefits and better working conditions by this means. Other teachers in other districts have seen the power potential of negotiations demonstrated very convincingly, and they too have decided that they would like to hold power. The personal value, if not the professional value, of having this kind of power is by now obvious to most teachers.[30]

What has been operating among teachers these past few years is essentially the same kind of thrust toward countervailance which has sparked, for example, the labor movement in opposition to giant industrial corporations and the formation of buyer and seller cooperatives against massive middle-man marketing combines. John Galbraith suggests, by way of illustration, that:

> In the ultimate sense it was the power of the steel industry, not the organizing abilities of John L. Lewis and Philip Murray, that brought the United Steel Workers into being. The economic power that the worker faced in the sale of his labor --the competition of many sellers dealing with few buyers--made it necessary that he organize for his own protection. There were rewards to the power of the steel companies in which, when he had successfully developed countervailing power, he could share.[31]

Education, however, is not steel work and public service is not private industry. The differences, however, may not be so compelling as the similarities. The rewards of power in education may not be profits to be shared, at least not in the traditional sense, but power is prestige, in the public as well as in the private sector, and profits, which in the private sector are seen as dollars earned, many, in the public sector, be viewed as taxes unlevied.

Were, for example, the managers of a private corporation able somehow to pay their workers less, the stockholders could expect to share the profits in the form of higher dividents; similarly, in the public sector, were the trustees of a school district able somehow to pay their teachers less, the taxpayers could expect to share the profits in the form of lower taxes.

Within this context, then, the conflict situation is immediately apparent and one can more readily understand the power position of teachers vis-a-vis the board and the community. Vying with boards for a share of their traditionally unilateral control over policy and, on the other, they are vying with the community for a greater share of the tax pie. In the first instance, their struggle with the board for power, teachers may or may not find themselves with the support of all or part of the administrative hierarchy; in the second instance, in their struggle with the community for funds, they may or may not find themselves with the support of all or part of the baord. Within this general framework, however, explanations of militant teacher behavior can be sought within the theoretical context of Galbraith's theory of countervailing power.

Throughout the history of public education in this country, teachers, isolated and unorganized, have been no match, economic or political, for the power of the boards and communities which employed them. Thus, given other favorable conditions, some of which have already been indicated in this chapter, teachers, according to the theory, should have been ready for organization. Galbraith, in his discussion of the theory, indicated that "the group that seeks countervailing power is, initially, a numerous and disadvantaged group which seeks organization because it faces, in its market, a much smaller and much more advantaged group."[32] Teachers, especially prior to 1960, certainly constituted such a disadvantaged group.

Increasing Education of Teachers

Many suggestions have been made by this writer and by others to explain in social-psychological, political, and economic terms, the recent phenomenon of teacher militancy. None of these, however, seems adequately to explain why such militancy has occurred only in the past several years. From the very beginning of their history as an occupational group in the United States, teachers have been both underpaid and lowly esteemed.[33]

A number of specific changes have occurred in the teaching profession since the end of World War II which may shed further light on the particular timing of the teacher militancy movement. Two factors in particular are commonly discussed by writers in the field. One of these is the increasing education of teachers. Doherty and Oberer presented the following information in support of this thesis:

> As a group, teachers have more education today. All but 15% had the baccalaureate in 1965; those without the degree were mainly older

> women in the elementary schools. By contrast, in 1920, the percentage of teachers in New York State, outside of New York City, who held college degrees was 11%.[34]

The argument is typically made that higher levels of educational preparation, especially in comparison to their supervisors, have made teachers both psychologically and technically ready to play an increasingly significant role in the formulation of educational policy. This argument is not totally without merit; neither is it totally compelling, however, since, as Doherty and Oberer point out:

> In educational attainment, teachers have barely kept pace with the rest of the population. Nor does the completion of a college program necessarily mean that the teacher has attained a high degree of intellectual or professional competence, since the training most teachers undergo is still the least rigorous or demanding of any professional program.[35]

It is likely, though, that increased education has induced teachers to perceive themselves in a more professional light. In attempting to explain motivation toward militancy, it is this perception, not some objective reality, which is critical.

Increasing Numbers of Men in Teaching

The second factor which is commonly put forward to explain the recent rise in militancy is the increasing proportion of men in the field of education since the end of World War II. Doherty and Oberer state:

> Since the early 1950's, there has been a dramatic increase in the number of men teachers. Between the years 1954 and 1964 the number of men teachers increased by 93% as against a 38% increase for women. Men now constitute a majority in the senior high schools and have recently made rather strong inroads into elementary and junior high schools as well.[36]

The intrusion of a large number of men into the teaching profession as an explanation of rising teacher militancy rests upon a number of propositions. One, well documented in psychological studies, is that males in our culture tend to exhibit aggresive behavior more readily than females. The second is that men tend, as a group, to remain in teaching longer and to view it, therefore, more as a career than do women. Doherty and Oberer suggests that "the turnover rate for teachers seems to have begun to slow down with the entrance of men into teaching in significant numbers."[37] The reasoning suggests that as teachers, especially men teachers, view teaching more and more as a career, they become increasingly concerned not only with its salary benefits but with its frings benefits and with its opportunities for advancement in status.

Status in the field of education has traditionally come almost exclusively through promotion into the administrative hierarchy. As more and more men vie for the relatively few available administrative positions, interest has increasingly centered upon increasing the status of the teacher as a teacher by increasing his control over the many factors which affect his daily working life. The essential concept in this line of argument is that one can gain status by becoming a boss, but that one can also gain status by achieving increasingly professional independence of judgment.

The third proposition is that the economic press to earn money falls heavier upon men, typically, than it does upon women. The main thrust of this line of reasoning is that men, far more often than women, are the primary breadwinners of the family. Thus, many writers find the increasing intrusion of men into teaching as a significant cause of the teacher militancy movement.

Bureaucratization of Schools

Ronald Corwin has, along with a number of other writers, proposed increasing bureaucratization of schools and increasing specialization in teaching as explanations of current teacher dissatisfaction. For example, he found in a recent study of staff conflicts in the public schools, that "the instability of the authority structure seemed to increase in relationship to a schools' size, number of levels of authority, degree of specialization, and its overall complexity."[38] He further suggests that:

> Skill at teaching the new math, I.T.A., working with the handicapped, and successful experience in slum schools can not only provide the basis for challenging the conventional authority of laymen, but also ultimately place teachers in positions of superior information compared to administrators who hire and evaluate them. The traditional role which line administrators have played as "curriculum leaders" has already become unfeasible, and even the effectiveness of the curriculum specialists is limited by pressures on them to achieve system-wide uniformity.[39]

Status Incongruency

Corwin, however, has put forth a new and particularly interesting idea which provides keen insight into the phenomenon of teacher militancy. The concept of status congruency seems to offer opportunities for understanding what previously constituted an apparently anomalous situation: why teachers became suddenly militant during a period of sharply rising teacher salaries when "most school systems in our nations have been moving rapidly toward remedying some of the worst teachers' economic problems... (and) the economic rewards of teaching, over the nation as a whole, have moved up more rapidly than have the earnings of unionized workers generally."[40]

Corwin suggests, with reference to the meaning of "status congruency" as a concept, that "it is important to recognize that there are several dimensions of teacher status, each of which may change at variable rates--the status congruency framework explicitly focuses on this element of convergence and divergence among a person's present statuses."[41] For example, various dimensions of status such as salary, authority, and level of education may not always be perceived by individuals as commensurate with one another. Increases in salary do not necessarily carry with them increases in authority and may, thereby, create dissatisfaction on the part of the recipients by reating a gap between their salary statuses and their authority statuses. Thus, Corwin goes on to predict a conflict dynamic:

> Congruent statuses mutually reinforce their position, whereas incongruent ones are likely to lead to confusion and precariousness of status, their lower statuses detracting from their achievements. Therefore, we can expect that people with incongruent statuses will be prompted to increase their respectability in those areas in which they have not yet become respectable enough. A significant advance in one form of status merely illuminates the disparities in the overall status pattern. Consequently, progress in one respect, far from satiating the status quest, can in itself encourage a group to increase its efforts to improve in other respects as well.
>
> Increases which teachers may have made in their authority do not seem to have kept pace with their advances in salary and education in recent years. Such a discrepancy could be an important incentive behind their recent efforts to achieve new levels of authority. Significant in this connection is Goffman's finding that, for people occupying middle- and upper middle-class positions, there was an inverse relationship between the consistency of their statuses and their preference for extensive change in the distribution of power in the society.[42]

It seems clear that a number of alternative and complementary explanations for the existence and timing of the present militant teacher preoccupation with organization and negotiation vis-a-vis school boards are available. They draw upon various social science disciplines for support and, in total, present an extensive but somewhat tentative set of causal and associative variables.

Projections of the Force and Its Implications for School Organization

Previous sections of the chapter have dealt with the historical development and social context of teacher militancy. Some descriptive data have been presented and a number of causal factors have been tentatively identified and explicated. The final section of the chapter makes some projections about the future of the teacher militancy force and suggests some implications it holds for schools as organizations. Before proceeding further, however, it may be useful to recapitulate a number of generalizations which have already been developed with respect to the force and the causal factors which underlie its emergence at this point in time.

Generalizations about the Nature of the Teacher Militancy Force

1. The rise of teacher militancy has been rapid and is increasing; the pattern of negotiation agreements, however, is an uneven one, both geographically and with respect to the size of the system.

2. There is a clear linear relationship between the size of enrollment of the systems and the proportion of them with written agreements.

3. At the present time, only basic organizational issues have found their way into the vast majority of written agreements; although significant questions of salary and teacher welfare are included in some comprehensive agreements, few, if any, agreements make specific provision for extensive teacher participation in the formulation of basic educational policy.

4. Teacher efforts toward organization and negotiation have not taken place without significant legislative assistance in a number of states.

5. Competition between the AFT and the NEA for members and, perhaps more importantly, for rights of representation has stiffened sharply in all areas of the country but especially in those states where laws have been enacted which grant teachers the right to designate an organization as their agent in the conduct of negotiations with the board of education.

6. There is a generally linear relationship, intensely skewed at the top, between size of enrollment and proportion of professional personnel covered by agreements with the AFT as opposed to NEA affiliates; on the average, the AFT tends to represent the larger systems in each stratum compared to the NEA.

7. A redistribution of power is precisely what teachers are seeking; not to see this is to miss the point of the movement.

Generalizations about the Causes of the Teacher Militancy Force

1. Traditionally, collective bargaining has been viewed as "unprofessional" by most teachers and anathema as a means of dealing with administrators and boards of education; almost overnight, however, large and increasing numbers of teachers have reversed their traditional attitudes.

2. As norms, attitudes, and expectations of teachers have changed under the impact of urbanization, moving them more toward action as an acceptable

behavioral response, the urban complex of strong competing forces has impressed upon them the practical advantages of an aggressive action orientation.

3. The impact of the mass media, especially television, in molding the attitudes of large masses of people toward the acceptance of greater militancy, and even violence, as a way of life can hardly be overestimated.

4. What has been operating among teachers these past few years is essentially the same kind of thrust toward countervailance which has sparked the labor movement in opposition to giant industrial corporations and the formation of buyer and seller cooperatives against massive middle-man marketing combines.

5. Drawing upon the various social science disciplines for support, there exist a number of viable alternative and complementary explanations for the existence and timing of the present militant teacher preoccupation with organization and collective negotiation.

Continued Militancy

Examination of current trends in teachers negotiations in the light of existing social conditions suggests a number of projections for the future of the teacher militancy force. Barring any cataclysmic national political or economic crisis, collective pressure on state legislatures for favorable legislation and on local school boards for higher salaries, more fringe benefits, written grievance procedures, and bilateral determination of decisions affecting teacher welfare and working conditions seems likely to continue over the next five to ten years. Led by the United Federation of Teachers, whose contracts have provided a model for teacher negotiators, teacher unions and associations have proven remarkably successful in bargaining with boards of education in many parts of the country. Laws permitting or mandating recognition of teacher organizations as collective bargaining agents have been extremely helpful and political pressure continues to be exerted to pass such laws in states which do not already have them.

Broadening of the Issues of Negotiations

The future seems likely to bring a slow broadening of negotiations to include increasingly more policy-oriented issues. It is likely, for example, that teachers will demand a stronger voice in the formulation of curriculum policy, in the allocation of financial and human resources to instructional programs, and in the selection, retention and promotion of administrative personnel. As one looks at the progress of negotiation in various school districts, one sees progression through various stages of objectives and issues. In the first stage, recognition is the major objective of the union or association. In the second stage, substantive issues of salary, working conditions and fringe benefits become the prime focus of negotiations. Only in the third stage do issues of general educational policy begin to find their way into the negotiations. As greater numbers of districts move through the first two stages, therefore, it is likely that more and more issues of general educational policy will find their way onto the negotiating table. Public pressure forcing teacher organizations to take action to avoid at least the appearance of total, and unprofessional, preoccupation with salaries and fringe benefits, in addition to the genuine desire of teachers to have a greater voice in these matters, should operate to extend the range of negotiable issues.

Future Competition Between the NEA and the AFT

The competition between the NEA and the AFT will probably continue through most of the period in question. Despite suggestions on both sides toward a merger, substantial issues still separate the two organizations. NEA spokesmen insist that the AFT will have to sever its ties with organized labor before a merger is possible; AFT spokesmen, on the other hand, insist that the NEA will have to divest itself of its administrator members before they can begin seriously to consider such a move. Equally difficult to overcome are history and matters of organizational position. The current leaders of both organizations have engaged in a great deal of sharp debate. It may take new leaders to bridge the gap. Furthermore, the position of each present organization in the proposed amalgum would be a matter of deep concern to all interested parties. Although not insoluble, the matter does present serious problems. Then, too, merger would mean loss of title and prestige for many leaders of both organizations. Men are not wont to sacrifice status without strong pressure and/or powerful alternative incentives. Finally, the rivalry between the two organizations has been good for teachers. Competition in local situations for the allegiance and support of the teachers has accelerated demands and brought pressure on many boards to deal favorably with NEA-affiliated associations in order to avoid what they perceive as even more militant AFT unions. It may be that merger will not become a serious question until the competition becomes essentially dysfunctional for both. That eventuality does not seem likely in the very near future.

Implications for the Intensification of Social Conflict

Greater Militancy. Organized teachers will move toward greater militancy, in the larger school districts first and then in the smaller ones. Teacher expectations have continued to rise as militant tactics have continued to produce tangible returns. There is no reason to anticipate an early reversal of this trend.

Community Pressures. School systems, especially in the cities, will be faced with increasingly effective community pressure, especially by members of minority groups. Minority groups are becoming more articulate in their demands, especially as young college graduates enter their ranks. Furthermore, their demands for openness and accountability on the part of school systems have triggered similar demands by white parents. These demands tend to be mutually reinforcing.

Racial and Ethnic Conflict in Unions. An increasing proportion of Negro, Puerto Rican and Mexican-American teachers in teacher organizations, especially in urban areas, will tend toward greater racial and ethnic conflict within them. Teacher organizations reflect the interests and values of their membership. Thus, they have tended to express establishment interests and white, middle-class values. The infusion of new members with different cultural backgrounds into these organizations should force them to reasses their positions on some substantive issues, such as decentralization, within a more pluralistic normative context. New cross-pressures will arise and internal factionalism may develop. Organizational infighting could work to diminish the political effectiveness of some big city teacher collectivities.

Implications for School Organization

Although teacher organizations tend to present an establishment face to community groups seeking power ascendancy in school affairs, teacher militancy within the school establishment is a revisionist force and teachers engaging in collective action are attempting to redress the balance of organizational power in their own favor. To the extent that collective action is successful in changing power relationships and structural interfaces in school organizations, teacher militancy has significant implications for schools as bureaucratic institutions.

Changing Authority Relationships. Changing relationships among Board, superintendent, principals and teachers will tend toward authority relationships which are increasingly contractual and functionally specific. Conflicts between old-line administrators operating in the paternalistic mode and secular, anti-paternalistic teachers will become increasingly widespread. Longevity of chief school administrators will probably decline even further and conflict management skills will become even more critical.

The Superintendent's Role. New roles and role relationships will emerge. The negotiations role, itself, is an emergent one. Some large urban systems, for example, have full-time staffs devoted to negotiations. Superintendents will encounter increasing difficulty in maintaining their traditional role as the teachers' man against the Board or even as the neutral middle-man serving both the teachers and the Board in the process of negotiation. Rather, they will tend toward their natural position as agent for the Board.

The Principal's Role. Principals will be operating under increasing constraints in the form of contract provisions, grievance mechanisms, etc. They will be operating, at least initially, in an atmosphere of conflict as teachers view relations with them from zero-sum and punishment centered frames of reference. However, grievance mechanisms will provide them, as well as teachers, an opportunity to force policy decisions which, heretofore, have gone unresolved. The process of negotiation, often through "teacher muscle" at the bargaining table, will provide them with increased political leverage vis-a-vis the Board and higher administration to achieve common aspirations which traditionally neither they nor the teachers have been able to achieve.

Furthermore, as principals and teachers get beyond the stage of "conflict for conflict's sake" and begin to deal with each other as equals working toward common goals, they will find opportunities for genuine organizational democracy which have never been present before. Democracy in the emergent situation is in significant contrast to the pseudo-democracy of the "human relations" past. Where both principal and teachers have inalienable sources of power, as they do in the contract situation, equality is a fact, not an illusion, and democracy can be a political reality, not merely an "administrative style."

Not only the principal, but the superintendent and the members of the Board will, in the long run, have to understand that formalized grievance procedures and the process of negotiation, itself, represent new institutional mechanisms for orderly policy testing and reformulation from the bottom up and it will be incumbent upon them to learn as quickly as possible how to maximize their opportunities within the emerging framework.

Organizational Strain. School organizations will have to deal with new sets of perceptions, both internally and externally. As internal roles and power positions change, there will be interpersonal and organizational strain as a result of conflicting role expectations. People who have been used to operating in a certain way over a long period of time do not find it easy to change.

Increasing Exposure. As the distribution of authority changes, conflicting power groups within school organizations will become more visible. Political infighting will tend to generate public information in search of public support and community interest groups, thus enlightened, will decreasingly view schools as unassailable monoliths and sole proprietors of educational expertise. Lay citizens will increasingly have access to information which has traditionally been the esorteric privilege of teachers and school administrators, alone. Both administrators and organized teachers will have to deal with new pressures from groups external to the educational establishment.

Output Orientation. School systems have traditionally tended to be input oriented. Line item budgets have stressed the allocation of funds to buildings, salaries, equipment, etc. and the primary focus of concern, more often than not, has been upon the implications of these allocations for taxes, not programs. What children learned has not always been as important as how much it cost to teach them whatever they were learning. At the present time, however, a number of forces are operative which is beginning to change the emphasis in education from inputs to outputs, or at least to the relationship between the two. More and more people want to know what they are buying for their money. Both the federal thrust toward program budgeting and the popular thrust toward educational accountability are moving school systems toward a greater output orientation. Teacher organizations over the next ten years could begin to reinforce this trend. The thinking here is that (1) as budgets become tighter as a result of the taxpayer's revolt and (2) as public demands for accountability become greater, then (3) teachers will be forced toward product assessment (in terms of student achievement and specific programs) in order to justify further salary increases. It may be that, contrary to historical trends, teachers may champion technological adaptations to instruction (e.g., computer-based programmed instruction) in order to increase teacher productivity and support claims for more professional salaries. This, however, remains to be seen.

Legitimation of Student Protest. Teacher militancy provides increasing legitimation for student militancy. Unlike industrial workers, teachers produce a human product. A strike by the United Automobile Workers doesn't change the attitude of a Chevrolet one iota; a strike by teachers, however, does affect the attitudes of the students they teach. When students see teachers on strike for what they perceive to be special teacher interests, they feel more justified in engaging in collective action in support of special student interests. In a kind of "ripple effect," the one tends to reinforce the other. To the extent that they are able to articulate their demands effectively, students will exert additional pressures upon school systems for relevance, accountability and social responsibility. At the least, they constitute another force in an increasingly pluralistic complex of forces with which school administrators must learn to deal effectively.

Politicization of Education. Particularly in fiscally dependent school districts, teacher militancy tends to involve a variety of leaders from the political macrostructure: mayors, governors and the legislators who control the purse strings. Teacher negotiators, seeking to reduce the fiscal constraints within which bargaining takes place, work assiduously to create the kinds of crises which force fiscally competent political leaders to the negotiations table. Thus, superintendents and their negotiators find themselves operating in broader political contexts than ever before.

Summary

In less than ten years, teachers in many parts of the country have assumed a militant posture which few had predicted even a few years earlier. Collective negotiations between teachers and school boards, carried on in many states under specific permissive or mandating legislation, have resulted in written agreements in thousands of districts. Although issues of recognition, salary, working conditions and fringe benefits have predominated in negotiations to date, more policy-oriented issues may find their way onto the bargaining table in the next ten years. This is especially true in the larger districts, where contracts tend to be the most comprehensive.

The norms, attitudes and expectations of teachers have changed under the impact of urbanization and the mass media, within a national atmosphere of conflict and protest, and as more young men have entered the teaching ranks. A thrust toward countervailance has been operating among teachers which is similar to that which earlier sparked the industrial labor movement. The outlook for the future is for greater militancy and a broader range of demands Competition between the NEA and the AFT should continue throughout most of the next ten years.

Collective negotiations is creating new roles and altering existing role relationships in school organizations. Authority relationships are becoming increasingly contractual and functionally specific as old-line paternalism gives way to a new egalitarianism. Superintendents are increasingly seen as agents of the Board. Principals are operating under new constraints but also with new potential leverage vis-a-vis the Board and higher administration and new opportunities for genuine organizational democracy.

Schools will be dealing with new pressures, both from within and from without, but powerful opportunities exist for organizational openness, innovation, and a fruitful reassessment of the relationship between social inputs and educational outputs. Pressures for accountability pose a challenge to school teachers and administrators but they also present new possibilities for change.

Notes

[1] See Gabriel A. Almond and G. Bingham Powell, Jr., Comparative Politics: A Developmental Approach (Boston: Little, Brown, 1966), For an extended discussion of these concept terms.

[2] George W. Hardbeck, "Unionism at the Crossroads," Labor Law Journal, Vol. 16 (February, 1965), pp. 100-110.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Quoted in Theodore O. Cron, "Inside the Teacher's Union," American School and University Vol. 36 (November, 1963), pp. 42-49.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Marilyn Gittell, "Teacher Power and Its Implications for Urban Education," Theory Into Practice, Vol. 7, (April, 1968), pp. 80-82.

[7] Wesley A. Wildman and Charles R. Perry, "Group Conflict and School Organization," Phi Delta Kappan, Vol. 47 (January, 1966), p. 245.

[8] Myron Lieberman, The Future of Public Education (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1960), p. 170.

[9] Quoted in John J. Horvat, "The Nature of Teacher Power and Teacher Attitudes Toward Certain Aspects of This Power," Theory Into Practice, op. cit., p. 53.

[10] National Education Association, Negotiations Research Digest, Vol. 1 (June, 1968), p. B-3.

[11] Ibid, p. B-9.

[12] Ibid, pp. B-3, B-4.

[13] Ibid, p. B-9.

[14] Ibid, p. B-4.

[15] Ibid, p. B-6.

[16] Harold T. Shafer, "Teacher Power and the Middleman in Education," Theory Into Practice, op.cit., p. 74.

[17] Wesley A. Wildman, "The Nature and Dynamics of Teacher Organization -- School Administration Negotiating Activities and Their Impact on School Administration," in Collective Negotiations and Educational Administration, Roy B. Allen and John Schmid (eds.) (Fayetteville, Ark.: College of Education, The University of Arkansas and The University Council for Educational Administration, 1966), pp. 47-48.

[18] Gittell, op.cit., p. 81.

[19] National Education Association, op.cit., pp. B-8-B-14.

[20] Ibid, pp. B-5-B-7.

[21] Gittell, op.cit., p. 81.

[22] Ibid.

[23] National Education Association, op.cit., pp. B-2-B-7.

[24] Alaska, California, Connecticut, Florida, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Michigan, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Oregon, Rhode Island, Texas, Washington and Wisconsin.

[25] Significant for 6,352 cases with almost no probability of error.

[26] Norman J. Boyan, "The Emergent Role of the Teacher and the Authority Structure of the School," in Allen and Schmid, op.cit., pp. 1-21.

[27] Charles Cogen, "What Does the A.F.T. Want?," The /I/D/E/A/ Reporter (Summer, 1968), p. 2.

[28] Rollin B. Posey, "The New Militancy of Public Employees," Public Administration Review, Vol. 28 (March/April, 1968), p. 115.

[29] Oswald Hall, "The Social Structure of the Teaching Profession," in Struggle for Power in Education, Frank W. Lutz and Joseph J. Azzarelli (eds.) (New York: The Center for Applied Research in Education, 1966), pp. 39-40.

[30] Horvat, op.cit., p. 54.

[31] John K. Galbraith, American Capitalism, The Concept of Countervailing Power (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1966), p. 115.

[32] Ibid, p. 135.

[33] The traditional impoverishment of teachers is well documented by Robert E. Doherty and Walter E. Oberer in their discussion of the public school teacher as employee in their recent publication, Teachers, School Boards, and Collective Bargaining: A Changing of the Guard (Ithaca, N.Y.: New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell University, 1967).

[34] Ibid, p. 6.

[35] Ibid.

[36] Ibid, p. 7.

[37] Ibid, p. 9.

[38] Ronald G. Corwin, "Teacher Militancy in the United States: Reflections on Its Sources and Prospects," Theory Into Practice, op.cit., p. 97.

[39] Ibid, pp. 97-98.

[40] Charles M. Rehmus, "Public Management and Collective Negotiations," Allen and Schmid, op.cit., p. 63.

[41] Corwin, op.cit., p. 99.

[42] Ibid, p. 100.

[43] Broman v. Chicago Board of Education, cited in John Ligtenberg and Robert G. Andree, Collective Bargaining in the Public Schools, a Handbook of Information and Source Materials on Teacher Rights and Teacher Obligations (Chicago: American Federation of Teachers Educational Foundation, Inc., 1966), pp. 188-198.

[44] Table 3, Supra, p. 258.

[45] Figure 1, Supra, p. 265.

SECTION III

PROJECTED IMPACTS OF FORCES ON SCHOOL ORGANIZATION AND LEADERSHIP

Chapter Eight

SOCIETAL FORCES AND SCHOOL ORGANIZATION IN THE SEVENTIES

It is the main thesis of this chapter that powerful forces within American society have created a maelstrom of value conflict within which the schools are becoming an increasingly vulnerable point of focus. The position is taken that these forces have implications for changes in school organization. It is within this context that the chapter attempts to project such changes into the 1970's and seeks to portray, in broad stroke, the implications of change for the school superintendent. The major emphasis in this chapter, however, is upon organization. Chapter Nine focuses specifically upon the leadership dimension.

Organization is a global concept. It is difficult to speak of such a relatively abstract object in concrete comparative terms. In order, then, to provide a more concrete basis for discussion, this chapter views change in school organization in terms of values, norms, roles and structures.[1]

Value patterns consist of functional priority arrangements. The four basic functions of organizations are adaptation, goal-attainment, pattern-maintenance and solidarity. The first two are performance-oriented functions. The last two are quality-oriented functions. Adaptation places the highest premium upon effectiveness, without respect to specific goals. Effectiveness is generally measured in economic units such as dollars or man-hours. Goal specification and goal attainment focus more upon political than economic processes. The power position in the Soviet Union of the political commissar as opposed to the factory manager reflects the relative importance in that country of political goal-attainment as compared to sheer economic efficiency. Pattern-maintenance stresses the retention of the status quo. Sectarian traditionalism and metaphysical mysticism tend to be typical of societies which manifest a pattern-maintaining value orientation. The obdurate refusal of starving Indians to utilize the sacred cow for food seems to exemplify the pattern-maintenance thrust in contrast to more adaptive value systems. Solidarity emphasizes social cohesion as a primary social goal. Chinese Confucianism illustrates this value orientation.

Organizations, like societies, can be differentiated with respect to the relative importance they attach to each of the four functions. For example, business organizations in the United States are primarily concerned with adaptation and goal-attainment. Churches, on the other hand, are more concerned with pattern-maintenance and solidarity. Every organization, however, must perform all four functions. The differences among them are those of priority.

Norms are institutionalized expectations which derive from values and regulate behavior among role incumbents. Norms tend to differ systematically among organizations manifesting different value patterns. For example, although technical efficiency tends to be a powerful norm throughout American society, it is most emphasized in the private economic sector. Schools, though, have tended to reward pattern-maintaining behaviors in contrast to those of technical efficiency. For example, teacher selection and evaluation criteria have often concerned themselves more with matters of manners, morals and dress than with the ability of teachers to challenge students toward creative expression and independent thought. For many years, most administrators saw schools more as bastions of middle class morality than as centers of creative thought and social reconstruction.

Roles and structures tend to reflect values and norms. To the extent that values change, norms will change and new roles and structures will be created toward the effective execution of new functional priorities. Changing norms, roles and structures will, in turn, create new sets of role relationships. It is, then, along the dimensions of values, norms, roles and structures that changes in school organizations can be defined and projected.

The Times - They've Been A-Changing

Conflict and change go hand in hand. The context of both is to be found in the historical development of the nation. The United States has emerged as a post-industrial giant in world politics. Dramatic population shifts have occurred within the nation itself. Urbanization and suburbanization have brought a radical re-alignment of culture patterns. Powerful pressures for change have been brought to bear upon the public schools and powerful forces in support of the *status quo* have rallied in its defense. Beleaguered school officials find themselves caught in the no-man's land between.

The Functional Lag of the Public Schools

In the face of rapid and accelerating social change, schools have suffered a marked functional lag. The major threat to the stability of 19th and early 20th century American society was to be found in the unending flow of European immigrants. The primary demand upon the public schools was for the rapid and effective socialization of immigrant children into the great American melting pot. The expected outcome was a procession of *citizens* who could speak, read and write English well enough to take their places in the factories which cried out for their facile fingers and strong backs. There was no need for the average child even to finish elementary school. The secondary schools were reserved for the talented few. In the words of a famous Irish cartoonist, "The rich got richer and the poor had children." The schools did little to change this seemingly natural order of things. Pattern-maintenance and limited social integration were their primary functions.

The institution of mass secondary education in the twenties and thirties completed the socialization of most of the white European immigrants. These, after a generation or two of collective hardship at the bottom of the economic ladder, rose fairly soon into the mainstream of American economic life. By the forties, there were still rich and poor in America but the ethnic and religious differences were no longer clearly marked in the stratification of social status among whites. The schools were generally considered to be doing a fairly adequate job. Failure, which was always prevalent, was ascribed to the student, not to the school. The school was the object of a kind of generalized respect.

The next two decades, however, saw the emergence of a number of environmental phenomena which, almost synergistically, combined to change significantly the needs of the larger society and the pressures upon schools to meet those needs. The largest and most pervasive forces were national and international in scope. The post-war era of anti-colonial revolution began to generate a worldwide climate of dissent and anti-establishmentarianism. Strong inflationary trends hit the poor harder than the rich. The middle-class burgeoned and the hard-core poor became noticeably black and increasingly self-conscious.

The fears of the McCarthy Era paralyzed the liberal community for a number of years during the fifties. By General Eisenhower's second term in office, however, the pressures of protest began to mount. Perhaps the most powerful stimulus to the rejuvenation of the liberal community was provided by the Negro civil rights movement. Sparked by revolutionary fervor abroad and disciplined by years of diligent work, especially in the courts, the Movement began to find success in a nation which, for the first time, was embarrassed internationally by its own bigotry. It became increasingly evident that the schools, under pressure from the Negro protest movement, could no longer morally sustain the pervasive caste discrimination of a racist society. Schools as a mechanism of social integration had failed for a large and increasingly powerful group. Mere pattern-maintenance was no longer sufficient to a growing and increasingly articulate segment of the population.

At the same time, the international situation was beginning to bring other powerful forces to bear upon schools to adapt to the new role of the United States as a sharp competitor for world power. The launching of the Russian Sputnik became the shot heard around the American educational world. Demands arose from all quarters for a rapid overhaul of the curriculum in order to make schools more sensitive to the manpower needs of the society in the face of external threat. Schools were called upon to concern themselves less with the traditional socialization function and to concentrate more on providing competent inputs to the increasingly technologically sophisticated and supposedly adaptive institutions of society (that is, to the business and scientific communities).

Thus, over the past fifteen years, American schools have been subject to articulate, but diverse, cross-pressures. There have been demands by some to reinterpret social integration to mean racial integration. Such demands reflect solidarity, newly interpreted, as a valued function for the schools. Others want schools to take on active role in critically re-examining all the institutions of society, including itself, and to work with various groups, including students and teachers, to achieve socially reconstructive goals. Such demands emphasize goal-attainment as the primary function of the schools. "Relevance" is a key concept here. Still others want to measure educational output in economic terms or in terms of individual fulfillment. The former stress adaptation at the national level whereas the latter stress adaptation on the personal level. A large group is increasingly concerned with maintaining law and order. This group places the highest functional priority for schools upon pattern-maintenance for the retension of the status quo. The result of these diverse demands has been conflict and organizational strain, a condition which should continue well into the seventies.

Schools Under Stress: Organization In Transition

Demands for change in the schools have been mixed and uneven across the country. The most pressing demands are probably in the big cities where demographic and other related sociological changes are most evident and where the social inequities are most gripping. Some of the same kinds of changes, however, have begun to edge their way through suburbia into the countryside. Because the trends are incremental and geographically uneven, they will not seem equally clear or even the same to everyone. However, analysis of the preceding six "force chapters" suggests some changes occurring in school organizations now and in the future.

Changing Value Patterns

Despite the diversity of demands being placed upon schools, the most fundamental change presently occurring in American education is the shift in value patterns from those emphasizing pattern-maintenance and traditional social solidarity as the primary function to those giving first priority to the attainment of national goals and the promotion of national effectiveness at home and abroad. This shift is supported to one degree or another by all of the forces analyzed in this volume, with the notable exception of the teacher militancy force. Although there are significant status quo forces in the United States, many of them are latent at the present time.

A number of trends were noted in the preceding chapters which bear upon the thrust toward changing value patterns in school organizations. These include the following:

(1) The federal force was shown to be directing the political power of the nation toward a reformation of the public schools:

  (a) The dynamic of the expanded federal force in education is rooted in significant and emergent public policy objectives related to the war on poverty, economic growth, civil rights national defense, and other important national goals. The widespread federal use of categorical aid accentuates the goal-attainment thrust of federal programs. The recent emphasis on evaluation illustrates the performance-orientation of federal aid to education.

  (b) The federal force has encouraged local and state educational agencies to develop more effective planning capabilities and it has highlighted the need for more systematic evaluation of educational and organizational performance (e.g. PPBS, PERT, PEP, Eight State Project, and National Assessment). The planning thrust seems systematic and supportive of schools as goal-attaining institutions.

  (c) In seeking to explain economic growth, economists are drawing more and more attention to the significance of investment in human capital. A number of recent studies have documented clearly that investments in education contribute much more to economic growth than have earlier been suspected. Explaining educational output in economic terms reinforces the emphasis upon that function of education which is to provide inputs to the economic (adaptive) sector of the society.

  (d) The federal force has stimulated considerable conflict between and among leaders in local, state and federal educational agencies. Federal-local conflict exemplifies the struggle between the goal-attainment and adaptation forces, on the one hand, and the pattern-maintenance forces, on the other. Here, again, conflict over special purpose grants and federal guidelines reflects the same kinds of inter-functional conflict.

(2) The business-education interface was shown to have a relationship to the new performance-orientation of schools:

  (a) Helping to shape the new "business-education" interface are the changing perspectives for viewing private and public organizational objectives. During the last decade educational organizations have come to be viewed frequently from perspectives traditionally associated with the private sector, while business organizations have come to be viewed more than ever from public policy perspectives. Perspectives "traditionally associated with the private sector" are those of goal-attainment and, especially, adaptation. Thus, the implication of the statement is that schools have come to be viewed increasingly as performance-oriented institutions instead of as pattern-maintenance institutions.

  (b) The view that the private sector had unique talents that could contribute substantially to the improvement of education came to be accepted by a growing number of leaders in the public sector. Many of the "unique talents" to which the statement refers are those of adaptive management and planning for effective goal-attainment which are traditionally associated with the economic sector.

  (c) An important issue has to do with the relationships between what is sometimes called "economic rationality" and "human relations rationality." This is another way of stating the conflict between the adaptive and solidarity functions.

(3) The chapter on research and development in education does not take an optimistic view of the probable impact of the force upon school organization. It does recognize, however, the powerful potential of the force if relatively improbable, but favorable, conditions are met. Research and development is, perhaps, the most necessary force of all for attaining goals and making schools adaptive to the demands of the large society. In that sense, it is not so much a force as a tool, but a tool which, once utilized effectively, could reinforce the political forces in their drive to reshape the schools toward adaptation and social reconstruction. That is to say, research and development constitutes for education a potential multilier force which is neutral with respect to the initial political decision regarding its own use but massive in its implications for change once the decision is made to put it into play.

(4) It was suggested that modern, computer-based management technology is helping to rationalize schools:

(a) The computer and management technologies may contribute to increased rationality. Computers lend themselves naturally to performance-oriented functions, that is toward adaptation and goal-attainment.

(5) The Negro protest movement is at the heart of the drive to utilize schools as adaptive, goal-attaining institutions. As indicated in the chapter dealing with the force:

> Demands have focused upon schools, along with the police, as the most salient arm of the white establishment in the black community; as the agent of maximal effect, positive or negative, upon black children; and as potentially the only viable hope for the social reconstruction of the ghetto and of the macro-society, itself.

(6) In the chapter on teacher militancy, mixed possibilities were noted:

(a) Teacher organizations tend to be revisionist with respect to internal power relationships but status quo oriented with respect to the demands of forces external to the school system. Thus, they constitute a pattern-maintenance force along with other conservative elements of the general population in opposition to the social reconstructionists. In other words, teachers as a group are more concerned with revising individual and collective roles, normative relationships, and resource allocations within schools than with revising the essential value patterns of schools with respect to their function in the larger society.

(b) Teacher organizations over the next ten years could begin to reinforce the trend from an input to an output orientation in schools. Under enlightened leadership and under increasing pressure to justify higher salaries, teacher organizations may move toward an output (performance) orientation in negotiations. Such a shift, should it occur, would remove a powerful obstacle to change in schools and reinforce the trend toward viewing schools as potentially adaptive and socially reconstructive agencies.

Changing Roles and Norms of Organizational Behavior in School Systems

The suggested shift in organizational value patterns from pattern-maintenance and solidarity to goal-attainment and adaptation holds significant implications for other organizational properties. These implications are implicit in the following comparison between the predominantly adaptive economic firm and the predominantly pattern-maintenance educational unit. Some of them will be made explicit in the following paragraphs.

> Within the limits of societal values the economic firm is expected to change in whatever direction enhances its capacities to achieve any goal that comes to be of interest. It is not only free, but expected to change in accordance with environmental changes. The pattern-maintenance unit, however, is conceived as not as adapting to its environment, but as maintaining the integrity of its own value pattern. Hence, it is expected to maintain its state in spite of environmental changes.[2]

School organizations can be expected to change in important ways as they shift functionally from one value pattern to another.

Changing Authority Relationships -- Urbanization, bureaucratization and unionization of schools have tended to transform the norms governing interpersonal relationships in school systems from those of the gemeinschaft to those of the gesellschaft. Changing relationships among Board, superintendent, principals and teachers will tend toward authority relationships which are increasingly contractual and functionally specific. Universal standards of evaluation, often specified in written contracts, are applied to specific task performances and there is much less differentiation among persons on the basis of general personal characteristics unrelated specifically to job performance. The application of such standards is supported not only by the federal government, teacher organizations, and the integration wing of the Negro protest movement, but also by an increasingly sophisticated management technology which is at its best in dealing with quantifiable universals.

Specialization and Authority of Competence -- School personnel are becoming increasingly specialized. Despite the continuation of the "egg crate" model of instruction, role differentiation is increasing in some important ways. Furthermore, it was suggested in the chapter on management technology that future staffing patterns will become even more specialized and oriented toward specific kinds of performance. Such specialization tends to erode authority based solely on formal status in favor of authority based upon specialized knowledge and personal expertise. In many ways the shift in norms governing the legitimation of authority has been exacerbated by the demands and value premises of a dissident society -- by organized teachers, protesting students, and militant minority groups.

Adatation as a normative standard -- Heavy emphasis throughout this report has been placed upon the increasingly intense demands being brought to bear upon schools. Among these are adaptive demands of a society burdened by massive international commitments and rivalries, on the one hand, and threatened by disastrous internal social disintegration, on the other. Reversing the thrust of a comment made in the chapter on management technology, one can say that although the qualities of educational organizations, deeply rooted in traditional bureaucratic practices, tend to insure individual security and mitigate against meaningful innovation, change is increasingly being accepted as a condition of progress.

The acceptance of change as a norm of behavior has been slow and certainly uneven, but more and more school districts, especially those most threatened by the realistic exigencies of the environment, are beginning to accept the ability to adapt as a legitimate standard of organizational behavior. There is a growing problem-orientation in school affairs and a thrust toward rationality. It was noted earlier that the federal force has encouraged local and state educational agencies to develop more effective planning capabilities and that it has highlighted the need for more systematic evaluation of educational and organizational performance. It was suggested in the chapter on management technology that value premises on which plans are based will become increasingly important. Thus, adaptation is increasingly being accepted as a normative standard of judgment in school organizations.

A Climate of Pluralism -- Gradually, sometimes forcefully, intruding upon the traditional normative structure of schools is a growing climate of pluralism. Increasingly, teachers, students and parents are demanding a role in the decision-making processes of schools and school systems. Increasingly, a sense of multiple accountability is pervading many educational institutions, and mechanisms of joint participation are gradually being developed. Neighborhood seminars, school assessment councils, sub-district school boards and other forms of administrative decentralization are examples of trends toward citizen participation which will likely continue.[3] Demands continue in some city school systems for community control which goes beyond mere administrative decentralization. Student protest is accelerated by a national atmosphere of discontent and at least partially legitimated by teacher militancy. Mechanisms for accomodating student participation will increasingly find their way into school organizations.[4] More and more across the country, in a trend that will surely continue, teacher demands are being articulated through institutionalized grievance procedures and processes of collective negotiation. Thus, in many ways, concerns for pluralism and multiple accountability are finding their way into the normative structure of the public schools.

A New Balance of Power -- A new set of power relationships are being imposed upon schools as a result of collective teacher action. It was suggested in the chapter on teacher militancy that, barring any cataclysmic national political or economic crisis, collective pressure on state legislatures for favorable legislation and on local school boards for higher salaries, more fringe benefits, written grievance procedures, and bilateral determination of decisions affecting teacher welfare and working conditions seems likely to continue over the next five to ten years. It was pointed out that teacher unions and associations have proven remarkably successful in bargaining with boards of education in many parts of the country. It was noted that democracy in the emergent situation is in significant contrast to the pseudo-democracy of the "human relations" past and that where both principal and teachers have inalienable sources of power, as they do in the contract situation, equality is a fact, not an illusion, and democracy can be a political reality, not merely an "administrative style." The attitudes and expectations of teachers, principals, superintendents and board members toward each other are in the process of dramatic change. That is to say, in organizational terms, that the norms governing relationships among role incumbents will be markedly different in the future than they have been in the past, They will increasingly stress functional specificity, the application of universal standards, pluralistic participation and authority of special expertise.

New Role Positions -- It was stated in the chapter on the federal force that one of the more obvious changes resulting from the federal force has been the creation of new administrative posts, in both local and state agencies, which are directly related to the federal force. These include such role positions as the Assistant Superintendent for Federal and State Relations and administrators for new vocational programs and other federal programs under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA). Teacher militancy has motivated school districts to employ personnel specializing in collective negotiations and in the collection and dissemination of the kinds of information necessary to effective bargaining in the total political context. Pressures from the Negro community have given rise to positions such as that of Director of Human (or Community) Relations and to the employment of indigenous paraprofessionals as teacher aides and tacit intermediaries between middle-class white educators and lower-class black, Puerto Rican and Mexican-American students.

The Introduction of New Roles and Systemic Readjustment -- A school organization is a social system. In Parsonian terms, "systems are always constituted by the relations between one or more actors and one or more situational objects." (emphasis added)[5] Changes in one part of the system necessarily affect, to one degree or another, other parts of the system. Therefore, the introduction of new role positions will affect role relationships throughout the system and necessitate readjustment in those relationships to accommodate the new roles. It is not possible within the confines of the present chapter to trace in any detail the potential implications of the introduction of each of the new role positions identified in the school organization of the future. Indeed, it is not possible to trace fully the implications of even one of those new role positions. However, by way of illustration and because of the pervasive implications involved, it seems appropriate at this juncture to suggest in greater detail than has been done heretofore in this report some of the potential effects of the introduction of indigenous paraprofessionals into the public schools. A similar analysis could be undertaken for any of the other new role positions and even with respect to the indigenous paraprofessional the ideas suggested here are tentative and designed primarily to illustrate a theme and to stimulate interest in further analysis and research.

Following are some of the ways in which the introduction of indigenous paraprofessionals may affect school organizations and some questions which the introduction of paraprofessionals may raise for such organizations:

1. A "third force" in the classroom: Paraprofessionals will end teacher isolation in the classroom. No longer will teachers feel "unobserved." No longer will there be an unbuffered authority relationship between the teacher and the students, especially since the indigenous paraprofessional shares with the students, and not with the teacher, a primary reference group -- the community.

2. New sets of role definitions and role relationships: Teacher roles have traditionally been rather informally defined in some important respects. Although students of the art of teaching have, through the application of interaction analysis and micro-teaching techniques, begun recently to define more closely what good teaching really is, the basic question, "What is a good teacher?", has not been answered in any clearly delineated and generally accepted fashion. This has always been one of the great barriers to merit pay for teachers.

   Since teachers generally are not very sure about what good teaching is -- many teachers, for example, feel that they're not teaching unless they're talking, it is difficult for them to differentiate functionally between the paraprofessional's job and their own. How does a teacher uniquely and importantly utilize the time he saves as a result of the work done by the aide? Many teachers are not trained and find it difficult to visualize themselves in the role of diagnostician and prescriber of individualized instructional activities, for example.

A new role for teachers implicit in the introduction of paraprofessionals into the classroom is that of supervisor. Not only does this require a whole new perception of oneself as an "administrator," a perception many teachers neither have nor want, but it requires an explicit consciousness of instructional objectives and procedures, previously almost intuitive in many cases, in order to effectively visualize and systematically utilize another adult in the instructional process. This will be very difficult for many teachers.

Role relationships among teachers, paraprofessionals and the principal will constitute a new element in school organization. Is the aide responsible to the teacher, the principal or both? An interesting corollary to this problem is the potential role of the paraprofessional as an informal evaluator. To what extent will some principals begin to lean on information they obtain from aides in evaluating teachers? After all, the paraprofessional will be a constant and increasingly sophisticated observer of the teacher. This is a possibility which gives teachers some concern as they contemplate more extended utilization of paraprofessionals in their classrooms.

3. The school versus the community -- the paraprofessional as communicator: The primary reference group of the paraprofessional is likely to be the community, not the school or the education profession. How will the paraprofessional perceive school events and relate school information to the community? In a parallel but inverse way, the school may become increasingly dependent upon paraprofessionals to communicate to it the feelings of the community. How reliable are they likely to remain in this role? To what extent will their cooptation by the school system bias their perceptions of the community or their acceptance by it?

4. Organization for instruction: How can the school reorganize to best utilize the paraprofessional in the process of instruction? The introduction of paraprofessionals into the instructional process seems to hold significant implications for team teaching, small group instruction and for education in the tutorial mode. It is possible that paraprofessionals, properly trained, may

prove valuable in softening man-machine interfaces between students and computers. They may prove helpful in monitoring computer instruction programs and solving minor problems as they occur. With respect to the utilization of the tutorial mode in more traditional man-man situations, not only does the introduction of the paraprofessional enlarge the possibilities for this kind of instruction, but it also raises some interesting questions. For example, who shall work with a child in a one-to-one situation, the teacher or the paraprofessional? Will this vary under different circumstances?

5. Negotiations and career progression: Will paraprofessionals constitute another union? (There is such a union in New York City.) Will paraprofessionals man the classrooms when teachers go out on strike? (What cross-pressures will paraprofessionals feel in strike situations between the community and the professional staff?) If paraprofessionals become strikebreakers, what effects will this have on future working relationships in the schools? How will the school system allow for functional as well as financial and titular career advancement for paraprofessionals? Will they ever become "assistant teachers" as opposed to teacher aides?

Changing Organizational Structures

Along with the changing value patterns of the public schools, there have emerged not only a new set of changing roles and norms, including some important new role positions, but also some new organizational structures designed to accommodate conflict or enhance the organization's ability to perform new functions. The new role positions identified in the preceding section constitute some of these new structures. There are others, however, which go beyond single role positions and which illustrate the ways in which school organizations are adapting to powerful environmental forces.

Dual Organizations -- One of the ways in which many school systems have attempted to modulate conflict between pattern-maintenance and goal-attainment forces is to be found in the development of dual organizations. It was pointed out in Chapter Two that the federal force has had a significant impact in that it has caused school districts to create dual organizations which administrators describe as "a system within a system." Reference to the same, or to a similar, phenomenon was made in Chapter Five on management technology, where it was suggested that some new programs that are assigned to the schools may be organized along the project management design but the basic bureaucratic structure will probably remain. By developing dual organizations, a school system can point out to the forces of social reconstruction that it is, indeed, moving to implement certain performance-oriented programs while at the same time reassuring conservative elements that nothing in the basic structure has really changed.

Temporary Structures -- As school organizations become more goal-oriented, it seems probable that they will increasingly rely upon ad hoc units (task forces, temporary committees, etc.) to perform specific time-limited tasks. Temporary structures maximize organizational flexibility and enhance adaptive capability in the face of shifting demands. It was even suggested in Chapter Five that organizations may, themselves, become rapidly-changing, temporary systems, characterized by organization around task forces or problems-to-be-solved groups.

New Control Components -- As schools increasingly emphasize performance-oriented, goal-attainment functions, organizational control will become an increasingly more significant internal problem. It was predicted in the Chapter Five that control in organizations adopting management technologies will be greater than in the past. Especially as they make extended use of temporary structures and flexible staff assignment, school organizations will need to become more concerned with the integrative functions of coordination and control. This is to say that where generalized respect and influence were the primary modes of organizational control of communication in schools of the past, money and especially power will become the primary modes of control in the schools of the future. The emergence of teacher militancy as a powerful force on the educational scene and the politicization of education (discussed below) may be symptomatic of this kind of shift. It is noteworthy, although perhaps only coincidental, that both emerged at precisely the time that dramatic demands for adaptation and goal-attainment were being placed upon schools in the decade following the 1954 Brown decision and the launching a few years later of the Russian sputnik.

External Cooperative Systems -- As problem solutions increasingly transcend local school district boundaries and as technological capitalization goes beyond the resources of individual school systems, cooperative systems are likely to emerge among school districts and between school and business organizations. For example, it was suggested in the Chapter Five that more cooperation among school districts to take advantage of special facilities and programs, such as data storage and retrieval, special planning and/or staffs, can be anticipated within the five to ten year period. With specific reference to the business-education interface, it was predicted in Chapter Three that during the coming decade there will likely be new institutional relationships developing between and among education, government and business which will likely strengthen the impact of business upon education. It was further suggested in that chapter that it is likely that the business sector will become increasingly and directly involved in problems where there are special learning difficulties. The last is illustrative of the new performance expectations the public is holding out for schools and suggestive of at least one of the ways schools may respond to those expectations. It was predicted, too, that as industry becomes more and more directly involved in educational problems which involve public policy decisions, the interchange of educators between business and education will likely increase. Among other things, the increasing involvement of business in the ongoing operation of the public schools should accentuate the re-socialization of educational personnel toward performance-orientation.

Another important example of external structures attempting to involve school districts in performance-oriented cooperation is that of the regional educational laboratories. With proper support, these institutions represent a potentially fruitful point of focus bringing together personnel from local school districts, other educational specialists and private sector institutions toward the more effective attainment of specific educational goals. Revamped and expanded state departments of education constitute other such potential mechanisms of joint venture.

Metropolitan school organizations represent another possibility for external cooperation among school districts. In Chapter Six, it was suggested that, despite support in some influential quarters, the outlook for the establishment of metropolitan educational governments does not seem bright in view of many substantial and unresolved obstacles. It was stated, for example, that the mood of the suburbs does not yet seem to reflect widespread readiness to welcome black inner-city youngsters into white suburban schools. It is possible, however, that suburban attitudes might change radically in the face of "captive" black cities. At the present time, the only major city with a pre-dominantly black population is Washington, D. C. and, because of the unique political position of Washington as a federal district under the direct control of the Congress of the United States, black numbers have been unable to translate themselves into effective political control. However, black predominance on the same order in any other major city -- including control of taxation and services -- might well place the central city in a powerful bargaining position with the surrounding suburban communities, whose citizens are substantially dependent upon the central city for a living. A black central city government of a strong integrationist bent might be able to exercise some leverage in inducing surrounding communities to cooperate in the creation of a metropolitan school district. Another possibility, of course, is that enough blacks will follow industry to the suburbs to make racial integration everybody's concern. Metropolitan educational governance might conceivably follow along that route. Militating to some extent against both of these possibilities, however, are proposed new welfare laws which may significantly alter the trends of black migration in the country.

Continuing Education Structures -- Although some school districts have in the past developed inservice training programs for their own personnel, the practice has not been generally a substantial one. However, as suggested in the chapter on the business-education interface, as management and instructional technologies are developed in and for public school systems, educational leaders will become increasingly concerned about the continuing education of their personnel. Like business, they will likely develop substantial internal training systems. Such systems, should they be developed, will constitute important new components in school organizations.

The Politicization of Education

It was indicated earlier that the pattern-maintenance unit is conceived not primarily as adapting to its environment, but primarily as maintaining the integrity of its own value pattern. Clearly this defines an essentially closed system.

It is interesting to note that during its period as a basically pattern-maintenance institution, the school became depoliticized. That is, it was removed as much as possible from the political arena. It is only recently, as might have been predicted from the Parsonian model, that in conjunction with demands for schools as adaptive and goal-attaining institutions, there are forces operating to return schools to the world of politics.

Politicization implies public accountability. So long as schools operated primarily as guardians of the status quo, they received support as objects of generalized respect; as they take on adaptive and goal-attainment functions, however, they must begin to seek resources on the basis of performance in achieving national goals (that is, in the political sector) or on the basis of direct competition with other educational agencies (that is, in the economic sector). Note, with respect to the latter, suggestions which have already appeared in the public press for the development of publicly-supported alternatives to the public schools.

With respect to the former, it was suggested in Chapter Two that the federal force in education during the 1960's has altered the institutional patterns of relative isolation and has caused educational institutions at all governmental levels to be much less detached from the political context. It was also noted, in Chapter Seven, that teacher militancy tends to involve in school affairs a variety of leaders from the political macro-structure.

General Implications for the Superintendent of Projected Trends in School Organization

Each of the organizational changes projected above will involve the school superintendent. Together, they will raise for him serious questions and substantial problems. Change derives from and contributes to conflict. Guiding schools through the storm will not be enough, for the schools are part of the storm. Outstanding leadership will be required, not to avoid conflict, but to utilize it in ways constructive to the future of education.

Changing Value Patterns

Perhaps the major challenges for school superintendents which are emerging from the new thrust toward adaptation and goal-attainment are those of public accountability and effective citizen participation. There is increasing concern among many citizens, individually and collectively, not only for what schools are doing but for why and how they are doing it. The barriers are being breached and information is becoming more readily available to a wide variety of groups contending for influence in school policy-making. The fundamental question for the superintendent is how, in an era of growing dissidence and increasing dissatisfaction with traditional but untested assumptions, he can facilitate mechanisms for pluralistic decision-making, how he can foster adaptation in a changing and uncertain society, without sacrificing the survival capability of the institution, itself. It is not an easy task.

Opportunities for Leadership

In a number of important ways, the world of the school superintendent is being turned upside-down. Authority relationships are being altered dramatically. There was a time in the not too distant past when the typical superintendent was looked upon by teachers and administrators as a kind of father figure, loved and hated, but accorded the generalized respect traditionally accorded to authority figures. Today, authority figures, including superintendents, are being challenged as never before. Value assumptions which rested unquestioned for generations are now being assailed with a verve bordering almost upon hostility. The traditional bases of authority are being attacked by a variety of collectively powerful forces -- students, teachers, parents and a wide range of community groups. Unquestioning respect for the status of title is diminishing and increasingly demands are channeled toward specific expertise and the achievement of specific operational goals.

The superintendent of the past could pass down pontifical pronouncements and play a role as legitimizer of the *status quo*. He could deal with individuals on a particularistic basis without fear of effective counterthrust. His powers within his own domain were almost without constraint. Today he is increasingly restricted by contractual limitations developed in collective negotiations with powerful teacher groups. He is besieged by black power, white power, student power and parent power. He is hemmed in between the forces of change and the conservative backlash.

In this context of conflict and pluralistic power play, the superintendent has a number of alternative decisions. He can, out of incompetency or emotional paralysis, make as few decisions as possible and drift aimlessly toward inevitable disaster. Alternatively, he can dig his heels into the ground and stand, unbending, until he is pulverized by forces beyond his control. Or, purposefully and intelligently, he can develop strategies of his own to transform his school system into an open, adaptive, goal-attaining organization.

A number of mechanisms are available to the superintendent in the development of initiatory strategies. First he can seek to establish adaptation as a normative standard. He can do this in a number of ways. For one thing, he can look at the continuing education of teachers (and administrators) not as a way of providing information but rather as a way of *transforming the norms of the organization.* This may mean putting an equal or greater proportion of energy, into in-service education as into the instructional program. This may mean consciously utilizing knowledge from psychology and social psychology (reinforcement theory, for example) to develop in-service programs for developing professional personnel. This may mean utilizing new organizational structures to bring together the right combinations of people at the right time to accomplish specified purposes. This may mean paying teachers to learn -- about change and about themselves, as well as about specific new techniques and materials (in summer programs, for example). This may mean viewing recruitment and selection as they are rarely viewed -- as part of the self-regenerating and collective resocialization processes of the organization. This may mean rotating personnel in carefully predetermined ways in order to forestall the calcification of the organization in pattern-maintaining arrangements.

Second, new sources of funds may permit the superintendent to create new role positions toward the accomplishment of specified goals. Judiciously and purposefully utilized, the creation of new roles may prove to be a valuable tool in the hands of the superintendent. New role incumbents have no vested interests in the maintenance of existing patterns and can function effectively not only toward the attainment of desired goals but toward the redefinition of normative structures as well. The challenge will be to plan so carefully the introduction of new roles and the training of new role incumbents that redirection can occur without subsequent recalcification.

Third, the superintendent can seek to utilize specialists in unique and changing ways. The very nature of *ad hoc* task forces is supportive of the instrumental orientation of the organization. Goals have to be specified and achieved in a limited amount of time. Special combinations of expertise can be made available to the organization which are not normally available under the standard table of organization. Such a system presents special problems of coordination and resource allocation but the new management technologies should help to bridge the difficulties.

Fourth, he can consciously and purposefully develop ways of harnessing the information-processing capacity of modern management technology. Superintendents are in a position today to know more about their schools than has ever been known before: program costs and benefits, student characteristics and achievement, home and community environments, teacher characteristics and achievement, etc., including longitudinal data and stratified relationships among all the variables. Superintendents, for the first time since the introduction of mass education, are in a position to really know something about their schools if they have the vision and the expertise to utilize the available tools. Before the computer, schools could get *data*; computers have provided the capability, technological and economic, to transform data into *information.*

Fifth, the superintendent can utilize his superior information-processing capabilities to seek consensus among conflicting groups on common goals. As sophisticated evaluation techniques unearth authentic problems in the welter of statistics available to the central office, areas of agreement may be easier to identify -- or areas of "mutual trade-off" may be located. Thus the new balance of power may be brought to operate toward the integration of efforts toward re-defined, but common goals, instead of toward destructive ends. Thus, the superintendent can seek to engage in productive conflict management.

Sixth, the superintendent will be at the center of an increasingly complex control and communications network as more flexible and adaptive structures are created. Although at one level the organization of the school system will be increasingly in the hands of specialists, at another and more important level, the superintendent, if he is knowledgeable and sophisticated, will continue to have more information at his command than anybody else in the organization. The ways in which he maintains mechanisms for efficient and effective information flow will constitute an important factor in the nature and quality of the total organization. His will be the prime responsibility for reduction of transmission loss and the optimization of data transformation and information utilization.

Finally, the superintendent can exercise adaptive leadership in a broad political context. The politicization of education puts new pressures upon the superintendent but it also bestows upon him new opportunities for broad political participation, especially in the allocation of the total public resources. Superintendents familiar with the operation of government and non-educational public agencies and skilled in the art of politics will have opportunities to garner for public education the resources to meet the public's rising expectations. As schools become more performance-oriented and as they more effectively utilize information to attract resources, public support of education may be increased. The superintendent will be a key figure in this process.

Summary

Radical changes in the macro-environment have brought to bear upon schools powerful pressures for a fundamental reevaluation of the values which govern their operation and of the functional emphases implicit in those value patterns. Significant forces, including for the most part those elaborated upon in the six force chapters, are moving schools away from a predominant emphasis upon pattern-maintenance and solidarity toward increasing emphasis upon goal-attainment (social reconstruction) and the provision of competent inputs (graduates) to the increasingly technologically sophisticated adaptive institutions of society (that is, to the business and scientific communities).

Changing value patterns mean changing norms, roles and structures. Normative changes include (1) changing authority relationships toward those which are increasingly universalistic and functionally specific; (2) specialization and authority based upon specialized knowledge and personal expertise; (3) an acceptance of change as a condition of progress and of adaptive behavior as a legitimate ideal (it may be a good thing to "rock the boat"); (4) a climate of pluralism as a legitimate basis for organizational behavior; and (5) the acceptance of the reality of a new balance of power among Board, administration, teachers and, potentially, students.

New role positions include those associated with federal programs, collective negotiations, and the special needs and demands of the Negro community and other disadvantaged minority groups. The introduction of new role positions such as these affects role relationships throughout the system and necessitates readjustments in those relationships to accommodate the new roles. The introduction of indigenous paraprofessionals into school organizations exemplifies the systemic effects of new role positions.

Changing structures include (1) the development of dual organizations to achieve new goals without exacerbating conflict between pattern-maintenance and goal-attainment forces; (2) temporary structures to maximize flexibility and enhance the adaptive capability of school systems in the face of shifting demands; (3) new control components utilizing modern management technologies to integrate increasingly complex school organizations; (4) external cooperative systems to solve problems which transcend local boundaries and to spread the cost of special facilities and programs such as data storage and retrieval, special planning and/or special staffs; and (5) structures dedicated to the continuing education of organizational personnel.

One of the organizational changes associated with the changing value patterns of schools has been the increasing politicization of education. In the next ten years, school systems will relate more directly to a growing number of political jurisdictions and governmental agencies. Superintendents will operate in a broader political arena than ever before.

As a result of these kinds of changes, the world of the school superintendent is being radically altered. A number of mechanisms, however, are available to him in the development of initiatory strategies in the exercise of leadership. These include the following:

1. He can seek to establish adaptation as a normative standard.

2. New sources of funds may permit him to create new role positions toward the accomplishment of specified goals.

3. He can seek to utilize specialists in unique and changing ways.

4. He can consciously and purposefully develop ways of harnessing the information-processing capacity of modern management technology.

5. He can utilize his superior information-processing capabilities to seek consensus among conflicting groups on common goals.

6. He will be at the center of an increasingly complex control and communications network as more flexible and adaptive structures are created.

7. He can exercise adaptive leadership in a broad political context.

Conclusion

Periods of transition are historically replete with conflict. At the root of the American Civil War, for example, was conflict between traditionalism and the new industralization, in a sense the conflict between a pattern-maintenance and an adaptive society. Schools today are increasingly involved in much the same type of conflict, a kind of educational civil war between those who would see the schools used as an instrument for social change and those who wish to retain the status quo.

When James Coleman suggested that the schools are for the most part turning out students in pretty much the same social order as they come in, he intended that to be a critical comment. It seems safe to say, however, if one can believe the 2:1 mail flow in support of Mayor Richard Daley for his actions during the Democratic Convention of 1968 and if one takes careful note of recent election returns, that a majority of the American people, if they knew and understood it, would probably find Coleman's conclusion not a critical, but rather a comforting one.

Many people, however, either didn't know about Coleman's findings or didn't understand their implications. What people may not hear or understand in words, however, they usually begin to see and understand better as the action unfolds. As this report suggests, the action is unfolding. One can predict, therefore, continuing and intensified conflict as embattled schoolmen seek to reconcile opposing value systems in the practice of education. School superintendents, in particular, will likely find themselves increasingly between articulate and powerful forces advocating change in the service of social reconstruction and equally powerful, if somewhat latent, forces (the "backlash") who want to keep things basically as they are.

It seems clear that the educational leader of the seventies will need to know who he is and what he believes in. He will need strategies to cope with conflict. And he will probably need a cast-iron stomach.

Notes

[1] A basically Parsonian framework has been adapted from R. Jean Hills, Toward a Science of Organization (Eugene, Oregon: University of Oregon Press, 1968).

[2] Hills, op. cit., p. 99.

[3] See Luvern L. Cunningham and Raphael O. Nystrand, Citizen Participation in School Affairs, a report to the Urban Coalition (Columbus, Ohio: The Ohio State University, 1969).

[4] See Raphael O. Nystrand (ed.), Student Unrest in the Public Schools (Worthington, Ohio: Charles A. Jones, in press).

[5] Hills, op. cit., p. 18.

Chapter Nine

Leadership in the School Superintendency During the 1970's

> "The only prediction about the future that one can make with certainty is that public authorities will face more problems than they have at any previous time in history.
>
> Daniel Bell

Previous chapters have shown that teacher militancy, the Negro protest movement, federal involvement in education, business-education interactions, new management technologies, and research and development have impacted strongly upon school districts during the last decade. These forces have helped to alter permanently the environment of the school superintendency and the challenges inherent in it. The fact that both the environment and the challenges of the superintendency have changed helps to explain why there has been growing talk about the need for a "new breed" of educational leader. This chapter will deal with a number of questions concerning needed leadership in education. How is the need for a "new breed," for example, related to the forces described in previous chapters and the environment which these forces are helping to create? What leadership characteristics will typify the "new breed"? What will be the major challenges facing educational leaders during the 1970's? From what groups and segments of society will the new leadership emerge?

In dealing with questions such as those just noted, leadership will be described more in ideal terms and in its more heroic conceptions. Since leadership seeks and achieves institutional change, it will be viewed as a force among forces. Thus, an optimistic view is taken concerning the capacity of effective educational leaders to help marshall, channel, and direct forces such as those described in the previous six chapters in ways that will bring about improvements in the quality of educational institutions and the learnings afforded by them.

In focusing upon leadership from the perspective of the school superintendent, there is no intent to imply a "one-man" concept of leadership in school systems. Nor is there an intent to minimize or de-emphasize the significance of educational leadership which can be expressed by personnel in a range of administrative and teaching posts as well as by citizens external to school systems. However, since superintendents do occupy "top positions" in school districts, they can be an extremely important part of school system leadership. To generalize about ideal leadership behavior from the perspective of the school superintendency also offers the advantage of a larger view of school system functions.

The basic purposes of this chapter, then, are to describe salient and ideal features of the "new leadership" in education from the perspective of the school superintendency; to relate these features to important forces in the changing environment of school systems; and to highlight leadership qualities needed by school superintendents in the seventies. The descriptions achieved will be used in the final part of the report as bases for generalizing about needed changes in programs to prepare school superintendents. The chapter, then, is transitional in the sense that it synthesizes content presented in previous chapters within a framework of leadership and sets the stage for the final chapter on the preparation of educational administrators.

Approaches to the systematic study of leadership of course are as old as classical antiquity, Plato, for example, described the ideal leader as a "philosopher king." Historians have illuminated events by describing acts of leadership; psychologists have probed relationships between leaders' private personalities and public behaviors; political scientists have used the concept of power to explain leadership; sociologists have viewed leadership within a context of formal and informal organization; and students of educational administration have drawn upon a variety of studies in efforts to synthesize knowledge about leadership. Even though scholars from a variety of backgrounds have studied leadership extensively, many important facts of it are obviously not yet fully understood.[1]

Those responsible for recruiting and preparing educational leaders, if they are to be held accountable, must delineate explicitly their beliefs concerning leadership. Periodic efforts to achieve descriptions of needed leadership are also desirable because, as previous chapters have suggested, its requirements change as situations change. Therefore, significant environmental factors which will affect leadership during the 1970's will first be described before ideal leadership behavior is depicted.

The Changing Environment of Leadership

Ambiguity and Stress

During the coming decade school superintendents will be functioning in an environment filled with ambiguity and stress. Forces such as those described in previous chapters have whipsawed the American society during the last decade in ways that recall Hamlet's observation about the times being "out of joint." As a result, school systems are currently lodged and, for the foreseeable future, will continue to be lodged in a society filled with sharp dilemmas and puzzling paradoxes. Even though great amounts of information and knowledge exist on all kinds of conditions, questions, and issues, confusion still abounds. While America is hailed as the greatest nation on earth, conditions in Vietnam impress upon its leaders and its people the severe limits of national power. Although the number of millionaires in the nation has never been greater, citizens are painfully aware of the cancerous poverty which stretches across the land. In spite of the fact that communication media and messages are ubiquitous, alienation and misunderstanding know no bounds. As astronauts go back and forth between the earth and the moon at unprecedented speeds, countless citizens fret on congested highways and in clogged airports. While technological progress in recent decades has been gargantuan, the nation's achievement in developing a more humane society, many believe, has been dwarf-like.

The schools, as a part of society, have their own paradoxes and dilemmas. While possessing a proud history with regard to the education and the acculturation of minority groups, the schools' achievements in this regard in more recent years have been severely limited. Even though the nation's school systems enroll a greater proportion of high school age students than ever before and a greater proportion than in any other country, criticism of the "drop-out" problem is sharp and widespread. In a society noted for its dynamic qualities and its capacity to change, talented young leaders throughout the nation are seriously questioning the capacity of educational institutions to achieve needed adaptations. While major projects designed to modify curricula have been widely publicized in recent years, both students and citizens seriously question the relevance of learning experiences provided by the schools today. Even though the nation's educational system has long been committed to advancing the learning of individuals, the rules and regulations now governing school systems have never seemed so predominant. While the current population of college students is judged by many professors to be the best prepared ever, there are those who maintain that the public schools, which prepared most of these students, should be dismantled.

Widely publicized criticisms of society and of its schools in a nation traditionally noted for its "can do" spirit have resulted in much frustration and what some have called a "crisis of confidence." This "crisis" has not left the nation's leaders unaffected. Leading mayors of big cities, for example, who have been widely recognized for enlightened leadership and herculean efforts to cope with significant urban problems during the last decade, are vacating posts with words of disappointment and even disillusionment.[2] The plight of school superintendents and other educational leaders is suggested by the following title of a recent article: "Gloom at the Top."[3] The negative view which has evolved during the past decade concerning the capacity of public institutions and their leaders to respond to the current crisis is reflected in such terms as "the politics of futility."

It is a central assumption of this study that forces such as those described in previous chapters are going to continue to bring change, disruption, and stress to the American scene during the coming decade. Although many may wish for the halcyon educational days of yesteryear, these will no longer be attainable. The dilemmas within society and its schools are so sharp and the divisions in the American culture are so deep that the sense of crisis now prevailing will undoubtedly continue. This sense of crisis will be a significant feature of the environment within which educational leadership during the 1970's must function.

An Expanded and Altered Political Environment

Forces such as those described in previous chapters have permanently altered the environment and processes of "educational politics." The myth that education is isolated from politics is clearly discredited in most circles. Forces such as those described in previous chapters have also altered traditional views about the scope of education's political environment. Federal involvement in education and other forces is continuing to expand the political environment within which school superintendents work. During the 1970's this environment is likely to encompass a substantial number of federal and state government agencies and the officials who work within these agencies. This will be true in large part because of growing needs to finance expanding school systems and the fact that federal and state governments will undoubtedly increase their support for new and on-going educational policies and programs.

The environment of educational politics will also expand within the local context. School superintendents and their staffs will be working more closely with leaders in city hall, non-public school systems, education industries, social work agencies, minority group organizations, health and welfare agencies, employment organizations, and other agencies during the 1970's. The diverse, categorical programs supported by the federal government and the growing number of community groups affected by these programs will both require and facilitate such communication. It can also be anticipated that there will be more interaction than in the previous decade between urban and suburban educational leaders within metropolitan contexts.

The Negro protest movement is one of a number of forces creating a new kind of "grass roots" politics in education. This movement is associated with concepts of community control and localism within school district boundaries. The movement is also related to the growing interest in education among citizens generally. The diverse "grass roots" expressions of community groups, frequently at the school level, is another indication of the highly visible political environments within which school superintendents must work.

Because school superintendents will have expanded political environments and unusual political challenges in the 1970's, they will likely broaden and change their professional environment by instituting new emphases in state and national school administrators' associations. Commissions of these associations, which have traditionally tended to concentrate more upon the organizational, technical, and procedural aspects of administrative problems, may well be issuing recommendations during the 1970's concerning significant, substantive issues of educational and social policy. As Frank Barr, Superintendent of Schools in Fairview Park, Ohio, recently remarked:[4] "You can't be an educational leader and isolate yourself from social problems." Recommendations developed by commissions might well involve other public administrators and a variety of community and professional leaders with special interests in educational and social policy. Commissions might examine such problem areas as poverty and education, welfare and education, unemployment and education, housing and education, and business-education cooperation---subjects which are related to the concerns of most political leaders. The results of commission recommendations on educational and social policy problems could be used to influence and inform decision processes within the larger political arena of society.

Pervasive and Ever-Present Conflict

The constant companion of educational leaders during the seventies will be social, organizational, and political conflict. Most of the forces described in previous chapters contain within themselves opposing tendencies which will continue to generate conflict within education's leadership arena. In addition, each one of the forces impacting on schools during the 1970's will generate significant conflict. A brief summary of opposing tendencies inherent in or being created by the forces discussed in previous chapters will illustrate the point.

The Negro protest movement (Chapter Six) will undoubtedly continue to display internal conflict. Protest leaders who believe in separatism, for example, will pursue strategies that conflict with those who desire integration. The movement will likely continue to generate societal conflict because of its tendency to polarize black and white segments of the community. The National Confederation of American Ethnic Groups, for example, was recently established to compete specifically with blacks for the favor of officials in Washington, in city halls, and in foundations. Serving lower income whites, who are largely second and third generation European immigrants, the Confederation is seeking more anti-poverty, housing, housing, educational, and job aid.

Marked dissatisfaction within the black community with the purposes, organization, and curricula of public schools will surely be a source of continuing conflict as negative feelings are expressed and as a variety of demands are made of responsible school officials. In addition, conflict will be evident as certain segments of both black and white communities concentrate upon the attainment of political power while others focus their efforts more upon the attainment of specific educational improvements. Dissatisfaction concerning the larger questions of citizen participation in school decisions and of the community control of education will also generate controversy. Chapter Seven, for example, makes clear that teachers' organizations have viewed and will likely continue to view community control negatively while powerful community groups will view it positively.

The last decade has seen increasing conflict arising from the demands of teacher organizations for larger salaries and for a greater role in educational policy making. Evidence presented in Chapter Seven demonstrates that these demands will continue as will the resulting conflicts with legislatures, school boards, city councils, and taxpayers. Perhaps even more intense conflicts than in the past will result from teacher demands to negotiate class size and related policy issues. These demands will intensify differences in views held by administrator and teacher organizations.

Trends described in Chapter Four involving increased use of research, development, and evaluation will also generate controversy because these processes require, among other things, a careful examination of existing educational and administrative practices. Since effective R and D also brings new processes and technologies designed to change the status quo, conflict will again result as change agents and those responsible for carrying out change interact with one another to implement new practice. Community conflict may also result since parents have a direct stake in educational innovations. For example, as drugs which affect memory and learning are developed, issues will arise which will undoubtedly generate sharp differences of view among parents.

Issues associated with the growing use of planning concepts and with efforts to meet demands for greater public accountability will also highlight opposing tendencies and views (Chapter Five). As community groups demand more public information from responsible personnel in school systems in order to understand and assess school results, conflict will ensue. More specifically, since the information demanded may tend to reveal inadequacies in the existing system, those in these systems may resist demands for the information. In addition, those responsible for implementing new management and planning techniques typically will be making special information demands on personnel which they may resist.

There is likely to be substantial internal conflict between central administrators and teachers as the former gathers and uses information for central planning and the latter are asked to participate in and/or to implement planning decisions at the school level. Conflict will certainly continue as efforts to achieve a new balance between the central system of school districts and decentralized operations unfold. Since new management and planning techniques often require more standard and controlled operations than traditional ones, organizational efficiency and the freedom of individuals will collide.

It seems unlikely that the kinds of inter-governmental conflict described in Chapter Two will be eliminated during the next decade. For example, the continuation of categorical programs in education supported by the federal government will cause the same differences in views between local and federal officials as have existed during the last decade. Even though it seems unlikely that general support for education will be provided state departments or school districts, more general block grants to states will likely ensue during the 1970's. Such grants will place municipal agencies and school districts in direct competition for federal funds provided to the states, and the result will be inter-organization conflict. The same processess will unfold at the state level as state education departments and other governmental agencies compete with one another. Conflict will also arise between city planners and school district planners as well as between state educational planners and other state government planners.

As suggested in Chapter Three, there will be continuing conflict during the 1970's resulting from the public-private interface generally and from the business-education interface specifically. There is now emerging, for example, a major debate concerning the role and place in the public sector of private-sector produced technology. On the one hand, there are those who argue that technology is a curse which diminishes man. On the other hand, there are those who fervently maintain that technology is a blessing which extends man's capacity and enables him to progress toward a successful and affluent society. While some envision a future society whose government will be highly rational and efficient because of its uses of technology, others shudder at the thought. More enlightened popular decisions resulting from the influence of the new and growing scientific and technological elite are projected by some; others see in the elite bases of a new class conflict as possessors and non-possessors of knowledge combat one another. Clearly, conflicting views associated with technology will confront educational leaders as they help make decisions about the purposes and programs of schools.

Issues more directly associated with the business-education interface will include: control of the curriculum, the quality and purpose of instructional materials produced; and the relevance of private sector management techniques to educational organizations. An even more basic question, as already noted, revolves around the "economic rationality" of the private sector which evaluates decisions largely on the basis of economic consequences versus the "human relations rationality" of the public sector which assesses decisions largely from the standpoint of their human and social consequences. Even though the differences in public sector and private sector rationalities are almost as old as society, interactions between business and education in the 1970's will likely highlight these differences more than ever before. Conflict will be the inevitable result.

The evidence, then, supports the proposition that the environment of educational leadership will be filled with conflict during the 1970's. The opposing tendencies now present in schools and the larger society of which they are a part will create waves of conflict which will surely continue to flow around and within educational institutions. Even though there is a tendency to view such waves negatively, they also have potentially important positive results: they represent a dynamic for change; they encourage the search for new accommodations and solutions; and they provide opportunity for creative leadership.

Leadership as a Force Among Forces During the 1970's

The crisis in education, the larger cultural crisis of which it is a part, and the attendant political and social conflict will provide school superintendents special opportunities during the next decade. What role should school superintendents play in an expanded political environment characterized by ambiguity, stress, and conflict? Clearly, superintendency behavior oriented toward maintaining existing organizational purposes, patterns, and procedures will not be sufficient. The question of how to develop specific rules, for example, to control growing student militancy within current organizational contexts, will not be the most significant query related to militancy; rather, the causes of this militancy and needed improvements in educational organization, in curriculum, in teaching, and in learning will be major foci for the new leadership.

Effective school superintendents will represent a force among conflicting forces and will demonstrate leadership in an environment of diverse and pluralistic expressions. Expressing negative reactions to such forces as federal involvement in education, educational assessment, the business-education interface, Negro protest, and other forces, will not be sufficient. Effective leaders will demonstrate ways of understanding, reconciling, marshalling, and helping direct forces toward objectives designed to improve educational institutions and the quality of life and learning in them.

What behaviors will those school superintendents, who represent a force among forces, display? The following are judged to be among the more crucial ones: behavior which communicates a moral vision and a commitment larger than any one force or pressure group; behavior which is effective in helping communities and educational organizations to chart clear directions amid conflicting forces, societal stress, and pervasive ambiguity; behavior which can through "politicized planning" generate needed new policy and program recommendations, articulate these recommendations, and help get them examined and accepted within the political arena; behavior which can lead in the acquisition of resources needed to implement new educational policies and programs; and behavior which updates organizational and staffing patterns in districts in ways that meet greater demands for educational leadership. Clearly, these leadership behaviors are not new ones. However, because the environment and requirements of leadership have undergone changes, there will undoubtedly be unique expressions of these behaviors during the 1970's.

Communicating Moral Vision and Commitment

Effective school superintendents will communicate a moral vision and commitment larger than is represented in any one of the forces discussed in previous chapters. Moral leadership is expressed in part in the capacity to reach clear judgments about what is "good" and in the ability to communicate these judgments and their rationales effectively to others. Such judgments on the part of effective school superintendents are based in part upon a broad and deep awareness of forces such as those described in previous chapters. An understanding of the nature of forces and the changes they are bringing to society and education is a necessary ingredient of moral vision. Such understanding is also needed by school superintendents if they are to display effective teaching behavior within the public arena. Such behavior is another important expression of educational leadership: through an appropriate admixture of teaching, effective leaders contribute to the moral edification of staff, citizens, and communities.

Today there is considerable concern, especially within urban settings, about the lack of "good" community and "good" education. There is much fragmentation and alienation. Distrust and skepticism abound. Deep division exists between segments of the races. Inequality and injustice remain. And there is evidence that some urban dwellers are viewing their neighbors more as enemies than as friends -- a mark of community dissolution. Moral leadership on the part of school superintendents requires more than an understanding of current community conditions and the forces which have led to these conditions. Effective superintendents will demonstrate moral concern about inadequacies inherent in these conditions; will project objectives which go beyond the status quo; and will commit themselves to the attainment of these objectives.

School superintendents demonstrating effective leadership, will possess clear ideas about "good" communities and "good" education. However, concepts held by superintendents about what is "good" cannot be effectively projected during the 1970's as absolutes, nor can they be imposed upon others through one-way communication. These concepts must be derived in part from understandings achieved through dialogue with school personnel and with representatives of community groups. If the school superintendent, in other words, is to display an effective teaching role which will help those with whom he associates see things more clearly for themselves, he will have to be capable of receiving instruction himself. He will also have to be committed to helping design environments which nurture creative processes in schools and communities and which develop both human talent and educational improvement.

The quality of moral vision expressed by a school superintendent is dependent to a considerable degree upon the objectives and values to which he is committed. The quality of learning which school superintendents would like to see realized in schools is a basic indicator of commitment. However, definitions of quality learning go beyond the confines of the school to the society served. Consequently, educational leaders, who would demonstrate moral leadership, must show concern for the awareness of community and human values in addition to those inherent in education. When they relate learning objectives and educational policies to a vision of the "good" community or the "good" society, they demonstrate a higher order of moral leadership. Concepts of "good" become standards which enable school superintendents to function effectively in a setting filled with conflicting forces. The ideals represented in these standards can constitute a moral influence which counteracts, channels, or helps give shape to other forces affecting education.

Educational programs, initiated during the last decade and supported by the federal government, have been implicitly directed toward the attainment of values which many associate with a "good" society. More specifically, these programs have been directed toward decreasing the number of society's citizens who are ill-clothed, ill-housed, and ill-fed; attaining effective civil rights; ensuring dynamic economic growth; achieving improved manpower training; and realizing effective desegregation. Clearly, much remains to be achieved in attaining through education characteristics of the "good" community. Therefore, a high degree of moral leadership on the part of effective school superintendents during the 1970's will be required.

In seeking to preserve or realize a "good" community through education, outstanding school superintendents, if they are to be a force among forces, will not simply be interpreters of current community's values. On occasion, they will defend the general interest or seek longer range educational objectives by combating the influence of narrower interests or by rejecting immediate pressures; at other times they will help articulate the characteristics of the "good" community and will show what education can contribute toward the attainment of these characteristics. In so doing they will fulfill moral and educative functions.

There are many observers on the scene today who believe that "things are in the saddle" and that man is being diminished. There is also evidence, especially within certain segments of the college population, that there is a growing concern for human values and increasing talk of a "new humanism." Values associated with technology are coming under sharp scrutiny, if not attack. In the larger society there is a pronounced belief among thoughtful citizens that organizational and technological means have been multiplied many times in number and insufficient attention has been given to the relationships of these means to important human ends. The same problem adheres in school systems. Inadequate attention to individual learning objectives and to means-ends relationships, when new techniques and processes are adopted, carries with it the danger that neither the interest of the educational institutions nor that of the larger community will be served. Innovation for innovation's sake, in other words, is not a mark of moral leadership. School superintendents who represent a force among forces during the 1970's will keep instructional and management technologies in perspective and will see that they serve principally the ends of humaneness and learning. Whatever enhances the dignity, the growth, and the integrity of individuals, in other words, will be moral. By the same standard, what diminishes these individual qualities will be deleterious and immoral.

Charting Clear Directions for Education in An Ambiguous Society

Because there is ambiguity and complexity pervading society, a major leadership challenge will be that of helping to formulate and communicate clear and meaningful goals to guide educational institutions. Currently, as Peter Schrag has noted, there is uncertainty concerning what the public interest in education is: "For the school superintendents there is no clear signal from anyone, either in the community or the nation at large."[5] While there can never be a clear external signal for leadership, a special challenge is now posed to educational leaders because of the marked ambiguity in society and the waves of conflict swirling around the school. In a highly fragmented society, unclear about its directions, an educational vision which can effectively guide progress becomes all the more important. The school superintendent bears a special responsibility for helping to clarify educational purpose and policy. The degree to which school systems emit clear signals about desired directions will be an important measure of the school superintendent's capacity for positive influence.

The school superintendent's special preparation and experience and his unique position in the communication network of school systems and communities should make it possible for him to play a key role in purpose setting. However, effective school superintendents will receive much advice and instruction from other leaders in school systems and communities as they articulate statements of guiding purpose. In the interaction between the school superintendent and others, the goal will be to help communities and school systems clarify their own values and to articulate the wisest policies of which these institutions are capable. Because of his special preparation and experience he will contribute ideas to discussions of purpose and, if he is perceptive, he may be able to state purposes for community groups which they cannot state for themselves alone.

One of the basic issues of the 1970's will have to do with the scope of purposes to be encompassed by school districts. On the one hand, some fear the schools are pursuing so many purposes and trying to meet so many needs already that they are not doing anything well. In addition, some are concerned that education is being used or will be used for purposes that are inimical to man and his learning. Andrew Halpin has elaborated this issue as follows:[6]

> He (Jefferson) conceived education in human terms and he knew that its purpose was to help each citizen, each human being, to 'end as a Man', not as an additional statistical increment to the GNP. Today, too, education is a major instrument of national policy, but now Man has become an object to be processed according to the calculus of technology; he no longer is to be regarded as an end in himself. Students are indexed in respect to their economic value to the State; knowledge and education are regarded as 'human capital inputs' that are designed to keep the economy growing at a steady pace. The very expression, 'human capital input' reveals how far we have come from Jefferson's dream about the dignity of man.

Others would use education as an instrument to cope with an even larger number of problems and concerns than the number it is already addressing. Witness, for example, the current discussions on sex education and the fact that the majority of citizens, according to national polls, see a significant role for schools to play with regard to this type of education. Different answers to the question of the scope of educational purpose implies different visions of desirable relationships between the "good" school and the "good" community. The general question will certainly receive increasing attention in the 1970's.

Another basic question relates more to the quality of learning to be provided by schools. In a highly fragmented and technological society, how can school superintendents help achieve and maintain a humanitarian perspective which places the individual learning of students first? When knowledge is so plenteous and growing so rapidly, how can students be helped to use it creatively and not to be overwhelmed by its increasing accumulations? When there is a tendency for an established *system* to care most for itself, how can schools be made to respond in ways that *in fact* serve the learning of *individual* clients? Since technology and mass media often press society and citizens toward conformity, how can schools help students question orthodoxy effectively? In a world where there is tremendous press to understand what is, how can students learn to be creative in ways that go beyond the *status quo*? Since students are having to confront, from their own perspective, the same ambiguity, ferment, and uncertainty which school leaders confront, not only for today but also for a longer tomorrow, what learning experiences will best equip them to live with change and uncertainty? Such questions suggest some of the challenges which superintendents and other leaders will face with regard to the quality of learning provided by schools in the 1970's.

Underlying the task of charting meaningful directions for educational institutions within a markedly ambiguous society is an even more basic challenge. That is the challenge of achieving and expressing authentic confidence concerning goal definition and attainment in a setting where a lack of confidence often abounds. When frustration and ambiguity are pervasive, there is great need for leaders who can communicate hope. When a society is whipsawed by forces which distort its outlook, leaders are needed who believe in themselves and in the capacity of society's institutions to progress toward defined goals. And when society is caught up in crisis, leaders are needed who can project a vision which goes beyond the vicissitudes of the moment.

Formulating and Gaining Acceptance for Needed New Policies and Programs

Leading school superintendents in the 1970's will provide outstanding political leadership in getting educational policies and programs updated and accepted. Aristotle concluded that politics influences the total fabric and shape of society and, therefore, is the "architectonic moral science." In the Aristotelian sense, then, political behavior is intimately related to concepts of moral behavior and vision already discussed. Moral behavior is expressed in a significant way when important societal and educational values are articulated and legitimated by leaders through political structures and processes. The superintendent's effectiveness in updating policies and programs and in achieving acceptance for these policies and programs within school systems and the larger community context will be another important measure of his capacity to serve as a force among forces.

Clearly, a number of the forces described in previous chapters are helping create a general readiness for program and policy changes in education. For example, the most powerful impact on the "politics of education" during the next decade may well result from the demands and actions of concerned community leaders across the land. This type of impact will stem not only from the increasing importance attached to effective education by communities but, more important, from the press for better performance by school systems and from demands for greater accountability on the part of responsible educational officials. The growing press for better measures of performance and more definite accountability procedures is not only evident among citizens generally but also among governors, legislators, and other powerful representatives of the people. Increased citizen participation in school decisions and emergent patterns of community control are related expressions of public concern.

Community leaders pressing for better school system performance are apparently not so much concerned about how fast student populations are growing, how many students are graduating annually, or even how well the schools are "run." Increasingly, they are raising questions about the quality of education and the rationales and assumptions underlying educational practice. In some cases the questions are even more fundamental as suggested in the following observation by Thomas Green:[7]

> To adopt a phrase from George S. Counts, for the first time in the century the central question is not 'Dare the schools build a new social order' but 'Dare the social order erect a new system of schools or a system of education without schools'.?

It seems safe to say that increasingly educated publics will be probing more deeply into school systems' performance during the 1970's than they were in the 1960's. Many of the assumptions which undergird educational practice will be analyzed and questioned. Illustrations of questions and issues likely to be posed frequently to future superintendents have been set forth recently by Mary Alice White:[8]

> 1. The budget calls for reducing class size from 30 to 25 at the cost of X dollars. Tell us, Superintendent Jones, what basis is there for believing that a class size of 25 achieves demonstrably better educational results than one of 30, or even of 35?
>
> 2. Why does the budget call for more remedial reading teachers? Have you any evidence that they have been effective so far? Suppose the same money were spent in another form, would reading improve?
>
> 3. Why don't you publish test results by school and by class so we can see how our children and our teachers are doing?
>
> 4. Why are the test results in school G lower than in the rest of the city, and have been for five years? What are you doing about it?
>
> 5. Superintendent, you tell us that we can't compare schools and classes because they don't all start at the same point. Isn't there some way to measure what they have gained, taking this into account?....If not, why don't you have a placement policy that equalizes each class at the beginning of the year so we can see how the teachers perform?

6. Superintendent, you say you have plans for a nongraded school. Do you have any hard evidence that nongraded schools perform better, educationally, than graded ones?

7. Superintendent, what is the employability rate and earnings of our graduates one year after high school graduation? Is it any better than for the dropouts?

8. Why do you schedule study halls?

9. Superintendent, why is the elementary class schedule set up the way it is? On what basis did you decide to have X minutes of reading instruction per day? Would Y minutes give better educational performance? How do you know?

10. Superintendent, you say we have a good school system. What is a good school system?

Questions such as those just noted are already being raised in many communities by thoughtful citizens. In some communities they are for the first time being examined in public discussions associated with school board elections.

Decentralization will require greater attention to the content of educational programs, the clientele served by these programs, and the objectives established for them. It will also encourage the differentiation of curriculum and the tailoring of learning experiences in different schools to the needs of given populations of students and given communities. The growing number of community groups which are raising questions about curriculum will further require school superintendents and principals to confront learning problems more directly. Clearly, school superintendents, who would lead, will be making major efforts during the next decade to develop programs which optimize learning for the disadvantaged and the racially segregated.

Current "grass roots" trends will be viewed by leading school superintendents as forces which can support and extend their own efforts to achieve a higher order of educational politics in the 1970's. While these trends present risks, uncertainties, and difficult decisions, they also can offer superintendents help in achieving program and policy changes in education. Their potential for reinforcing superintendents' efforts to make increasing use of research and development, new planning and management technologies, and the business-education interface constructively in educational change is substantial. Even such forces as teacher militancy will likely be channeled more toward program improvement as a result of current "gass roots" developments.

The growing interest of the people in the performance of school systems and the growing number of educational issues which are finding their way into the larger political arena will require greater communication between school and community personnel. School superintendents will bear a major responsibility for this communication. Increasingly, they and their assistants will be using such media as television which will afford greater opportunities than ever before for disseminating information and ideas immediately, effectively, and widely. However, these media will not be a sufficient substitute for extended communication in face-to-face situations between school leaders and community groups. As already emphasized, dialogue with these groups and their representatives will be an irreplaceable condition of effective educational policy and program development during the 1970's. Dialogue on the part of school superintendents and their assistants with personnel within school systems will also be another requisite of change processes.

Acquiring Resources Needed to Implement Policies and Programs

As education moves in the direction of Commissioner Allen's projected $100 billion annual investment by 1980, and as educational institutions become the nation's "Number One" recipient of funds, school operations will come under ever-increasing scrutiny. Searching questions will certainly be raised about performance in relationship to investment. School leaders may well undergo some of the experiences that military leaders are now undergoing. However, since the educational debate will likely take place at all levels of government, it will likely be more far-reaching and extended than the current debate over military expenditures.

In order to command needed resources and to express leadership within the larger political arena, it will be necessary for school systems and their leaders to project and communicate a longer-range perspective on education than has been the case in the past. Plans which go beyond the current budget and the next bond election will increasingly be formulated by outstanding school superintendents and school systems in the 1970's. Such plans will be a necessary instrument of leadership, a source for informing the political process, and a means for competing for needed financial resources.

A special challenge will be presented educational leaders in achieving plans that have the backing of major community groups and at the same time that speak clearly to the larger public interest in education. Effective planning, in other words, will consist of more than central office use of highly rational methods such as are represented in PPBS and other management technologies described in Chapter Five. "Politicized planning," which takes advantage of new methods but at the same time demonstrates sensitivity to the needs and aspirations of power blocks and community interest groups, will be necessary. Since politics is inevitably concerned with the "art of the possible," school superintendents will have to live continually with the tension arising between concepts of desirable amounts of funds and amounts which are politically feasible.

Another major challenge to school superintendents in acquiring needed resources will be presented in achieving effective coalitions. How can various groups and agencies which have diverse political and educational views, be encouraged to speak in a unified voice when financial resources for specific purposes are needed? Such coalitions will be essential in major efforts to compete effectively for financial resources. Not only will they be important at the local level, but increasingly they will be functioning, particularly insofar as large city school districts are concerned, at the state and federal levels of government. Unusual political skill will be needed to bring together and unite pluralistic and fragmented community groups in the support of important educational and financial needs. The challenge will be further enhanced because conflict, as already noted, will be the constant companion of the school superintendent.

Immense courage and confidence will be required on the part of school superintendents to face continually the societal inertia which still abounds, in spite of aroused public interest in education, and to combat the many tactics used by institutions to preserve themselves as they are and to ward off efforts at attaining new policies and programs. Even though our society has traditionally been noted for its high expectations for "instant theories" and "instant solutions" and for its belief that man can accomplish whatever he wills to do, the last decade has made the nation more aware of its limitations and of the difficulties involved in achieving solutions to immense residual societal problems, including those associated with education within an immediate time context. Planners now talk more in terms of decades for achieving significant social change. Both greater humility and greater realism are likely to be the order of the day during the 1970's, at least among many community leaders committed to the achievement of change. Thus, while school superintendents will face many groups impatient for change, others may display greater tolearance toward these leaders in their efforts to achieve change.

From what has been said, it should be clear that outstanding school superintendents during the seventies will be functioning largely within a political arena. "Instructional leadership" on their part will consist in helping chart and describe directions, in helping attain more promising programs and policies for education, and in competing for resources to implement needed programs and policies. School superintendents will likely not be able to count on the consistent and undivided loyalty of any group within the schools or within the larger community. Therefore, they will be largely dependent upon their capacity for moral and educational leadership within a setting of social and political conflict.

School superintendents who provide outstanding leadership during the seventies will not always remain neutral in the face of conflict when established directions, defined programs, or needed resources are at stake; rather they will confront forces that threaten the attainment of significant educational goals. They will be willing to "do battle" in the public councils and behind closed doors in the interests of important educational and leadership objectives. They will confront opposing factions not with distaste but with élan. They will themselves generate and add to conflict, if this is necessary to advance education.

Not all conflict situations will require school superintendents to confront opposing interests. In some circumstances they may well decide that the most constructive role will be that of resolving conflict. There will be times, in other words, when educational progress will not be possible without conciliation between or among contending groups. To help achieve constructive consensus superintendents will at times need to relate effectively to groups who are in conflict with one another in order to help forge agreements which are in the interest of education.

It has been observed that politics is a jungle of warring interests, the cruelest of all sports, and that it can take social status, economic reward, family satisfactions, and even professional positions from those who would be political "entrepreneurs." Since there is an element of truth in all these observations, school superintendents in the future who enter actively into an expanded political arena will find both risks and rewards greater than in calmer times when education was a more isolated function and citizens were less demanding. The strongest moral and political leaders in education in the 1970's, by fervently committing themselves to ideals beyond power and survival, will face substantial risk and uncertainty. For this reason, courage will be one of the most distinctive leadership expressions on the part of outstanding school superintendents. Courageous acts will likely lead to temporary or even permanent losses for a relatively larger number of superintendents than in the past; however, in the process they will bestow dignity upon the position of the school superintendency and will provide heroic models for those interested in the long-range advancement of education.

Changing the Organization of School Districts

Leading school superintendents will need to effect major changes in central office organization and school level leadership in the 1970's. From what has already been said, it should be clear that the demands on those who would exercise effective leadership as school superintendents during the 1970's will be exceedingly great. If they are to be able to concentrate on matters of highest priority -- that is, on communicating a moral vision larger than any one force or pressure group and on helping chart educational directions in an ambiguous society -- school organization and staffing patterns will need to be changed. Changes should enable the school superintendent to delegate many administrative functions. They should also support effectively the priority functions to be performed by school superintendents.

It is evident that forces such as those dealt with in previous chapters have introduced, during the last decade, organizational "strain" in public school districts; have shown inadequacies in their capacities to adapt to change and challenge; and have highlighted the need for improving central office organization and school level leadership. These conditions highlight further the need for organizational change and new staffing patterns. Thus, an important imperative for school superintendents and members of their administrative teams during the 1970's is the design of new organizational environments. Unless organizational changes are achieved, school superintendents will be severely handicapped in displaying the kinds of moral and political leadership needed by society.

⑨

In Chapter Three the thesis was advanced that there will be increasing interaction between public and private sector leaders during the next decade as the latter become more involved in seeking solutions to public problems and the former adopt and use privately developed techniques within the public arena. The argument has also been made elsewhere that the resulting interactions will produce considerable conflict because of the differing values inherent in the public and private sectors; further, that out of the conflicting traditions of the two sectors will evolve new modes of management and leadership.[9] The conflict and evolving synthesis for school superintendents will take place within the context of the business-education interface. The most outstanding superintendents will seek a synthesis which involves the public sector's most exemplary moral and political leadership and, at the same time, effectively adapts and uses advanced private sector management concepts and techniques to meet school districts' needs. Concepts and techniques are needed, in other words, which will not only lead to more effective school management but, more important, which will support and facilitate the larger moral, political, and educative roles to be performed by school superintendents. Some specific examples will illustrate how private sector practices can be used to buttress public sector performance within the educational arena.

Private sector organizations have achieved a much more significant planning capability than have public sector organizations, including educational institutions. Leading school superintendents in the future will need to change current school district planning capacities through organizational innovation. School district planning capacities, for example, might well be enhanced through the creation of special divisions of educational planning and the recruitment of staff who would devote full time to planning processes. Through such changes better planning information could be developed which, in turn, would enable school superintendents and their assistants to be more effective in school-community communication; in legitimating educational policies and programs that offer considered promise for the future; and in acquiring resources to implement policies and programs.

Industrial leaders have developed very precise methods of private, if not public accountability, in large part because profit is easy to measure. It now seems clear that school systems, even though they have quite different purposes than private-sector organizations, are going to have to meet more effectively the growing demands for public accountability. This means that school districts will have to obtain more exact information on the performance of school systems in relation to objectives; identify discrepancies between objectives and accomplishments; and provide a range of information on public school system objectives and performance. Such information will be extremely important in promoting informed dialogue between interested citizens and school personnel and in identifying problem areas where new educational policies and programs are needed.

The private sector has achieved much more advanced and functional information systems than have school districts. More functional information systems will have to be achieved in educational institutions during the 1970's. Such systems will not only be necessary for meeting the needs of public information and accountability but also to facilitate and make decentralization effective both at the attendance unit level and at the district level of large cities. Thus, attendance units serving widely differing student and parent populations and central office units meeting more encompassing school system planning responsibilities will both require easy access to up-to-date information. Leading school superintendents, then, will need to create new organizational arrangements for gathering, storing, and disseminating information to meet planning and public accountability needs. They will also seek to increase the amount of local funds invested in research and development during the 1970's. Such investments should enhance school districts' capabilities for generating and analyzing data about their own operations and for using such data for development and planning purposes.

The private sector has developed advanced approaches to the continuing education of leadership personnel. In an era of change, the continuing education of leadership personnel in school systems cannot be neglected. Therefore, another arena for educational leadership is the establishment, under local auspices, of effective continuing education arrangements for central office and attendance unit personnel. In the 1970's more and more school superintendents will establish or expand divisions of continuing education which will have major responsibilities for designing and offering continuing education programs for educational personnel. These programs will become important strategies for bringing about improvement in teaching, learning, and leadership in school systems. For this reason, many programs will be designed to further the attainment of specific educational objectives which are assigned high priority in school systems. Increasing federal funds provided by the Education Professions Development Act will help support such efforts; however, leading school districts will be investing more and more local and state funds in such endeavors.

In addition to achieving more effective continuing education arrangements for existing personnel, leading school superintendents will be creating new staff positions and recruiting personnel who can enhance the capacity of school districts to respond effectively to leadership challenges. Some of these personnel, as has been suggested in Chapter Eight, will be para-professionals who will assist superintendents with school-community problems and relations. Others will be more specialized staff to carry out emergent new functions in educational administration such as those described in this chapter.

Outstanding school superintendents and their staffs will discover fruitful ways of involving resourceful personnel and organizations external to school systems in educational policy making and in cooperative activities. It can be predicted, for example, that new cooperative arrangements between the education industries and school districts will emerge during the 1970's along the lines described in Chapter Three. As greater exchange of personnel and communication between these two arenas evolve, school superintendents will learn more about industrial approaches to management and industrial managers will come to appreciate more fully public sector problems associated with education and the challenges facing school superintendents.

The Style and Quality of Educational Leadership in the 1970's

Numerous studies have shown that the style and quality of leadership are related to the conditions and situational needs served by leaders. What will be the leadership qualities and style likely to be found in the most influential school superintendents during the 1970's? The thesis is offered here that the relative number of school superintendents exhibiting qualities of charismatic leadership will increase during the 1970's.[10] The relevance of such charismatic qualities as vision, courage, and confidence to the environment and leadership needs of the 1970's has already been highlighted. Some additional observations should lend further support to the thesis.

Salient Qualities of Charismatic Leadership

Charismatic leadership emerges in periods of societal stress. Many citizens in troubled times aspire for strong leadership to deal with uncomfortable, ambiguous, or threatening conditions before them and their institutions. Charismatic leaders, at least for brief periods, convey hope and reassurance in the face of such conditions. Current and projected societal states which are typified by ambiguity and by pressing, unmet societal needs should encourage the emergence of charismatic leadership.

Charismatic leadership is oriented toward reform and innovation, another requirement of the times. It addresses itself to basic problems and offers strategies for overcoming, eradicating, or resolving these problems. Charismatic leadership may be principally visionary in the sense that it describes future states which offer more promise than the *status quo*. By offering a special vision it creates new social obligations. Charismatic leadership may also express itself through highly skilled activism. In this case leaders display a high degree of "tactical imagination," and show an unusual capacity for achieving practical results. Great skill in resource acquisition and in the deployment of resources through organization are often dramatically demonstrated by charismatic activists.

Charismatic leaders possess a clear sense of mission and a strong commitment to the advancement of a *cause*. Having great confidence in their aims, they can communicate effectively such emotions as anger or "righteous indignation." They usually command great loyalty among their followers who typically, undoubtedly in exaggerated ways, attribute exceptional qualities to them. "Immense persuasive abilities," "indomitable courage," "phenomenal memories," "unending energy," and "prophetic foresight" are typical of the qualities attributed to charismatic leaders by followers. While charismatic leadership tends to produce great loyalty, it also typically produces sharp opposition from those who do not accept its aims, strategies, or tactics.

Most observers would agree thatcharismatic leaders in educational institutions in recent decades have been more limited in number than in earlier periods. Today, for example, few educational leaders would qualify as having a clearly articulated sense of educational mission or a depth of commitment to reform that would enable them to express publicly "righteous indignation" concerning the quality of teaching and learning in schools. Perhaps even a smaller number of school superintendents are demonstrating "prophetic" leadership.[11]

Emergence of Charismatic Leadership

One can question whether or not there can be relatively larger numbers of charismatic leaders in the schools during the 1970's. Some might even question whether charismatic leadership can, even if it emerges, obtain appointments and express itself in bureaucratized school systems. Nevertheless, the belief is offered here that the conditions encouraging the emergence of charismatic leadership in school systems are already present; further, that relatively more of this type of leadership will appear and express itself during the 1970's than was evident in the fifties and sixties. This belief is buttressed by the analysis of societal forces in earlier chapters and the observations in this chapter concerning the pervasiveness of societal ferment, ambiguity, and stress. Such conditions should develop greater openness in school organizations and create greater readiness for more examples of charismatic leadership. In addition, there are signs that such leadership is already beginning to display itself in certain sectors of society.

Perhaps the clearest societal expression of charismatic leadership during the last decade is found in the Negro protest movement. It is clear, for example, that many of the leaders in this movement have clearly shown a deep sense of mission, commitment to reform, inspiration to followers, personal courage and sacrifice, and clear strategies for achieving defined purposes. There has been demonstrated in the movement both prophetic and activist leadership. In the person of the late Martin Luther King were found both types of leadership -- a rare phenomenon. Such models have encouraged younger persons in various walks of life and among both black and white to display leadership to improve education and other social functions.

In Chapter Six the observation was made that the number of blacks entering administrative positions in the schools is increasing. It seems safe to say that during the 1970's the relative numbers of persons assuming leadership positions in school systems from Negro, Puerto Rican, and Mexican-American populations will continue to increase. Because of the deep concern both about quality and equality of educational opportunity felt by many of these persons, it can be hypothesized that they will tend to display qualities of charismatic leadership and, further, that as the public school systems become more open and as progress is made in meeting educational inequalities these persons will be able to respond effectively to more general leadership challenges in education. By using concepts developed by Erik Erickson, one can speculate that minority group superintendents may be able to help solve for all what they could not solve for themselves alone.[12] In the process such leaders, if they are highly effective, will help heal some of the current divisions in society. More important, if the United States is to become a model nation insofar as race relations are concerned by the end of the century, as some optimists predict it will, then effective leadership by minority group leaders in a variety of institutions, including the schools, will be essential. Effective leadership by even a limited number of minority group members should, in turn, provide models for additional personnel capable of entering similar positions.

Another important source of charismatic leadership now emerging in society is found within certain segments of the large and growing student populations in higher education institutions throughout the country. Clearly, many college students are already revealing qualities of charisma and deep commitment to achieving better solutions to the problems of modern man. As Archibald McLeash in a discussion of college leaders has noted, they have deep feelings and beliefs, qualities which are essential to charismatic leaders: "Belief, passionate belief, had come alive for the first time in the century . . . ."[13]

It is a significant fact that one matter about which student leaders in the college population feel deeply is the inadequate learning opportunities provided by educational institutions. However, the more perceptive among these students are not looking at this problem within a narrow context. Their distress causes them to see the issue of educational "relevance" as being as broad and as deep as the current condition of man.[14]

> The 'relevance' the students speak of it not relevance to the Huntley-Brinkley Report. It is relevance to their own lives, to the living of their lives, to themselves as men and women living. And their resentment, their very real resentment and distress, rises not only from the tragedies and mischances of the last ten years but from a human situation, a total human situation involving human life as human life, which has been three generations in the making, and which this new generation now revolts against -- rejects.

It is also significant, as documented in Chapter Three, that gifted leaders in the current college generation are more and more interested in public sector and less and less challenged by private sector problems. Also noteworthy is the fact that informed observers have characterized the current students in higher education as "better educated, by any standard, than their predecessors, serious in their search for the competence which will enable them to find vocation in a complex world."[15]

Thus, it seems reasonable to believe that in the late 1970's and in the 1980's some of the student leaders now in institutions of higher education will find themselves in posts of the school superintendency. There is evidence to suggest that these persons will possess a perspective that will encompass not only the "how" but also the "what" and the "why" in education and leadership; further, that they will bring to education the fervor and sense of mission that is associated with charismatic leadership.

If the above observations about charismatic leadership prove to be correct, special challenges will be posed to those concerned with effective leadership development. History demonstrates, for example, that there are some risks in having charismatic leadership. It can be directed toward ends that are inimical to society and educational institutions. Obviously, this is not the type of leadership projected for the seventies. As already noted, effective leaders will need to display moral vision and commitment to concepts of the "good" community which transcend any given force or private interest.

It should also be emphasized that the thesis offered here is that there will likely be a relative increase in the number of charismatic educational leaders during the 1970's because of emergent social and educational conditions. The relative increase clearly does not exclude other leadership styles on the part of school superintendents. While some school superintendents may not be able to develop the inspiration achieved by charismatic leaders, they will be able in other ways to display effective moral and educational leadership. The greater rationality likely to evolve in school districts through enhanced research and development, more thorough educational assessment, and improved continuing education for professional personnel, for example, may produce leaders who rely strongly on the thoughtful presentation of evidence in contrast to presentation of more eloquent statements by charismatic leaders. Whatever the leadership style expressed, it would seem extremely important for superintendents to be supported by administrative team members who are competent in management and in the implementation of policy.

Summary

In this chapter ideal educational leadership for the 1970's has been discussed from the perspective of the school superintendency. The relationship between ideal leadership and such environmental factors as the widespread sense of social and educational crisis in education, the changing politics of education, and the waves of conflict that flow incessantly both within and without school systems has been treated. Salient moral and political behaviors to be expressed by superintendents who would represent forceful influences during the 1970's have been delineated. The thesis was advanced and developed that a relatively larger number of school superintendents in the 1970's than in the 1960's will display charismatic leadership qualities and styles. Significant qualities of charismatic leadership were described and trends pointing to the likely emergence of a relatively greater number of these leaders in school superintendencies were noted. The over-all analysis clearly suggests that those who would meet the challenges of the school superintendency during the 1970's will be representative of the finest leadership talent available in society.

Notes

[1] For a recent study of leadership by scholars with different backgrounds see Daedalus "Philosophers and Kings: Studies in Leadership" Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Summer, 1968, Vol. 97, No. 3.

[2] For a report on the perceptions of a number of outgoing mayors see New York Times "Mayor Cavanaugh Says He Won't Run for Re-election in Detroit," Wednesday, June 25, 1969, p. 28.

[3] Peter Schrag, "Gloom at the Top," Saturday Review, August 17, 1969, p. 55 ff.

[4] The National Observer "The Common Quality is a Sense of Social Adventurousness." Monday, April 28, 1969, p. 20.

[5] Peter Schrag, Ibid.

[6] Andrew Halpin, "A Foggy View from Olympus," Journal of Educational Administration Vol. 7, No. 1 (May, 1969), pp. 8-9.

[7] Thomas F. Green, "Schools and Communities: A Look Forward" Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 39, No. 2, Spring, 1969, p. 224.

[8] Mary Alice White, "Memo to a Future Superintendent," Phi Delta Kappan, June, 1969, pp. 595-6.

[9] See Jack Culbertson, "The Business-Education Interface: A Common Challenge to General and Special Education Administrators" in Charles Meisgeier (Ed.) Common and Specialized Learnings for Special Education Administrators. Austin, Texas: Department of Educational Administration, University of Texas, 1969.

[10] Robert Tucker has provided insights into "charismatic leadership" which have influenced the discussion immediately following. Tucker has extended and modified the concepts of charismatic leadership set forth originally by Max Weber. See Robert C. Tucker, "The Theory of Charismatic Leadership" Daedalus, Journal of American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Summer, 1968, pp. 731-750.

[11] It should be made clear, of course, that generalizations about the current scarcity of charismatic leadership in education, would also apply to other institutions. See, for example, "Whatever Happened to Charisma?" Time, October 17, 1969, pp. 40-41.

[12] See Dankwort A. Rustow, "Introduction to the Issue 'Philosophers and Kings':Studies in Leadership" Daedalus, op. cit., p. 688.

[13] Archibald McLeash, "The Revolt of the Diminished Man" Saturday Review, June 7, 1969, p. 18.

[14] Ibid., p. 18.

[15] Donald Smith, "Inquiry and Dissent" in Administrative Leadership. Department of Educational Administration, College of Education, University of Minnesota. Vol. IV, No. 2, February, 1968, pp. 26-7.

SECTION IV

PERCEIVED TRENDS AND NEEDS IN PREPARATORY PROGRAMS

Section IV

PERCEIVED TRENDS AND NEEDS IN PREPARATORY PROGRAMS

> Before administrators can be effective, they must have adequate preparation for their positions. Administration today, as numerous studies show, involves the application of knowledge and the employment of skills. But both the knowledge base and the technology change, and administrators can readily become obsolescent. A key to the retardation of obsolescence is the degree to which preparatory programs forecast and project developments within both the field and society and become oriented both to the present and future rather than remain static and traditional in their approach. Few institutions today are engaged in forecasting the future needs of the field and adjusting their programs accordingly.[1]

In an attempt to facilitate efforts to overcome the problem identified in the above quotation, the study reported here was directed toward the development of generalizations basic to the re-structuring of doctoral-level preparation programs for public school superintendents. One important source of data for such an endeavor resides in the understandings, opinions, and perceptions of those who have been personally involved in the study and practice of educational administration and in the preparation of school superintendents. A significant portion of this research was devoted to the collection and analysis of such data. It is the purpose of Section IV to report the results of this phase of the total investigation.

In seeking to determine the views of those who might be classified as "occupational experts" on the preparation of superintendents -- scholars, practitioners, professors, and recently graduated students of educational administration -- two methodological approaches were employed. The first consisted of a rather thorough review of the recent literature onleadership development in education -- books and articles specifically concerned with various characteristics of and reactions to preparation of school administrators. The second approach involved a questionnaire survey of the trends and needs in preparatory programs as perceived by those in a sample of university departments of educational administration and by a sample of superintendents who recently received their doctorates from these institutions. Both methodologies were designed to yield answers to three main questions:

(1) What appear to be the major tendencies (directions of change)

in the professional preparation of superintendents?

(2) What appear to be the major strengths and weaknesses in current preparatory programs for superintendents?

(3) What appear to be the major changes which will be required in these programs if they are to adequately prepare persons for the superintendency during the next five-to-ten years?

Clearly, these questions are not designed to generate accurate descriptions of what today's programs are or predictions of what tomorrow's programs will or should be. They are, however, intended to produce information on perceived trends and needs in the preparation of superintendents.

To facilitate the interpretation of data collected through the two investigative approaches followed, an analytical framework was developed which conceptualized the preparation program as being composed of ten inter-related components, defined at a general level as follows:

(1) Program Content -- the knowledge to which the pre-service program exposes prospective superintendents

(2) Program Structure -- the organization (e.g., core, sequence, duration) of the various elements (mandatory and optional) which comprise the pre-service program

(3) Recruitment and Selection -- the identification of potential candidates for the pre-service program and the bases (including previous education and experience requirements) on which actual enrollees are chosen from this pool

(4) Instructional Approaches -- the methods (e.g., seminars, laboratories) and materials (e.g., case studies, simulations) through which content is presented in the pre-service program

(5) Field-Related Experiences -- the kinds of contacts, if any, which enrollees in the pre-service program are required or encouraged to have with administrative practice "on the firing line" (e.g., internships, participation in surveys)

(6) Student Research -- the nature of problems selected for dissertation study, the investigative approaches employed (e.g., empirical, experimental, statistical, historical, biographical, philosophical), and the integration (if any) with other research projects

(7) Requirements for Graduation -- the aspects of the pre-service program which are requisite to completion of the doctorate (e.g., residence period, foreign language, minimum semester hours, research or development projects, field-related experiences, required courses)

(8) Program Evaluation and Development -- the means (i.e., techniques, frequency) by which attempts are made to determine the success of the pre-service program in preparing "good" superintendents and to revise the program on the basis of such assessments

(9) Departmental Functions and Staffing -- the various specialities (in terms of competencies possessed and tasks performed) represented by the professors in the department of educational administration who participate in the pre-service preparation of superintendents

(10) In-Service Programs -- the nature (i.e., content, methods, duration, participants, frequency) of continuing education experiences offered by the university for practicing superintendents

The above ten-component framework represents the primary organizational motif employed in presenting the findings of this portion of the study throughout the three chapters comprising the present section of this report. In Chapter Ten the recent relevant literature is reviewed; in Chapter Eleven the results of the questionnaire survey are discussed; and in Chapter Twelve some observations and implications deriving from these two sets of data are suggested.

Reference

[1] Keith Goldhammer et. al., Issues and Problems in Contemporary Educational Administration (Eugene: Center for the Advanced Study of Educational Administration, University of Oregon, 1967), p. 156.

Chapter Ten

Review of the Recent Literature

Much has been written which relates, either directly or indirectly, to leadership development in education. In order to render the task of reviewing this literature manageable within the constraints of the present study, four restrictions were imposed. First, the literature reviewed was limited largely to published books and journals. The only exceptions to this restriction consisted of a few papers prepared in connection with certain activities of the University Council for Educational Administration, and some fugitive materials provided by seven universities in response to a request which was sent to all UCEA member institutions for reports on evaluations of their preparatory programs that had been conducted within the past five years. Secondly, the literature reviewed was limited to those works which explicitly treat administrative preparation in education as their primary topic. This restriction eliminated writing in which concern with preparation is reflected only implicitly and textbooks in which preparation represents a purpose rather than a topic. Third, the literature reviewed was limited, where the restriction was applicable, to writings on the pre-service and in-service education of public school superintendents in the United States, at the doctoral or post-doctoral level. Thus, works pertaining specifically to the preparation of researchers or professors of educational administration, to the preparation of administrators of nonpublic schools or schools in other countries, to the preparation of persons for public school administrative roles in the U.S. other than the superintendency or to the preparation of superintendents at the Master's or sixth-year level were eliminated from consideration. Finally, the literature reviewed was limited chiefly to material written within the five-year period leading up to and including the time of the study's initiation--that is, work produced between 1963 and 1968--with a very few "landmark" exceptions. This restriction was applied because the research project was concerned with recent and current, rather than with historical, trends and needs in administrative preparation.

Within these four constraints, the present chapter presents a review of the literature organized according to the ten program components defined previously. The objective here is to report, rather than to evaluate or analyze, what has been written. The latter task is the province of Chapter Twelve.

Program Content

Of the ten components of preparation under consideration, program content is the most frequently discussed in the literature. Numerous individuals[1] and organizations[2] have sought to identify the chief substantive elements of "comprehensive," "basic," or "essential" preparation for the superintendency and, of course, every university which purports to train school superintendents has had to resolve this issue to its own satisfaction. Yet, as Gregg has noted, "there is no general agreement among institutions on a specific set of courses which should comprise a particular type of program."[3] Nevertheless, it is possible to generalize about the status quo and about the apparent trends and needs in content for superintendent preparation as reflected in the literature. In the former regard, for example, Griffiths observed in 1966 that "the typical program consists of course work in the organization and administration of education, the curriculum, supervision, finance, history and philosophy of education, school law, research, educational psychology, human growth and development, the school plant, and personnel."[4] But it is with the trends and needs, rather than the status quo, in program content that this chapter is concerned. In this light, the literature on content may be divided into two main parts: that which involves the skills required and the problems faced by the superintendent within the context of practice, and that which relates to the disciplinary bases of the curriculum for the prospective superintendent. Each of these topical areas is considered in this section, which concludes with a brief review of the literature pertaining to the evaluation of current program content.

Practice-Based Content

A limited amount of recently published literature on trends and needs in program content for superintendent preparation has been devoted to the topic of skills needed by the chief school officer in dealing with problems he must face in practice. The New York State Regents Advisory Committee on Educational Leadership, for example, reports on the basis of its 1966 questionnaire survey of 565 superintendents in the state that "evaluations of specific courses consistently revealed a high value on human relations courses. Technical skills such as school finance and law were rated second highest in importance. Conceptual skills reflected in courses dealing with curriculum theory and philosophy of education followed in third place."[5] Goldhammer and his colleagues, in interviewing 47 superintendents representing 22 states, found that "about half of those criticizing shortages in their preparation wanted more emphasis on conceptualization," while "another group felt shortchanged in some of the technical skills," calling particularly for "more emphasis on personnel and organizational management skills."[6]

More specifically, one kind of skill needed by superintendents which has received explicit attention in the literature concerns conflict management. Thus, Corwin has noted that "if conflict is a routine and normal occurrence within the administrative process, then administrative training programs should address themselves systematically to the proper role of conflict--its positive as well as its negative functions."[7] Related to this is the need for the superintendent to possess political skills, as noted by Hunt.[8] And Cunningham and Nystrand have referred to the need to develop skills, especially on the part of prospective urban school administrators, which will enable them not simply to adapt to the inner-city educational milieu but rather to "beat the system" and to change it.[9] Another kind of skill for which preparation has received particular attention in recent publications involves the utilization of modern technology in decision making. Ramseyer advised in 1966 that:

> The training and preparation of school administrators should make the student knowledgeable about the availability of new tools and techniques to assist him in coping with the complex problems of tomorrow's schools. This should include not only a general understanding of the electronic instruments but also of systems approaches to problem solving and task accomplishment.[10]

Three years later, however, Gregg observed that, despite the availability to education of sophisticated data-processing mechanisms, "only a minority of school administrators understand their nature and capabilities and a still smaller proportion know how to make use of them.[11]

Little more attention has been paid in the recent literature to problems than to skills by those writers concerned explicitly with content to meet practice-based preparatory needs for public school superintendents. Goldhammer found that the main problems identified by superintendents could be grouped into six main categories according to the ways in which his interviewees seemed to perceive the interrelationships among the problems.[12] One such category is "Educational Change," which includes problems related to the pressure for educational innovation resulting from shifting expectations for the schools within the community, interventions by agencies external to the school system, and pressures from within the organization itself. A second category is "Teacher Militancy," which involves the problems posed for the superintendent by the demands of teacher groups for a role in the educational decision-making process. Scott has dealt at some length with the training needs posed by this problem area.[13] A third category identified by Goldhammer is "Instruction," which relates to issues of curriculum, instructional services, evaluation, adaptation, and learning outcomes. The problems of new demands placed upon the superintendent's competency by changes in the nature of his leadership functions resulting from new roles which are emerging for him both within the school organization and in relation to the broader community comprise another category of concerns, referred to by Goldhammer as "Administrative Leadership." A fifth problem area, "Finance," involves the traditional problems faced by the superintendent as the procurer of resources for the school organization.

A final category of problems with which the superintendent must be prepared to cope is identified by Goldhammer as "Critical Social Issues." Here the concern is largely with problems related to the administration of schools in urban settings, an area which, according to Gregg, has not been given sufficient attention in preparation programs.[14] Predominant among these issues are those "of church and state, of desegregation, of the more equitable distribution of economic resources, (and) of the reduction of social distance among cultural and racial groups."[15] While the literature contains evidence of no generally accepted body of content for preparing superintendents to deal with these problems, and while most indications are that present training programs in fact are inadequate in this regard,[16] one argument which has been advanced by several writers deserves to be noted. This is in reference to the view that, in order to better understand the social issues and cultural problems of America, prospective educational administrators should be exposed to content on conditions in other countries. This rationale has been applied to leadership development generally by Lecht[17] and to the preparation of educational administrators in particular by Engleman.[18] In a similar vein, one of the five main elements in Reller's proposed program for administrative preparation is "area study," in which "provision would be made for each student to develop knowledge and understanding of an 'area.' An 'area' would generally be regarded as one (or more) of the newly developing countries."[19]

The foregoing notwithstanding, there is no plethora of recent literature relating specifically to trends and needs in superintendent preparation insofar as program content derived from practice-oriented skills and problems is concerned. One reason for this is the apparent tendency for such "reality-oriented" matters to be subsumed within other components of the total preparatory process than program content--particularly instructional approaches and field-related experiences (and, to a lesser extent, in-service programs). A related reason is that, within the last decade, a tendency for practice-based content to be replaced by discipline-based content has emerged in administrative preparation programs.

Discipline-Based Content

In 1966, a doctoral candidate at a UCEA member university completed a dissertation in which he sought to assess the effectiveness of university programs for preparing superintendents in a particular region of the country by relating them to criteria identified by a jury of nationally recognized leaders in administrative preparation. In establishing these criteria, he found that:

> The jury members considered study outside the field of education essential to a superintendent preparation program. From fifteen to twenty-five semester hours of study in cognate, inter-disciplinary study was recommended, depending on the individual situation. The cognate fields of study considered most appropriate to a superintendent preparation program were the social sciences, humanities and behavioral sciences.[20]

There can be little question that this criterion reflects the dominant trend which has emerged in program content within the last decade. On the following several pages, the literature pertaining to the incorporation into preparatory programs of discipline-based content is reviewed with reference, first, to the social and behavioral sciences and, secondly, to the humanities.

From the Social and Behavioral Sciences. Four years ago, Tope observed "a growing interest in the contributions of the social sciences to educational administration," and noted an "intriguing analogy" between these contributions and those of the biological sciences to medicine.[21] While the analogy may have some weaknesses, the trend appears to be a strong one. In its study of superintendent preparation in 1962-63, the AASA found that "the disciplines of sociology, economics, political science, anthropology, business or public administration, and psychology have been mentioned with considerable frequency as making definite contributions to the preparation of school administrators."[22] The utilization of this content, particularly in courses on administrative theory and research methodology, was identified by the investigators as a "quite obvious" shift in program content since 1958-59.[23] More recently, Goldhammer found that, of the preparatory programs his team surveyed, approximately two-thirds required cognate work in the behavioral sciences, with the number of term hours necessary varying from three to thirty, but with a mode of twelve to fifteen.[24] Several others have noted this development as well.[25]

The trend, however, is by no means a consistent or problem-free one. Miklos has recently observed that:

> On the basis of superficial evidence one could conclude that there are considerable variations in the extent to which behavioral science content is found to be part of the study of educational administration in various centers. It might also be observed that there is further variation in the means by which social scientific content is injected or incorporated into the programs.[26]

One plausible explanation for this variability is Goldhammer's finding of "a scarcity of consistent programs with well-developed rationales for the use of the behavioral sciences in preparing administrators for the achievement of specified goals."[27] A related reason is that three questions, identified several years ago as having to be faced by those who would incorporate social science content into administrative preparation programs, have apparently not yet been satisfactorily answered:

> Why incorporate the social sciences into preparation programs for school administrators? What social science content is relevant to educational administration? And how can universities organize and draw upon their resources in such a way as to realize maximum effectiveness in the so-called inter-disciplinary approach to the preparation of school administrators?[28]

Each of these questions has received some consideration in the literature of the past five years.

With regard to rationales supporting the utilization of content from the social and behavioral sciences, Miklos suggests that, in relation to the field of educational administration, such content "may be seen (1) as liberalizing, (2) as supplementary, or (3) as basic."[29] More specifically, Goldhammer has identified five values of the social sciences for the school administrator:

> (1) The social sciences help the educational administrator achieve both a method for the collection of data and a systematic way of looking at things.
>
> (2) The social sciences can help the educational administrator acquire broad knowledge of the setting in which education and the functions of administration take place.
>
> (3) Through the social sciences the educational administrator can gain added understanding of the significance of the phenomena with which he deals.

> (4) The social sciences can help improve the basis which the educational administrator has for predicting the consequences of his actions and decisions.
>
> (5) The social sciences can help the administrator select relevant data pertaining to the concrete situations with which he must deal and also provide him with research tools which will enable him to analyze and interpret these data or to draw adequate and accurate inferences from them.[30]

A related argument, which has received some support in the literature,[31] is that school administration is closely linked to public administration and, hence, that preparation for the former should draw heavily upon the same disciplinary content that infuses preparation for the latter--particularly content from economics, political science, and sociology that will illuminate the major contemporary issues confronting public policy makers.

In the AASA study of preparatory programs in 1962-63, four main ways by which prospective superintendents are exposed to content in the social and behavioral sciences were identified:

> (a) courses in the disciplines are required; (b) professors of these disciplines teach certain courses designed especially for school administrators, often in the college of education; (c) professors of educational administration learn from their colleagues in these disciplines that content and those concepts that apply to school administration, and introduce them in their own courses; (d) professors of educational administration and professors of other disciplines teach courses jointly.[32]

While there appears to be no agreement yet on which of these approaches are more or less effective, it has been observed by Anderson and Lonsdale that "it seems better to have the experts from other fields apply their background to the problems of educational administration than to have students in educational administration attempt to gain from systematic material oriented to other fields those facts and insights which have special applicability to administrative problems in education."[33]

This raises the hoary question of relevance, which constitutes one of several problems faced by those seeking to utilize social and behavioral sciences content in preparing superintendents. Tope suggests that the two main such problems are selecting the content to be included and involving the social scientist. The latter is introduced above and is discussed further in the next section of this chapter. With regard to the former, Tope concludes that "it will probably never be satisfactorily determined which material gleaned from social science study and research is more relevant to a field like school administration. A great deal will depend on particular social sciences and particular school administrators."[34] More than five years ago, a continuing dilemma confronting those struggling with the problem of relevance was identified as "whether to begin with the substances of the various social sciences and attempt to extract from these such materials as appear to be of most use to the administrator, or to begin with a specification of the substance of administration and attempt to identify the areas in which this overlaps with the substance of the various social sciences."[35] Several years later Goldhammer found, however, that professors of educational administration frequently avoid encountering this dilemma by leaving it to the students to draw the implications for practice from theory; "but superintendents reported that some of their problems arose from a poor conceptual base which they found difficult, it not impossible, to translate to their immediate problems."[36] Elsewhere, the same author offers the explanation that "we have been guilty of erroneously thinking that we could apply the social sciences globally to educational administration rather than to the components of tasks, problems, and processes which comprise the content of administrative actions and behaviors."[37] In a related vein, Cunningham and Nystrand criticize the adoption, by several universities in recent years, of " a cult of social science for its own sake."[38]

In 1963 Cunningham, Downey, and Goldhammer noted four other problems, or "dangers," which must be dealth with in drawing upon the social sciences for administrative preparation.[39] One is the problem of superficiality and narrowness:

> In our preparation programs are we advised to give each of the social sciences brief, cursory treatment, or are we better advised to enable our students to pursue one particular discipline, in depth?... The former inevitably invites superficiality; the latter, narrowness.

A second problem recognized by these authors is that of "trained incapacitation":

> There is some evidence to suggest that the administrator schooled solely in the social scientific approach to administration is in danger of becoming incapacitated. He may tend increasingly to satisfy himself merely with an understanding of situations. And he may become overly inclined to accept things as they are--when appropriate administrative

> action could or should make things otherwise.

A third problem is the practical one of economics:

> The experience of universities embarked upon the inter-disciplinary approach to the preparation of administrators is that the approach is very costly in terms of human resources. The typical inter-disciplinary seminar, research project, or conference course inevitably involves a large number of professors or other resource persons with comparatively few students.

One other problem identified by these authors relates to the danger of over-dependence on the social sciences:

> Through the social science disciplines, the administrator may learn to assess situations accurately and to predict what action may or may not "work" in dealing with the forces in various situations. But he still may not know what action he should take.

This last point introduces consideration of the role of content from the humanities in the preparation of superintendents of schools.

From the Humanities. Many of the problems which have been encountered in attempts to "borrow" content from the social and behavioral sciences apply as well to efforts to utilize humanistic material, although the latter have not achieved the level of acceptance and success that the former have enjoyed during the past decade. A major reason for this is that relevance to educational administration is even more difficult to establish for humanities content than it is for the social sciences.

Nevertheless, there are some indications in the recent literature that there is potential in the humanities for the improved preparation of educational administrators. Farquhar, for example, has identified three rather distinct rationales which support this view.[40] One such argument (the "general liberalization" approach) is based upon the belief that, in order to develop the special intellectual, personal, social, and ethical qualities essential to effective leadership, the prospective administrator must be exposed to the best classical and contemporary expressions of man's relationships to his fellow man and to the world of ideas, feelings, and matter around him. Such expressions, according to this argument, are typically found in the great works of literature, philosophy, and the arts. Support for this view has been offered by Goldhammer,[41] Walton,[42] and the New York State Regents Advisory Committee on Educational Leadership,[43] among others.

Typical of the vague level at which this rationale tends to be invoked is the following statement published by the American Association of School Administrators:

> The superintendent of schools who would become sensitive to the forces that hold society together or that threaten to rip it apart, who would have a sympathetic understanding of the uneasiness and anxieties that hang like shadows over people in times of stress and strain, who would get a feeling of the order and unity of the total culture--indeed of all mankind and the whole universe --can do no better than turn to literature, music, art, and philosophy.[44]

In fairness, it must be noted that some of the vagueness in this statement is dissipated by the fact that the authors go on to illustrate the application to administrator preparation of particular content from each of the disciplines named.

A second, more precise, rationale in support of utilizing humanities content is based upon the argument that, since purpose is one of the chief distinguishing features among organizations, since the determination and realization of organizational purpose requires skill on the administrator's part in making value judgments, and since this skill can be developed through exposure to content which depicts value conflicts and moral dilemmas, the prospective administrator should study the humanities in which such content abounds. Among the more forceful proponents of this view are Harlow[45] and Culbertson.[46] The latter has suggested, for example, that content from literary sources "should be used to assist potential administrators (a) to think clearly about persistent moral issues faced by those in organizations, (b) to analyze the contradictory forces that are generated by competing value systems, and (c) to assess possible consequences of being guided by one set of values as opposed to another." He goes on to provide specific examples of literary works which may be drawn upon for these purposes.[47]

A third rationale in support of utilizing humanistic content is based upon the argument that since creativity is essential to effective educational leadership, the prospective school administrator may benefit from exposure to content which is a "pure" expression of the creative process--content, particularly, in the arts. In this view the effective administrator is, at least in part, an artist in that he must fashion order and direction from among a myriad of intricately interrelated variables. Support for this rationale in the recent literature on administrator preparation is almost non-existent, although Ohm and Monahan have recognized its tenability,[48] and Cheal has applied some basic principles of creativity to the "art" of school administration.[49]

While it is known that a few professors across the country have independently experimented with the incorporation of humanities content in the preparation of school superintendents, there is no evidence in the literature either of how it has been done or of the results which have been achieved, and one suspects that Walker is correct in his observation that "much lipservice is paid to the desirability of including a humanities core in preparation programs but rarely does this consist of more than an odd course or two taken in lieu of some social science courses."[50]

Evaluation of Content

There is very little evidence in the recent literature of any evaluation concerning the effectiveness of various kinds of program content in preparing school superintendents. There are at least two possible reasons for this. One is that such evaluations have not been conducted, a possibility which is explored under "Program Evaluation and Development" later in this chapter. Another is that evaluations have been conducted but that their results have not been reported in the literature; should this be the case (and there is evidence that, at least in a few instances, it is), those conducting the evaluations may have neglected an important facet of their responsibility to the professional group (preparers of educational administrators) of which they are members.

Nevertheless, a few general assessments of program content have been recorded. With regard to practice-based content, the superintendents participating in Goldhammer's 1967 study felt that their preparatory programs "were far from adequate for preparing them to resolve the problems which daily confront them."[51] Some of them believed that the program content was obsolete,[52] which may be explained in part by the fact that "no university admitted to any systematic means of identifying problems and issues faced by superintendents."[53] The lack of relevance of preparation programs, particularly for urban school administrators, has also been noted by Cunningham and Nystrand.[54] Published assessments of discipline-based content are no more encouraging. As previously indicated, humanities content has not yet been incorporated into administrator preparation programs in sufficient amount to warrant its evaluation, and there is no convincing evidence that it ever will be. With reference to content from the social and behavioral sciences, Boyan offers this assessment:

> Certainly there is evidence of more use of behavioral and social science concepts and research findings in educational

> administration courses and workshops. However, there is preciously little evidence available about the impact on practice of the increased turn of educational administration to the social and behavioral sciences over the last 15 years.[55]

Gregg reports evidence that even the little progress made in this direction has been slow,[56] and Miklos concludes that "the interdisciplinary emphasis is more imagined than real."[57] The latter goes on to suggest that some possible reasons for this are that those preparing administrators may have (1) under-estimated the magnitude of the task, (2) under-estimated the complexity of the task, (3) over-emphasized the necessity of bringing prospective administrators into direct contact with social scientists, (4) under-emphasized the significance of the professor of educational administration, (5) failed to learn how to work with social scientists, (6) been too cautious in approaching the task, and (7) been far too unstructured in the development of programs.[58] The majority of these postulated reasons for inadequacies of content are the result of difficulties encountered in the structural component of preparatory programs, which is the subject of the next section of this chapter.

Program Structure

While program content for the preparation of superintendents has not received as much attention in the recent literature as it perhaps deserves, it appears almost over-stressed when one considers the niggardly treatment accorded the structural component of preparatory programs. What little writing there is on program structure is reviewed in this section within two categories--that which concerns the relationships and balance among various elements within the preparatory program, and that which involves the relationships between program elements falling under the aegis of the Department of Educational Administration and those external to it.

Internal Organization

Boyan has assessed the typical curricular structure of preparatory programs for educational administrators as follows: "Curriculum development in educational administration today looks very much like the conventional local school system approach. It is disparate, fragmented, uneven, scattered, and mainly non-cumulative."[59] While there are clearly exceptions to this generalization in individual universities, it represents a fair description of the incremental manner in which preparation programs have commonly been constructed, and it identifies the lack of a Gestalt conception of the total preparatory experience which characterizes many such programs.[60] There have been suggestions in the literature as to how this dysfunctional structural incrementalism may be overcome, but there is little evidence that these suggestions have been followed. Culbertson, for example, has written of the need for scientific and value content to complement each other in preparation,[61] and Harlow has proposed a "division of the graduate work of the prospective administrator into three components of approximately equal size:' (1) empirical social sciences, (2) humanities, and (3) technical management skills, culminating in the doctor's degree."[62] Goldhammer, in arguing for the preparation of the administrator as "the clinical student of organization or the clinical student of society," offers the following proposition in connection with program structure:

> The components of the needed administrative preparatory program today include: knowledge-building experiences, skill-building experiences, diagnostic experiences, experiences in the application of knowledge and data to concrete situations, experiences in the interpretation of knowledge and its "reduction" for the specific application to discrete problems and communities.
>
> . . . .
>
> I suggest that, in the future educational programs for administrators, less than a third of the time be spent in laboratory-type situations where students will have experiences which build refined skills in diagnosis, application, interpretation, and strategy development. The remaining time in the preparatory program probably should be spent in seminars, both formal and informal, in which the students and their guides have an opportunity to compare the results of their diagnosis and treatment of particular situtations and to evaluate their degree of success in achieving the goals which were established.[63]

Thus, there is concern and debate not only about the desirable balance among the various elements needed in administrator preparation, but also about what these elements should be.

Probably the chief continuing dilemma encountered in connection with the internal organization of preparatory programs is the flexibility-versus-rigidity issue. At one end of this continuum is the loosely-structured approach suggested by Conant:

> Who is wise enough to say what is a good program for the further education of a teacher who aspires to be a superintendent? If I were advising the teachers I know, I would recommend a totally different approach for some, than for others. It would all depend on their total educational experience--school, college and post graduate. And I should be doubtful about their taking many courses in administration.[64]

At the other end of the continuum is the more highly structured approach proposed by Reller:

> The program (for preparing superintendents) should be sharply separated from the general university program of graduate studies which has other purposes primarily in view. This does not mean that it should not utilize regular university offerings (in education or other fields for which the student is preparing) but, rather, that it should have a core designed specifically in light of its own purposes. It should be an entity and have a life of its own within the university community.[65]

As one would expect, reality generally falls somewhere between these two extremes. The tendency appears to be toward achieving balance between the two although, interestingly, not through avoiding either but rather through approaching both. Thus, there seems to be a trend both toward core blocks or sequential arrangements,[66] on the one hand, and toward placing "high priority on individual interests, motivations, and capacities in planning programs,"[67] on the other.

External Organization

The trend toward interdisciplinarianism in program content and a variety of approaches toward achieving it have been discussed in the preceding section of this chapter. Several problems confront those who seek to structure such experiences for prospective superintendents. Some of these problems are of a logical nature in that joint appointments, scheduling conflicts, prerequisites, and the determination of relevance seem to provide special difficulties. Others are psychological in nature in that some social scientists, for example, appear to perceive a lack of prestige or a sacrifice of scholarly interests and associations as resulting from their becoming formally involved in the preparation of educational administrators. It is clearly essential, in structuring an effective interdisciplinary program, that cordial and functional working relationships and a mutual respect be established between professors of educational administration and those in the related disciplines. Goldhammer's data provide some insights on this topic:

> Relationships with the behavioral science divisions vary. Most professors of educational administration reported an excellent relationship. Their meaning of "excellent" ranged from being able to arrange for education students to take behavioral science offerings without the necessary prerequisites to having behavioral science faculty members participate in program development activities for educational administrators. A few universities indicated that they have behavioral scientists who are interested in the field of educational administration on the faculty of the division of educational administration.[68]

While, with the exception of a few universities, interdisciplinary arrangements still leave much to be desired, it is apparent that some progress is being made in this regard.

Another significant topic related to "external organization" involves the apparently growing acceptance of the "commonality of administration" view, and the resultant trend toward the emergence of a new structure for preparing administrators. Such a structure presently exists in no more than three or four universities, and is variously named "Graduate School of Administration," "College of Administrative Sciences," or "Faculty of Administration." Snyder has outlined two basic assumptions upon which this development is based:

> First, there are significant common phenomena and problems which cut across the institutional-organizational realms....Obviously, there are important differences but these have tended to be over-emphasized at the expense of equally significant similarities. Second, it is assumed that in view of relatively recent developments in the contributing disciplines, the time is right to construct an integrated course of advanced study which would serve as fundamental preparation for a variety of future careers in a variety of institutional settings.[69]

Support for this view has been expressed by professors of educational administration,[70] and it seems likely that this kind of new organizational structure for the common preparation of administrators will be tested in a variety of forms during the next decade.

Recruitment and Selection

Recruitment and selection have fared somewhat better in the recent literature, at least in terms of coverage, than has program structure. For analytical purposes, these two processes for attracting and admitting desirable candidates into programs of preparation for the superintendency are discussed separately in this section. By way of definition, "recruitment" as used here refers to that process by which possible candidates for administrative preparatory programs are identified and convinced to consider entering the programs; "selection" concerns the procedure whereby the potential enrollees already located and motivated are assessed according to certain criteria, and those judged to possess the desired characteristics are admitted to the programs. Thus, selection normally follows and is largely dependent upon recruitment; also, selection results should "feed back" to and inform subsequent recruitment efforts.

Recruitment

Probably the most definitive work to date on the subject of recruitment into advanced preparation programs for educational administrators is the position paper published by UCEA in 1966, The Selective Recruitment of Educational Leaders. In this document, the various positions taken are summarized in the following statements:

> (1) The need for organized recruitment of talented candidates for school leadership posts is both urgent and great.
>
> (2) No matter how great the quantitative need, the major focus in recruitment endeavors should be on quality and upon attracting some of society's most talented individuals into leadership positions; procedures for identifying these individuals must be sharpened.
>
> (3) All means of communication must be exploited to reach competent people and the attainment of increased financial support for their preparation deserves the highest priority.
>
> (4) The task is so large and the challenge so great that only a systematically planned attack on the problem provides any hope for meeting the need.[71]

The UCEA positions concern a number of limitations and obstacles to effective recruitment into preparatory programs, and a few solutions to these problems, which are treated elsewhere in the recent literature as well. Some of these writings are reviewed in the following paragraphs.

Limitations and Obstacles. At least six limitations and obstacles which hinder recruitment in educational administration are identified in the literature. One is that the talent pool for administrative recruitment is typically restricted to persons already in education. This limitation derives from the traditional belief that teaching experience is a prerequisite for effective school administration.[72] Increasingly, the validity of this belief is being questioned.[73] Talbot, referring to the big-city context, states that "training in teachers' colleges and experience as a teacher, principal, or suburban school superintendent are largely irrelevant preparation for the staggering problems of running an urban school system,"[74] and Meade reaches a similar conclusion.[75] There is, in fact, no convincing evidence that experience in teaching is related to success in educational administration, and both Brown[76] and Goldhammer[77] call for a thorough re-examination of this erstwhile axiom. This line of thought, of course, raises some questions about the validity of such traditional restrictions to entry into the profession of educational administration as state certification requirements. A second limitation to educational administration's satisfactorily competing for scarce leadership talent resides in the haphazard manner in which such recruitment is typically conducted. A 1953 study of recruitment and selection, undertaken through the cooperative Program in Educational Administration (Middle Atlantic Region), produced the following pair of findings, among others:

> (1) No planned or organized program of recruitment of able talent to prepare for school administration as a career is being conducted by member institutions in the Middle Atlantic Region.
>
> (2) Institutions depend to a great extent upon incidental and casual contacts made through catalogs, extension work, conferences, study councils, institutes, and seminars.[78]1

Little has been achieved in terms of new recruitment patterns to surmount these shortcomings during the intervening fifteen years. Thus, as recently as 1966, Griffiths observed that "recruitment of students to enter graduate schools of education in order to prepare themselves to be superintendents of schools is practically non-existent. Practically all of the universities choose from among those who 'knock on the door.' Almost all superintendents are 'self-recruited.'"[79]

Several obstacles which may account for, or result from, the above limitations are recognized in the literature. One is ignorance, or the lack of information about school administration as a career and as a field of study and professional preparation, on the part of potential recruits. Thus, Banghman observes that "a death of information about school administration as a career exists in the secondary schools,"[80] and Hanson gives testimony that there is little general understanding of his work as a public school superintendent.[81] A second obstacle is the perceived unattractiveness of educational administration as a career. Uzmack, for example, in a study to determine the image of the chief school administrator held by senior high school pupils, found that the superintendent was viewed as having low status compared with other professionals in the community, and that a majority of the students had no interest in such a career because it entailed too much responsibility and was confining and lacking in appeal.[82] A related obstacle to recruitment is inherent in the logistic difficulty of undergoing preparation in educational administration. Because of traditional restrictions to entry into administration, persons eligible to enter preparatory programs are typically over thirty, have become well established in a career and a community, and have families and homes with all of the financial and other obligations that these entail. To forfeit their accumulated security and slight their personal responsibilities is a sacrifice that few are willing to make, particularly because of the generally inadequate scholarship and fellowship support which is available to graduate students in educational administration. Biographical documentation of some of the personal sacrifices involved in taking such a step is provided in a monograph published by the Committee for the Advancement of School Administration,[83] and questions have been raised about this "delayed-entry" career pattern by Hall and McIntyre.[84] Finally, the generally low status of preparation programs in educational administration constitutes still another obstacle to effective recruitment. As implied in the earlier discussion of interdisciplinarianism, education is generally assigned a low station in the academic "pecking order" within the university context. Moreover, administrative preparation programs are frequently held in low esteem by practicing administrators who protest their "irrelevance" and "obsolescence," as is clearly indicated by some of Goldhammer's findings.[85] All of these obstacles represent problems which must be resolved if recruitment of prospective superintendents into preparatory programs is to be improved.

Proposed Solutions. A few strategies toward the solution of some of these problems have been proposed in the recent literature. One such suggestion involves, in the words of Hall and McIntyre, "the preparation of materials to be used in the elementary and secondary schools. These materials might include guidance leaflets, resource units, colored slides or motion pictures, and other similar devices for portraying school administration as a career."[86] As Culbertson notes, other seekers after leadership talent follow this approach, particularly with high school seniors,[87] but those in educational administration tend to ignore this pool.[88] Yet, Baughman's research has demonstrated the potential effectiveness of the strategy, at least in changing some of the negative career perceptions held by many young people.[89]

The desirability of a strong liberal arts background on the part of prospective school superintendents has received considerable support in the literature.[90] This belief, plus a desire to recruit younger persons into administrative preparation programs, has led to a second proposed solution--that attempts be made, in Goldhammer's words, to identify

> [illegible]
>
> administrators quite early in their college careers so that programs of instruction can be geared to their acquiring that knowledge which will form the basis upon which their skills as diagnosticians and applicators will be developed. Unquestionably, the fields of the social sciences and the humane arts must become the recruiting ground from which will come the individuals who will be participants in the administrator's preparatory programs.[91]

Support for this proposal has been expressed by Culbertson,[92] Walton,[93] and the New York State Regents Advisory Committee on Educational Leadership,[94] to name but a few. It has further been proposed, in connection with facilitating this recruitment mechanism, that "on an experimental basis, the internship may be tried as a procedure for telescoping experience for carefully selected students for whom the long experience route to an administrative position seems inappropriate."[95] Another facilitative mechanism which has been propounded in this regard is the development of programs in educational administration similar to those leading to the Master of Arts in Teaching degree. Such programs, it is believed, "will permit tapping the talent available among liberal arts and science majors, many of whom are searching for ways to make meaningful contributions to society."[96]

Finally, it has been suggested that the pool of potential talent for recruitment into administrator preparation be expanded to include persons not in the schools who are already pursuing careers in which competencies relevant to educational administration may be developed. This proposal has been offered with particular reference to the state of New York, in which the Commissioner is now authorized, in appointing school administrators, to "accept equivalent preparation and experience upon a formal request from an employing Board of Education."[97] These, then, represent a few of the solutions which have been proposed in the literature as possible strategies for overcoming some of the recruitment limitations and obstacles indicated above.

Selection

If selection is viewed primarily as the process by which highly desirable candidates for administrator preparation are "skimmed off the top" of the crop of applicants, then many complaints about the caliber of those admitted to preparatory programs may understandably be directed at recruitment rather than selection procedures, for the available crop from which to screen may be viewed as inferior to begin with. If, on the other hand, selection is viewed as the means by which the weakest applicants are "screened out," regardless of the quality of the pool as a whole, then admission of some of these "undersirables" may be blamed on selection alone, particularly when one bears in mind that there is no desperate shortage of certified administrators in the country today. It would appear from the recent literature that the critical problem regarding selection at present is more of the latter (admitting weak applicants) than of the former (lacking strong candidates) type. As McIntyre has said: "Although we are fortunate in attracting into our field a few people who would undoubtedly compare favorably with the best in any other field, the average student of educational administration is so far below the average student in most other fields, in mental ability and in general academic performance, that the situation is little short of being a national scandal."[98] Data reported by the AASA in its 1964 study of the professional preparation of school superintendents lend support to McIntyre's admonishment: "There is no clear indication... that there is a concerted national effort to admit to preparation programs only those persons who rank in the upper quartile in learning ability."[99]

It seems clear that a major cause of this problem lies in the selection approaches and criteria employed. In this regard, two conclusions emerged rather clearly from a study of admission procedures and standards utilized in 44 UCEA member universities, completed recently by personnel at the University of Minnesota: they found (1) that there is substantial variability across the country in terms of the procedures and standards utilized for admission of students into graduate programs in educational administration; and (2) that there is considerable dissatisfaction with the validity and utility of the admissions procedures and standards employed--while some universities are satisfied that their entrance criteria bear some relationship to a student's subsequent success in the graduate program, none of the universities are convinced that their admissions standards are related to eventual success of the candidate as a school administrator.[100] McIntyre offers a rather discouraging critique of some of the screening procedures most commonly employed:

> Of all the rituals encumbering the selection process,

> interviewing is undoubtedly the hoariest--and the sorriest. Nothing in the research on selection methodology is so completely established and repeatedly verified as is the unreliability of short interviews as they are usually conducted.
>
> . . . .
>
> Unfortunately, the record of latters of recommendation is as dismal as that of interviewing. Although the subject has not been researched to any great extent, all available evidence indiates that the reading of letters of recommendation is approximately as enlightening as the reading of tea leaves.
>
> . . . .
>
> Rating scales vary considerably in usefulness, but the usual scale is little if any better than the usual letter of recommendation. The traits to be rated are often of limited relevance, the points on the scale are seldom clearly defined, and liniency is so rampant that only the upper end of the scale is ordinarily used.[101]

Elsewhere, the same writer is even more devastating: "Self-selection is still the only selection that is to be found in many of our institutions. Taking all of our programs over the nation as a whole, the main admission requirement is that the person be present. On second thought, he doesn't even have to be present--we'll take him sight unseen."[102]

McIntyre, however, is not without constructive suggestions. He identifies, for example, several promising approaches to selection which have not yet been implemented to any significant extent in educational administration, including sociometrics, the stitutional performance test (which also receives Tope's support[103]), the laboratory training approach, and use of biographical items and measures of past achievement to predict creative behavior.[104] To these, Harlow would add some means of assessing the applicants' value systems.[105] The desirability of involving practicing school administrators, cooperatively with university personnel, in the screening process has been noted by Cunningham and Nystrand.[106] McIntyre further proposes that selection procedures be implemented during four sequential phases of the preparatory program, the subject being assessed through a variety of means according to several behavioral categories, with the standards raised in each succeeding phase.[107] Finally, he offers the following proposition:

> To assist in the process of quality control, we should agree on an aptitude test to be universally and uniformly administered, interpreted, and reported. Such tests are now given in other fields, such as medicine and law, and although they are far from perfect they do provide one basis on which institutions can compare their students. Whether we should use an existing general aptitude test or develop one specifically for educational administration is debatable, but the important point is that institutions preparing school administrators need some way of comparing the results of their selection efforts in some acceptable and effective manner.[108]

This proposal, like several others cited throughout the present chapter, has yet to be tested.

Instructional Approaches

In 1964 the AASA reported that, in its survey of preparation programs for school superintendents, "one thing that professors insisted upon saying, probably above all else, is that they are using a variety of teaching materials and techniques."[109] It was found, more specifically, that "the use of simulated situations, game theory, cases, theory development, and problem-oriented seminars, in addition to or without the usual textbook-lecture-discussion technique is mentioned in a majority of the questionnaires even though no specific question was directed toward these approaches to learning."[110] A 1964 publication of the National Conference of Professors of Educational Administration contains discussions of several of these instructional approaches.[111]

Within the past few years, limited use has been made by some professors of laboratory training exercises, programmed instruction, and sensitivity training in preparing educational administrators. Cases and simulation have been much more widely employed although, with regard to the former, Gregg points out that "there is little evidence that there has been any marked increase in the use of the method during recent years."[112] In addition to the typical written case studies a few taped and filmed cases have been used for instructional purposes in certain universities, and some prototype case incidents and programmed cases have been developed.[113] Within the present decade, developmental work has focussed more upon simulation than upon case materials. The most commonly employed type of simulation is based upon the written in-basket technique, supplemented by multi-media background information, filmed problem stimuli, and taped interruptions.

Cunningham has identified a number of unresolved issues concerning the use of such simulations for instructional purposes, and he advises that:

> Special attention should be given to appraising the impact of simulated experiences on persons in training; considerable research opportunities surround the use of these devices and these ought not be ignored; continued attention is warranted in regard to the trainers--the persons who use the technique as professors; and finally, we should record our experiences with simulation more effectively in the future than we have in the past.[114]

Two relatively new kinds of instructional approaches (at least in their application to preparing educational administrators) are currently emerging. One is gaming, examples of which are the "Bargaining Game" developed recently by Horvat[115] and the application of game theiry to the analysis of conflicts of interest situations in administrator training as explicated by Ohm.[116] The second is computer-based simulation for which prototype problems are now in existence.[117]

While the bove trends in the development of instructional approaches for administrator preparation are, by and lage, quite encouraging, some needs persist in this area. Boyan, for example, suggests that the development of entire systems of instructional materials and procedures should comprise a major objective of program deisgn endeavors.[118] Along this line, efforts are currently underway to create a rather comprehensive "system" of instructional materials focused upon the problem area of collective negotiations in education.[119] Another need, recognized by Culbertson, is for instructional materials designed to provide students experiences with problems of educational purpose and policy in today's world.[120] Related to his is a major need, recognized by Cunningham and Nystrand, for simulation materials which have a large city orientation.[121] Finally, the UCEA Committee on "Guides for Improving Preparatory Programs" identified more than five years ago some questions which still need careful consideration in the development of concerted and integrated methodologies for administrative preparation in education:

> For example, could greater and more effective use of independent study be made in training administrators? What methods are most appropriate for functionally teaching social science concepts? Can methods be devised that will minimize communication barriers between social scientists and future practitioners? Can television be used to bring the "reality" of education and administration into classrooms to make instruction more

> effective? What instructional methods are most appropriate for integrating the "is" and "ought" aspects of administration? What instructional vehicle can transmit content from the humanities in a relevant and functional way?[122]

It may be hoped that progress in seeking answers to these questions will be greater in the next five years than it has apparently been since the UCEA Committee raised them and, moreover, that any such progress achieved will be reported in the literature so that the entire profession may benefit from its attainment.

Field-Related Experiences

While certain instructional approaches represent in part an attempt to bring the prospective administrator into contact with the reality he will encounter upon placement, this attempt is limited because the reality is "manufactured," the behavior is "role-played," and the context is the controlled, comfortable milieu of the classroom. Although authenticity can be approached in this way to a greater or lesser extent, depending upon the materials utilized and the ways in which they are employed, the reality of school administration can never be completely captured within the university setting. Consequently, those preparing administrators have developed other means for orienting their students to the conditions of practice. These means may be generally classified as "field-related experiences," and they consist mainly of internships and apprenticeships, participation in field studies and surveys, and other practicum experiences integrated into the regular course structure of the preparatory program. There appears to be some agreement on the usefulness of field-related experiences,[123] particularly for relatively inexperienced students, and Goldhammer found that approximately one-half of the institutions visited in connection with his recent study provided extended opportunities for students to work in the field in one way or another.[124] A review of the recent literature, however, yields substantial information on only one type of field-related experience--the intership. Consequently, this section of the chapter is limited to the consideration of that topic only.

In 1963, Briner stated that "there has been agreement... in regarding the internship as an integral part of the total preparatory program."[125] Data collected during the same year by the AASA suggest at least a trend in this direction, for it was found that about four times as many univerisities offered internships in 1962-63 as in 1958-59.[126] However, as Gregg points out, "even during 1962-63 less than one-half of the institutions offered internships and only a very small percentage of students were involved."[127] Moreover, there does not appear to be a high degree of satisfaction with the internship as it is commonly implemented in local school districts. As Briner puts it:

> There has been little agreement among educators as to what pattern of experience should constitute the internship with the result that internships, where included in preparation programs, vary significantly in their scope and administration.
>
> . . . .
>
> Assessment of the present status of the internship prompts the conclusion that the internship represents a response to little or no direction in preparation. The internship may be more an end in itself than facilitative of explicitly designed purposes.[128]

In response to this kind of criticism, several writers have sought to establish working parameters for the planning and implementation of internship programs. Thus, Lonsdale and McCarty have suggested seven "substantive guidelines" for the superintendency internship,[129] the UCEA in cooperation with the CASA has proposed eighteen "action guides" for the internship in administrative preparation,[130] Sybouts has identified two "general conditions" required to make an internship program productive,[131] and Ramseyer has discussed ten "issues" and six "problems" which must be resolved in designing a meaningful internship experience for the prospective school administrator.[132] Similarly, Culbertson observes that, to realize the full potential of the internship as a component of administrative preparation, further work is needed to achieve five goals: "more refined procedures for selecting school districts in which to locate interns; adequate and clear definitions of desired learnings; effective and adequate supervision; stable methods of financing; research to illuminate and improve the internship."[133]

Most of the suggestions included in the references cited above are designed to improve the internship as it has traditionally been in educational administration--that is, the pattern whereby the intern spends anywhere from a few weeks to a full year in the office of a single administrator in one school district. However, several proposals appear in the literature for internship experiences which would break with this tradition. A few of these deserve mention here. A slight departure is reflected in the proposition of the UCEA Committee on "Guides for Improving Preparatory Programs" that " "interns with unusual competence might work with a number of districts. Under such an arrangement interns would not only have opportunities to work with different administrators, but they would also have opportunities to apply theoretical learnings to a variety of problems in various situational contexts."[134] A similar suggestion, offered by Cunningham and Nystrand, is that problem-centered (rather than role-centered), "targeted field experiences" be developed whereby students, early in their preparation, undergo "brief, but intense, exposure to important realities of administrative life" by being at the side of administrators as they deal with crucial issues affecting the schools.[135] A more radical departure is represented by the UCEA Committee's suggestion that "internship experiences could be provided in places other than local school districts: (a) in intermediate units of education, (b) in state departments of educataion, and (c) in professional educational associations at the state and national level."[136] Still further removed from tradition is the proposal inherent in the following statement by the UCEA-CASA task force: "As the schools affect and are affected by such agencies as state departments of education, state school boards associations, professional associations, state legislatures, city governments, and the U. S. Office of Education, opportunities for internships in these agencies emerge."[137]

While reports from universities indicate that at least preliminary steps have been taken to implement each of the above three alternatives, two other innovative proposals seem to have been largely ignored. One is the suggestion by Hooker that some means be developed on a national basis for organizational approval of sponsoring school districts which wish to participate in internship programs. Hooker argues that such an arrangement would provide the following advantages, among others, over current methods of placing interns:[138]

(1) A respectable professional or accrediting organization would assume responsibility for certifying to the ability of school districts to provide the quality of experience which is needed.

(2) The local school district would carry far greater responsibility for organizing the internship program and for supervising and evaluating the interns.

(3) Greater specialization would result as sponsoring districts established a reputation for excellence in some phase of educational leadership.

(4) For the use of universities and students a directory would be published of the approved schools indicating the number and type of internships for which member school districts have been approved.

(5) The sponsoring school district would be free to select interns from among those applying from a number of universities.

A second relatively innovative proposal is that some central criteria for the development and operation of internships be designed cooperatively by school administrators and university personnel on a state-wide basis. In addition to such typical advantages of interinstitutional cooperation as consistency, communication, and increased input resources, Brittell argues that such a program would benefit from the facts that groups of administrators are usually organized on a state-wide basis and that universities within a state operate in accordance with the same legal framework.[139] There is no indication in the literature that these two proposals have received the attention they appear to merit. Possible exceptions to this generalization are the Mott internship program currently operating in Michigan and the now defunct internship program which was conducted cooperatively by several universities in the state of New York.[140]

In conclusion, it should be emphasized that neither the internship nor other field-related experiences are currently entrenched as integral components of preparatory programs for school superintendents. Thus, the AASA, on the basis of its survey, concludes that "it is still unclear just what part field experience should play in preparation and how its effectiveness can best be measured."[141] And Briner calls for a complete re-evaluation of the rationales underlying field-related experiences:

> Efforts must be organized in determing a definition of preparation and the place of practice within this definition. It may be that we find ourselves saying that directed observation is to be included in preparation and that our stereotyped notion of the internship is the best means of providing this experience. It may be that desired practice cannot be accomplished in the internship but rather must be viewed as part of the induction of people into administrative positions.
>
> . . . .
>
> It may be that preparation in terms of being on-the-job means just that. A position incumbent representing a real placement in the organizational hierarchy may not be just one way of practicing administration in training: it may be the only way.[142]

Should this last contingency be substantiated, there could be little justification for retaining field-related experience as a component within the pre-service preparation program for superintendents of schools.

Student Research

Of the ten preparatory program components under consideration in this chapter, student research is one of the most neglected in terms of coverage in the recent literature. Nevertheless, a few references are extant to provide some indication of the trends and needs in this area. That student involvement in research is generally viewed as an important aspect of the prospective superintendent's preparation is suggested by the fact that a majority of the "jury of experts" participating in Beckner's study considered research experience essential for these students.[143] Similarly, one of the ten areas in which the superintendent needs a high level of competence according to Reller is "the character and potentialities of research; research design, administration, and utilization as applied to a wide variety of issues in education and related areas."[144] While, in Gregg's words, "the field of educational administration has not been distinguished by its research, whether done by students or professors,"[145] there are some indications that improvement is occurring, at least with regard to student research. Thus, the AASA noted a "quite obvious" shift towards competence in research at advanced levels of preparation in the 1962-63 programs it surveyed, as compared with those examined in 1958-59,[146] and Gregg discerns a trend toward more collaborative research among professors and advanced graduate students.[147]

Among proposals for the advancement of involvement in student research on the part of future superintendents, the one which seems to have received the most attention in the literature is a suggestion that research expectations, experiences, and requirements for prospective school administrators be differentiated from those for prospective researchers in educational administration. Andrews, for example, has supported the view that "traditional graduate research training, and especially the thesis requirement, is not highly contributive to the practitioner role." He sees the practitioner as having a "double concern" with research:

> His first concern is as an accomplished consumer of research, particularly of the developmental sort. To perform this function his training should include an understanding of statistics sufficient to interpret and appraise the research.

. . . .

> The practitioner's second concern with research, if the term is used broadly, is in relation to his vital function as a decision-maker.... The research process so closely resembles the decision-making process that the knowledge and skills that have been developed for conducting research may be readily modified to apply directly to decision-making.
>
> . . . .
>
> In his training, then, the practitioner should develop a full understanding of the scientific method in its application to the conceptual aspect of decision-making. Further, he should be trained as a technician in the appropriate kinds of research methods, especially the survey method, and in the use of at least elementary statistics.
>
> His thesis would appropriately take the form of decision research. That is, it would be a formalized presentation of the total conceptual and technical processes of making a particular decision in a particular school or school system.[148]

Culbertson also supports the concept of differentiated preparation for prospective researchers and administrators and, in discussing the culminating activities of the program for the latter, he proposes three alternative strategies. The first is that of a supervised internship experience supplemented by independent reading and periodic seminars, toward the end of which the student prepares a paper describing the "reading which he had completed during the last year of his study, the decisions and policy issues to which the knowledge acquired during his three years of study seemed most relevant and least relevant, and examples of the way decisions were shaped by the knowledge acquired." A second proposed strategy is a developmental activity in which a team of graduate students (prospective administrators) and professors selects and defines a major administrative or leadership problem in education, generates alternative solutions to it, logically evaluates the various solutions with the aid of personnel in a school district, and then helps these personnel make plans to implement and test one of the solutions developed. The final option suggested by Culbertson is one in which a team of prospective administrators devotes the final year of preparation to studying systems analysis and operations research concepts, identifying those which seem most relevant to decision making in educational administration, engaging in field work in which selected techniques are applied to actual decision problems in school districts, and preparing papers in which each student reports on his team's activities and results and presents his ideas on the kinds of organizational and staffing changes generally needed in school districts to achieve better management planning and more effective utilization of operations research and systems analysis.[149] Nevertheless, with only a very few exceptions, indications are that whatever potential is inherent in these proposals for differentiating the student research component of programs to prepare administrators from that of programs to prepare researchers remains to be tested in the future.

Requirements for Graduation

Student research, or some substitute (such as a "developmental project") is one requirement for graduation that apparently exists in virtually all universities which prepare school superintendents at the doctoral level. There are other requirements for graduation, however, that have not achieved this degree of unanimity of support. Among them are such requisites as foreign language competency, comprehensive written and oral examinations, courses in "minor" areas of study, internships, and full-time residency. Because only the last two have been accorded any significant attention in the literature, the discussion in this section is limited to the consideration of them.

The recent growth in opportunities for internships during advanced preparation has been noted in the section on "Field-Related Experiences." The extent to which the internship is a requirement for graduation, however, is a different matter from its simply being an available experience. Ramseyer reports some data related to the former question:

> It seems that, while many institutions make provisions for an internship, relatively few of the persons preparing to become school administrators are taking advantage of this opportunity. Obviously it is not the custom of most institutions who prepare school administrators to require an internship experience to complete the program. None of the fifty states of the United States requires the internship for certification for an administrative position in the public schools.[150]

Nevertheless, there seems to be more support in the literature for a required internship than against it,[151] and Tope detects that "some form of practical field experience is coming to be recognized as an essential element in preparation."[152]

Movement toward a required period of residency during the preparation program is more evident than movement toward a required internship. This is suggested by the fact that the "jury of experts" participating in Beckner's survey" agreed that residence study is essential. There was also unanimous agreement that the residence requirement should consist of at least two semesters during the academic year."[153] Similar support for a required residency of two consecutive semesters or one academic year is offered by Burbank[154] and McIntyre.[155] The typical defense of the residency is based upon benefits such as those noted by the New York State Regents Advisory Committee on Educational Leadership: "library facilities are discovered and used, dialogue between professors and students is facilitated, interchanges between students occur and the student has adequate time to do the critical thinking and assimilation of material necessary to make it useful."[156] To these advantages, the interviewees participating in a 1963 CASA opinion survey added freedom from the distractions of day-to-day operational decisions and opportunity to learn how social scientists view education,[157] and Neagley's study of faculty and students in 36 UCEA member universities yielded "opportunity to participate in research" as an additional gain derived from full-time residence.[158]

Although the trend seems evident, the battle for a required residency in the preparation of superintendents has not yet been won, as Gregg's summary of relevant data from the 1962-63 AASA study indicates:

> The AASA survey of preparation programs in educational administration revealed that full-time resident study in advanced graduate programs was emphasized by a considerably larger number of institutions in 1962-63 than had been the case in 1958-59. In 1962-63, 90 of the 103 institutions offering doctoral programs in educational administration reported that a year of residence for the Doctor's degree was required.
>
> . . . .
>
> Much progress is yet to be made, however, since the 1962-63 survey indicated that there were 8,057 students enrolled part-time and only 1,465 enrolled full-time in educational administration at the graduate level.[159]

On the other hand, while there is still some apparent resistance to the requirement of a one-year residency, some writers have promoted the eventuation of a two-year period of full-time on-campus study for prospective school superintendents.[160]

Program Evaluation and Development

A review of the recent literature reveals little to suggest that those responsible for preparing school superintendents are seeking to evaluate and further develop their preparatory programs in any sort of systematic fashion. Nevertheless, the need for this kind of activity has been recognized. Gregg, for example, states that "Departments of Educational Administration should make thorough appraisals of preparation programs. There should be critical review of objectives, inventory of problems and needs, critical appraisal of present activities, and utilization of all pertinent resources for program development."[161] Elsewhere, it has similarly been noted that "institutions, in order to insure quality offerings, will...need to have (1) feedback arrangements for monitoring operations within the responsible unit; (2) methods for examining emerging and changing research, development and training requirements; and (3) ways of designing institutional adaptations and innovations needed to meet challenging requirements."[162]

There is not much in the literature to suggest that current trends are in the direction of meeting these needs. Personnel at a number of institutions visited by Goldhammer during his recent study of superintendent preparation claimed they "either had planned or were planning program changes to include more emphasis on the behavioral sciences and more courses having an interdisciplinary approach. In general they were moving from the technical toward the conceptual in their programs." The researchers, however, were unable to determine the extensiveness of program changes and it is suggested that, at least in some instances, "'program change occurs primarily as individual instructors up-date their offerings.'"[163] Evidence of systematic program evaluation and development was not revealed by Goldhammer's data. Only one of the universities in his sample indicated that it uses superintendents as a source of information for program development,[164] and in only a few did it appear that institutional funds and professorial time were being allocated to the careful study of problems confronted by today's superintendents and to the careful revision of preparatory programs in accordance with the findings of such study.[165] The authors conclude that "few institutions are actively engaged in curriculum development or in planning major revisions in their programs for preparing educational administrators."[166]

"Inadequate arrangements which departments of educational administration have for systematically updating existing programs and designing needed new ones" has been recognized as a significant problem confronting those seeking to advance administrative preparation.[167] The UCEA Central Staff has proposed that, in seeking to resolve this problem, universities build special planning and development capacities, designed to ensure continuing and systematic program adaptations, into their departments of educational administration.[168] However, a number of barriers would need to be overcome in such an effort, some of which are identified in Goldhammer's report:

> Several respondents felt there were too many colleges and universities in the state engaged in administrative preparation. . . . The proliferation of preparatory programs results in a diffused distribution of students and smaller enrollments than are desirable to maintain quality programs. Insufficient student enrollment was reported to be a barrier to the expansion of the curriculum, the employment of sufficient staff to round out staff competencies, and the effective utilization of student interaction. Several respondents reported that departments of educational administration were understaffed, resulting in excessive work loads. Too little time for planning and evaluating programs also presents curriculum development.[169]

As one approach to surmounting some of these obstacles, it has been recommended that units external to universities be implemented to serve Departments of Educational Administration in continuous evaluative and adaptive endeavors.[170] More specifically, the desirability of directly involving practicing administrators in the development and assessment of preparatory programs has been suggested.[171] The need to test some of these proposals remains, and the challenge is apparent.

Departmental Functions and Staffing

Like most divisions within universities, Departments of Educational Administration, as suggested above, are frequently plagued by the problem of understaffing due to inadequate resources. The staffing of a university department for the primary purpose of professional preparation, however, involves special problems which are not experienced in staffing other university divisions. These problems result primarily from the dual need to secure staff expertise both in the competencies of the profession for which the students are being prepared and in the disciplines from which content is drawn for the preparatory program. The existence of these dual needs raises questions about the disirable balance and functional specializations among staff members, and the recent literature reveals that Departments of Educational Administration, by and large, have not yet answered these questions satisfactorily.

With regard to the former need--for expertise in the competencies of the profession--Goldhammer concludes from the comments of superintendents whom he interviewed that "many of the programs (for preparing administrators) are staffed with individuals who cannot relate effectively to the administrator in the larger school district today nor deal adequately in their preparatory courses with the problems which these administrators confront."[172] Some of these superintendents were concerned that too many professors have never been superintendents and "don't know the realities of the job," or that they have been associated with the university for so long that they have lost contact with the problems of the field. Several recommended that college faculty should be forced back into the field periodically so they can maintain proper perspective,"[173] a proposal which receives the support of Cunningham and Nystrand.[174] On the other hand, regarding the second need--for expertise in the relevant disciplines--some of the superintendents in Goldhammer's sample were concerned that Departments of Educational Administration are staffed by "too many former superintendents who 'have retreated to the university.'"[175] Elsewhere, the same author has stated that:

> Ideally, every university which has an administrative preparatory program should have someone on the staff in educational administration who is able to communicate effectively with the social scientists as a result of his broad knowledge and competency in the social sciences, and at the same time at each university there should be some social scientist who has made a study of the educational milieu as the primary focus of his scholarly attention.[176]

The particular difficulty of achieving the latter has been discussed previously in the section on "Program Structure."

Historically, the trend in departmental functions and staffing for preparing educational administrators has been from an early focus upon resolving the first (practice-related) need to a more recent attempt at achieving better balance through focussing more upon the second (discipline-related) need.[177] This trend, and some of its corollaries, has been described by the UCEA Central Staff:

> There is evidence that public school experience is seen by those who employ professors of educational administration as an important requirement for appointment to professorships.
>
> . . . .
>
> The longer period of teaching and administrative experience, which is required of most candidates for professorships in educational administration (as compared with professors in most other subject specializations), is apparently viewed by most of those responsible for appointments as having certain advan-

> tages from the standpoint of teaching and field contacts.
>
> . . . .
>
> It is likely. . . (however) that the career pattern of most professors of educational administration effectively reduces their research potential and capacity.
>
> During the last ten years a second kind of career pattern for professors of educational administration has begun to emerge. This pattern involves a much more direct move into the professorship, usually while personnel are in their twenties or early thirties. Although personnel making such moves will likely have had some teaching experience, they will have had little or no administrative experience. The number of professors in this category is increasing and, with the accelerating demand for those with research and conceptualization skills, there is apparently more and more value being placed upon this type of personnel in departments of educational administration.[178]

A concomitant of this trend in departmental staffing is, of course, a corresponding trend in staff functions, as reflected in substantive specializations. Thus, Culbertson identifies four ways of viewing current patterns of professorial specializations in Departments of Educational Administration:

> Two of these perspectives, which are defined in terms of administrative position and administrative function, have their roots in practice. They are views which historically were the first to evolve. The two most recent perspectives, which have disciplinary and multidisciplinary orientations, have their roots in structures of knowledge as found in university communities.[179]

It would appear, from data collected by Shaplin five years ago, that a rather even balance (among universities, but not necessarily within them) was achieved between these two pairs of perspectives on professorial specialization, at least at that time. Of the thirty-eight UCEA member universities responding to his question about areas of specialization viewed as necessary to a well-staffed program in administration, he found an almost equal distribution between those responses which could be classified as favoring practice-related categories of specialization and those which seemed to favor discipline-related specializations.[180] Thus, specialties of the "level" type (elementary, secondary, higher education, the principalship, the superintendency, etc.) were cited by half-a-dozen institutions; specialties of the "field" type (school plant, finance, law, personnel administration, business management, etc.) were given by more than fifteen respondents; specialties of the "disciplinary" type (economics, political science, and social psychology of education) were named by six universities; and specialties of the "multidisciplinary" type[181] (research methods, administrative theory, organizational analysis, etc.) were mentioned by about fifteen participants in the study.

While Shaplin's findings reflect considerable balance among universities between the practice-related and discipline-related typologies of professorial specialization, they indicate nothing about such balance within Departments of Educational Administration. In an effort to promote the latter, Campbell has likened the professor of educational administration to Guetzkow's "developer"--the "link" between the practitioner and the pure scientist":

> The developer has at least four important functions: (1) to maintain an orientation with respect to the general field of education, the field of administration, and the social science disciplines; (2) to establish two-way communication between those who seek to discover knowledge and those who attempt to apply knowledge; (3) to determine the relevance of social science concepts and findings and plan the adpatation of these concepts and findings to school situations; and (4) to select and train practitioners.
>
> The role of the professor of educational administration is a complex one. It is so complex that it is doubtful if any one individual can perform all the functions ascribed to the developer. Thus we are inclined to envision in each major university a team of developers. In a team of four or five professors, there may be a continuum of professorial talents, ranging from the analytical skills of the social scientist at one extreme to the artistic talents of the practitioner at the other.[182]

It is apparent that this type of intra-departmental balance has not yet been achieved to any significant extent in many universities which prepare school superintendents. Thus, Goldhammer observes that "some institutions are obviously engaging in administrative preparatory programs without the number or quality of professors essential to provide for the range of skill and knowledge needed by the practicing superintendent."[183] And the UCEA Central Staff has identified as a major problem currently facing its member institutions: the "inadequacies in the current definitions of functions of modern departments of educational administration and of the staffing patterns needed by these departments."[184] Nor is the problem simply one of achieving balance in the recruitment and selection of professors of educational administration. Perhaps an even more basic need is, as Lortie suggests,[185] to develop special programs of study designed specifically to prepare persons for the professorship as a particularized role.

In-Service Programs

> Although neglected at the present time by most of the preparatory institutions and related agencies, the continuous in-service education of administrators is one of the most imperative needs for the revitalization of education in our society. To provide those experiences which can effectively assist the trained professional to modify his behavior, to obtain the new knowledge which he needs, and to build new skills based upon contemporary technology is probably the greatest challenge facing the field of educational administration and all of its institutions and agencies today.[186]

The sense of significance and urgency reflected in the above quotation is characteristic of most of the recent literature devoted to the subject of in-service programs for school superintendents, whether it be concerned with assessing present offerings or with projecting new approaches. In this final section of the chapter the literature relevant to each of these concerns is reviewed.

Assessments of Present Offerings

Recently published assessments of current in-service programs for educational administrators present a discouraging picture. The UCEA Central Staff, for example, has observed that there has been much less progress--in terms of organizational innovation and effective synthesis--in continuing education programs than in pre-service programs for school administrators, and this relative failure is identified as one of the major problems which those in universities must seek to resolve within the next five years.[187] Support for this generalization may be found in the results of a mail survey of in-service programs in 35 UCEA member universities conducted a few years ago by Howsam. This study turned up little evidence of any real ferment in in-service education and few responses to a request for information on any prospective new developments. In the light of these data, the reporter remarks that "one gets the impression that we are, by and large, sitting on our collective hands at a time when we can ill afford to be warming our hands by this method.[188] Similarly, college and university respondents participating in Goldhammer's 1967 study of problems and issues facing school superintendents expressed disappointment with the continuing education programs they sponsor, in part because of the generally poor attendance at their conferences and workshops.[189] Opinions of the superintendents involved in the study varied in regard to this subject. While many of them were highly supportive of in-service programs because they provide inspiration and keep them abreast of recent developments in school administration, others felt these programs focussed on problems and issues that were no longer very relevant, and urban superintendents, in particular, reported that in-service programs did not meet the needs of city school administrators.[190] From these reactions, the researchers conclude that "in educational administration, it seems that little is being done in the in-service education of superintendents, and even less is done well."[191]

A variety of factors have been postulated as being responsible for the apparent inadequacies of current continuing education programs for school administrators. Albright,[192] Goldhammer,[193] and Howsam,[194] for example, have all complained that these programs tend to be too short in duration, and Albright has added that they are largely limited to a consideration of the "technical or tactical aspects of the job."[195] Additional problems noted by Howsam are that the clientele for the programs is largely self-selected, including a variety of people from a range of different positions, and that they consist largely of "sporadic activities conducted in rather traditional patterns."[196] Another weakness, identified by some of the superintendents interviewed by Goldhammer and his colleagues, was that in-service programs tended to be "too theoretically oriented, utilizing consultants who were not closely enough associated with the realities of school administration."[197] In summarizing their findings concerning in-service educational opportunities available to superintendents across the country, the same authors observe that:

> Few, if any, of the programs are based upon a realistic perception of the needs of administrators in the field. Few appear to be established upon sound principles of professional education. Few seem to be developed with any consistency of effort toward the attainment of well established goals, and relatively few receive from school superintendents the patronage which they want.
>
> . . . .

> Noticeably lacking in the budgets of schools of education is provision for the expenditure of funds for the in-service education of administrators in the field.[198]

Related to this last point is the charge, levelled by the AASA, that responsibility for providing in-service assistance to school administrators has not been lodged with any particular agency or institution in this country and that, consequently, such programs have been treated by universities as secondary to pre-service preparation and have thus suffered in terms of the allocation of financial and personnel resources allocation.[199] Other liabilities of continuing education programs identified by the AASA are the extent to which credit hours become a primary concern in in-service programs,[200] and the tendency for them to be a result of trial-and-error attempts to meet immediate interests in a sporadic and uncoordinated fashion rather than of long-range, careful planning reflecting a "continuous thread of purpose."[201] Finally, to this impressive inventory of causative weaknesses, the UCEA Central Staff has appended the notion that "the psychological acceptance of the relevance and utility of new concepts by those practicing educational administration has undoubtedly been somewhat difficult."[202]

Projections of New Approaches

The above problems characterizing current in-service programs for school superintendents are not all going to be resolved through one massive innovation, and it is likely that several of them will not be resolved at all during the next five-to-ten years. Nevertheless, incremental gains can be made, and a number of new approaches have been projected in the literature with this aim in mind. A few of these suggestions relate primarily to the content which is needed in today's continuing education. Thus, Scott, for example, reports that the eighty-two superintendents involved in his study were "practically unanimous in their requests for continuous in-service opportunities to study collective negotiation."[203] and Harlow has called for the support of "reasonably sophisticated and demanding in-service seminars, short courses and workshops in the humanities, designed for working school administrators."[204] Willis saw a need in 1962 for in-service content to acquaint administrators with foreign cultures, eastern as well as western,[205] and expressed the hope that continuing education offerings would "avoid a narrow and expedient approach to such topics as buses and bonds and some of the other day-to-day operating procedures and would deal instead with some of the broad economic and social issues confronting us."[206]

While the above examples illustrate some concern with revitalizing the content of in-service programs, more attention has been paid by writers to the projection of new structures, mechanisms, and processes for facilitating improved continuing education opportunities for school administrators. Some of these authors have based their proposals upon the assumption that primary responsibility for providing in-service programs will rest with the universities. Thus, the CASA has suggested that institutions of higher education must develop a commitment to continuing education that is as firmly established as their commitment to pre-service programs, and that this commitment should be given tangible form through:

- Allocating funds to support an in-service program. (An amount equal to one-fourth of expenditures budgeted for administrative programs is recommended as a minimum.)
- Establishing a planning committee to develop the broad outlines of an in-service program.
- Making a staff member individually responsible for an in-service program.
- Employing personnel to work with administrators and other employees in local school systems.
- Planning and sustaining research projects to provide information needed to deal with important educational problems.
- Establishing and implementing policies to make resources in all departments of the university available for use in in-service programs.
- Developing a plan of financial support for an in-service program without relying primarily on charges for credit hours.[207]

Working from the same assumption, the UCEA Central Staff has proposed four new approaches to advancing the in-service education of school administrators: (1) publishing a new periodical which would carry abstracts of reports which have clear and direct relevance to practicing administrators; (2) making available to practitioners videotapes of interviews with school administrators who have succeeded in implementing innovative solutions to pressing educational problems; (3) designing a set of materials intended to inform administrators of the nature and use of new sources of information relevant to their problems and needs; and (4) developing, through interinstitutional cooperation, plans for experiences and "packages" of materials relating to significant contemporary problems in education, for use in continuing education programs with school administrators in various parts of the country.[208] Two additional suggestions for improving university-based in-service programs have been made by Cunningham and Nystrand: (1) that post-doctoral fellowships on a semester or academic year basis be offered to practicing administrators;[209] and (2) that "interdisciplinary management seminars" of two to four weeks' duration, which would be designed by faculty in a number of university departments to serve social agency and government administrators as well as schoolmen, be developed.[210]

Not all of those projecting new approaches to in-service programs have assumed that such efforts will be based in universities. Both Goldhammer[211] and Scott[212] have cited a need for joint efforts involving a variety of other organizations, and the former has suggested elsewhere that major universities should "establish throughout a state in-service education centers jointly staffed by school districts and the major training institution."[213] Finally, Albright has proposed that an entirely new facility be initiated to serve the continuing education needs of school administrators.[214] This agency, which he refers to as "an administrative staff college in education," would serve generally to help practitioners

> (1) acquire an articulate conceptual foundation, increased professional knowledge and sophistication, and greater comprehension of their roles in society, (2) develop sharper sympathies and flexibilities, improved analytical skills, self-assurance, and a finer appreciation of the complexities of our culture and of the modern world.[215]

It is encouraging to note that, unlike the vast majority of projected new approaches referred to throughout the present chapter, this proposal for an administrative staff college in education is currently being systematically tested and will likely be fully implemented soon in the form of the AASA National Academy for School Executives.[216]

References

[1] See, for example, Theodore L. Reller, "A Comprehensive Program for the Preparation of Administrators," *Preparing Administrators: New Perspectives*, Eds. Jack A. Culbertson and Stephen P. Hencley (Columbus: UCEA, 1962), p. 110.

[2] See, for example, The New York State Regents Advisory Committee on Educational Leadership, *Chief School Officers: Recommendations and Report of a Survey* (Albany: The Committee, 1967), p. ix.

[3] Russell T. Gregg, "Preparation of Administrators," draft of article prepared for *Encyclopedia of Educational Research* (Fourth Edition), 1969, p. 20.

[4] Daniel E. Griffiths, *The School Superintendent* (New York: The Center for Applied Research in Education, Inc., 1966), p. 53.

[5] The New York State Regents, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

[6] Keith Goldhammer *et. al.*, *Issues and Problems in Contemporary Educational Administration* (Eugene: Center for the Advanced Study of Educational Administration, University of Oregon, 1967), p. 111.

[7] Ronald G. Corwin, "Professional Persons in Public Organizations," *Educational Administration Quarterly*, Vol. I, No. 3 (Autumn, 1965), p. 18.

[8] John J. Hunt, "Politics in the Role of the Superintendent," *Phi Delta Kappan,* Vol. XLIX, No. 6 (February, 1968), p. 350.

[9] Luvern L. Cunningham and Raphael O. Nystrand, "Toward Greater Relevance in Preparation Programs for Urban School Administrators," *Educational Administration Quarterly,* Vol. 5, No. 1 (Winter, 1969), pp. 16-17.

[10] John A. Ramseyer, "The Computer and Educational Administration: Some Notions and Implications, *Computer Concepts and Educational Administration,* Eds. Robert W. Marker, Peter P. McGraw, and Franklin D. Stone (Iowa City: University of Iowa, 1966), p. 135.

[11] Gregg, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

[12] Goldhammer, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-11.

[13] Walter W. Scott, "Collective Negotiations: Implications for the Preparation of Administrators," *Collective Negotiations and Educational Administration*, Eds. Roy B. Allen and John Schmid (Columbus: UCEA, 1966), pp. 81-96.

[14] Gregg, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

[15] Goldhammer *et. al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

[16] See, for example, Francis Keppel, *The Necessary Revolution in American Education* (New York: Harper & Row, 1966), p. 152.

[17] Leonard Lecht, *Goals, Priorities and Dollars: The Next Decade* (New York: The Free Press, 1966), p. 162.

[18] Finis E. Engleman, "Role Descriptions and Common Elements in the Pre-Service Preparation of Principals and Superintendents," *Preparation Programs for School Administrators: Common and Specialized Learnings*, Eds. Donald J. Leu and Herbert C. Rudman (East Lansing: Michigan State University, 1963), p. 263.

[19] Reller, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

[20] Weldon Earnest Beckner, "A Proposal for Regional Organization of Graduate Study for Public School Superintendents in Eight Rocky Mountain States" (unpublished Ed. D. Thesis, School of Education, University of Colorado, 1966), p. 146.

[21] Donald E. Tope *et.al.*, *The Social Sciences View School Administration* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1965), p. iii.

[22] American Association of School Administrators, *The Professional Preparation of Superintendents of Schools* (Washington, D.C.: The Association, 1964), p. 45.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 31.

[24] Goldhammer *et.al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

[25] See, for example, Luvern L. Cunningham, Lawrence W. Downey, and Keith Goldhammer, "Implications for Administrator

TrainingPrograms," *The Social Sciences and Educational Administration*, Eds. Lawrence W. Downey and Frederick Enns (Edmonton: University of Alberta, 1963), p. 103.

[26] Erwin R. Miklos, "The Behavioral Sciences and Educational Administration: Some Reconsiderations," draft of chapter prepared for *Educational Administration: International Perspectives*, Eds. Geroge Baron, Dan Cooper, and William Walker (New York: Rand-McNally, 1969), p. 3.

[27] Goldhammer *et. al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

[28] Cunningham, Downey, and Goldhammer, *op. cit.*, pp. 97-98.

[29] Miklos, *loc. cit.*

[30] Keith Goldhammer, *The Social Sciences and the Preparation of Educational Administrators* (Columbus: UCEA, 1963), pp. 14-19.

[31] See, for example, Francis Keppel, *Public Policy in School Administration*, the first Alfred D. Simpson lecture on administration (Cambridge, Mass.: The New England School Development Council, 1961), pp. 17-18; and Charles E. Brown, "Educating Administrators for Education," a Ford Foundation reprint, 1968, p. 3.

[32] AASA, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

[33] Walter A. Anderson and Richard C. Lonsdale, "Learning Administrative Behavior," *Administrative Behavior in Education*, Eds. Roald F. Campbell and Russell T. Gregg (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1957), p. 445.

[34] Tope *et.al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

[35] Cunningham, Downey, and Goldhammer, *op.cit.*, p. 97.

[36] Goldhammer *et.al.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 154-155.

[37] Keith Goldhammer, "Implications for Change in Training Programs," *Knowledge Production and Utilization in Educational Administration*, Eds. Terry L. Eidell and Joanne M. Kitchel (Eugene: Center for the Advanced Study of Educational Administration, University of Oregon, 1968), p. 175.

[38] Cunningham and Nystrand, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

[39] Cunningham, Downey, and Goldhammer, op. cit., pp. 104-106.

[40] Robin H. Farquhar, "The Humanities and Educational Administration: Rationales and Recommendations," The Journal of Educational Administration, Vol. VI, No. 2 (October, 1968), pp. 100-105.

[41] Goldhammer, The Social Sciences and the Preparation of Educational Administrators, p. 47.

[42] John Walton, "The Education of Educational Administrators," Preparing Administrators: New Perspectives, p. 95.

[43] New York State Regents, loc. cit.

[44] American Association of School Administrators, The Education of a School Superintendent (Washington, D.C.: The Association, 1963), p. 23.

[45] James G. Harlow, "Purpose-Defining: The Central Function of the School Administrator," Preparing Administrators: New Perspectives, pp. 61-71.

[46] Jack Culbertson, "The Preparation of Administrators," Behavioral Science and Educational Administration, Ed. Daniel E. Griffiths (Chicago: National Society for the Study of Education, (63rd. yearbook., 1964), pp. 318-322.

[47] Jack Culbertson, "Common and Specialized Content in the Preparation of Administrators," Preparation Programs for School Administrators: Common and Specialized Learnings, pp. 44-47.

[48] Robert E. Ohm and William G. Monahan, "Next Steps," Educational Administration--Philosophy in Action, Eds. Robert E. Ohm and William G. Monahan (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1965), pp. 106-108.

[49] John E. Cheal, "The Art of Administration," Educational Administration Reporter, Vol. 1, No. 1 (January-February, 1967), pp. 2-4.

[50] William G. Walker, "Trends and Issues in the Preparation of Educational Administrators," draft of chapter prepared for Educational Administration: International Perspectives, p. 27.

[51] Goldhammer et. al., op. cit., p. 154.

[52] Ibid., p. 111.

[53] Ibid., p. 108.

[54] Cunningham and Nystrand, op. cit.

[55] Norman J. Boyan, "Problems and Issues of Knowledge Production and Utilization," Knowledge Production and Utilization in Educational Administration, p. 34.

[56] Gregg, op. cit., p. 37.

[57] Miklos, op. cit., p. 2.

[58] Ibid., pp. 8-10.

[59] Boyan, loc. cit.

[60] For a discussion of this problem, see UCEA Central Staff, Toward the Development of a 1969-1974 UCEA Plan for Advancing Educational Administration (unpublished planning document, 1967), p. 55.

[61] Culbertson, op. cit., p. 47.

[62] Harlow, op. cit., p. 70.

[63] Goldhammer, "Implications for Change in Training Programs," pp. 181-182.

[64] James B. Conant, "What Superintendents Lack," School Management, Vol. 7, No. 5 (May, 1963), p. 45.

[65] Reller, op. cit., p. 111.

[66] Tope et. al., op. cit., p. 12.

[67] UCEA Central Staff, "Programs" (paper prepared for a conference sponsored by the Ford Foundation, 1966), p. 11.

[68] Goldhammer et. al., op. cit., p. 107.

[69] Richard C. Snyder, "The Preparation of Educational Administrators: Some Problems Revisited in the Context of Establishing a New Graduate School of Administration," draft of a chapter prepared for Educational Administration: International Perspectives, p. 2.

[70] See, for example, Daniel E. Griffiths et. al., "The Theme," Behavioral Science and Educational Administration, pp. 3-4.

[71] UCEA Central Staff, The Selective Recruitment of Educational Leaders (Columbus: UCEA, 1966), p. 20.

[72] A recent expression of this belief appears in James A. Perkins, "The International Conference on the World Crisis in Education: Summary Report of the Conference Chairman," The Journal of Educational Administration, Vol. VI, No. 1 (May, 1968), p. 5.

[73] See, for example, Cunningham and Nystrand, op. cit., p. 16.

[74] Allan R. Talbot, "Needed: A New Breed of School Superintendent," Harper's Magazine (February, 1966), p. 81.

[75] Edward J. Meade, Jr., "Expanding the Community of Education," a Ford Foundation reprint, 1967, p. 11.

[76] Brown, op. cit., p. 7.

[77] Goldhammer et. al., op. cit., p. 182.

[78] Ross L. Neagley, Recruitment and Selection of School Administrators (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, CPEA-MAR, 1953), p. 32.

[79] Griffiths, op. cit., p. 49.

[80] M. Dale Baughman, "Sharpening the Image of School Administrators," Illinois School Research (May, 1966), p. 41.

[81] Earl Hanson, "What Is a School Superintendent," Saturday Evening Post, Vol. CCXXXIV (April 18, 1961), p. 18.

[82] Joseph H. Uzmack, Jr., "High School Students' Perceptions of the Chief School Administrator" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Pennsylvania State University, 1963).

[83] Committee for the Advancement of School Administration, The Case for On-Campus Residence (Washington, D.C.: AASA, 1963), pp. 8 ff.

[84] Roy M. Hall and Kenneth E. McIntyre, "The Student Personnel Program," Administrative Behavior in Education, pp. 397-398.

[85] Goldhammer *et al.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 111-113.

[86] Hall and McIntyre, *op. cit.*, p. 421 .

[87] Jack A. Culbertson, "New Perspectives: Implications for Program Change," *Preparing Administrators: New Perspectives*, p. 156.

[88] Brown, *loc. cit.*

[89] Baughman, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

[90] See, for example, New York State Regents, *op. cit.*, p. 2; Griffiths, *op. cit.*, p. 105; and Clyde E. Blocker, "Clinical and Humanistic Training as a Foundation for Effective Administration," *The Journal of Educational Administration*, Vol. IV, No. 2 (October, 1966), p. 110.

[91] Goldhammer, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

[92] Culbertson, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

[93] Walton, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

[94] New York State Regents, *loc. cit.*

[95] AASA and UCEA, "The Internship in Administrative Preparation: Some Action Guides" (1964), p. 2.

[96] New York State Regents, *op. cit.*, pp. 2-3.

[97] *Ibid.*, p. 3.

[98] Kenneth E. McIntyre, *Selection of Administrators* (Columbus: UCEA, 1966), p. 17.

[99] AASA, *The Professional Preparation of Superintendents of Schools*, p. 23.

[100] Donald E. Davis, "Report of Admissions Procedures and Standards for Entry into Training Programs in Educational Administration," report of survey conducted by University of Minnesota personnel (February, 1968).

[101] McIntyre, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-8.

[102] Kenneth E. McIntyre, "The Current Scene: How We Are Now Instructing Tomorrow's Educational Adminidstrtors," *Strategies in the Preparation of School Administrators*, Ed. Michael P. Thomas, Jr. (National Conference of Professors of Educational Administration, 1964), p. 4.

[103] Tope *et. al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

[104] McIntyre, *Selection of Administrators*, pp. 10-11.

[105] Harlow, *loc. cit.*

[106] Cunningham and Nystrand, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

[107] McIntyre, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-15.

[108] *Ibid.*, p. 17.

[109] AASA, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

[110] *Loc. cit.*

[111] Michael P. Thomas, Jr., Ed., *Strategies in the Preparation of School Administrators* (NCPEA, 1964).

[112] Gregg, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

[113] UCEA Central Staff, *Toward the Development of a 1969-1974 UCEA Plan for Advancing Educational Administration*, pp. 24-25.

[114] Luvern L. Cunningham, "Simulation and the Preparation of Educational Administrators," draft of chapter prepared for *Educational Administration: International Perspectives*, p. 27.

[115] John J. Horvat, *Professional Negotiation in Education: A Bargaining Game with Supplementary Materials* (Columbus: Charles E. Merrill, 1967).

[116] Robert E. Ohm, "A Game Model Analysis of Conflicts of Interest Situations in Administration," *Educational Administration Quarterly*, Vol. IV, No. 3 (Autumn, 1968), pp. 70-84.

[117] Paul Cullinan and Robert Ruderman, "A Prototype Computer-Based System," *The Design and Development of Prototype Instructional Materials for Preparing Educational Administrators* (Columbus: UCEA, Final Report, USOE Project No. 5-0998, 1968), pp. 86-147.

[118] Boyan, op. cit., pp. 34-35.

[119] UCEA Annual Report (1967-68), p. 4.

[120] Culbertson, "The Preparation of Administrators," p. 329.

[121] Cunningham and Nystrand, op. cit., p. 21.

[122] UCEA Committee on "Guides for Improving Preparatory Programs," "Improving Preparatory Programs for Educational Administrators in the United States: Some Action Guides" (unpublished document prepared for distribution to UCEA member universities, 1962), pp. 33-34.

[123] See, for example, Beckner, loc. cit.; CASA, op. cit., p. 19; and Gregg, op. cit., pp. 30-31.

[124] Goldhammer et.al., op. cit., p. 104.

[125] Conrad Briner, "The Role of Internships in the Total Preparation Program for Educational Administration: A Frontier Perspective," The Internship in Administrative Preparation, Ed. Stephen P. Hencley (Columbus: UCEA, 1963), p. 5.

[126] AASA, op. cit., p. 32.

[127] Gregg, op. cit., pp. 21-22.

[128] Briner, op. cit., pp. 5 and 7.

[129] Richard C. Lonsdale and Donald J. McCarty, "Learning Experiences for Tomorrow's Superintendent," The Internship in Administrative Preparation, pp. 62-64.

[130] AASA and UCEA, op. cit.

[131] Ward Sybouts, "The Internship in Educational Administration," The Journal of Educational Administration, Vol. VI, No. 2 (October, 1968), pp. 173-176.

[132] John A. Ramseyer, "The Internship: Some Problems and Issues," The Internship in Administrative Preparation, pp. 141-148.

[133] Culbertson, op. cit., pp. 327-328.

[134] UCEA Committee on "Guides for Improving Preparatory Programs," op. cit., p. 27.

[135] Cunningham and Nystrand, op. cit., pp. 19-20.

[136] UCEA Committee on "Guides for Improving Preparatory Programs," loc. cit.

[137] AASA and UCEA, op. cit., p. 1.

[138] Clifford P. Hooker, "Developing Internship Programs in Local School Districts: Patterns for the Future," The Internship in Administrative Preparation, pp. 24-30.

[139] Robert W. Brittell, "State-Wide Approaches to Developing Internship Programs: New Directions," The Internship in Administrative Preparation, pp. 32-34.

[140] Francis Trusty et. al., "Preparation for the Administrative Intern," Phi Delta Kappan, Vol. XLVII, No. 8 (April, 1966), pp. 454-455.

[141] AASA, op. cit., p. 45.

[142] Briner, op. cit., pp. 18-19.

[143] Beckner, loc. cit.

[144] Reller, op. cit., p. 110.

[145] Gregg, op. cit., p. 37.

[146] AASA, op. cit., p. 31.

[147] Gregg, op. cit., pp. 38-39.

[148] John H. M. Andrews, "Differentiated Research Training for Students of Administration," Educational Research: New Perspectives, Eds. Jack A. Culbertson and Stephen P. Hencley (Danville, Ill.: Interstate, 1963), pp. 363-364.

[149] Jack Culbertson, "Differentiated Training for Professors and Educational Administrators (paper prepared for Vice-Presidential Address, American Educational Research Association, 1968), pp. 13-17.

[150] Ramseyer, op. cit., p. 139.

[151] See, for example, Brown, op. cit., p. 10.

[152] Tope et. al., op. cit., p. 15.

[153] Beckner, op. cit., p. 147.

[154] Natt B. Burbank, The Superintendent of Schools: His Headaches and Rewards (Danville, Ill,: Interstate, 1968), pp. 16-17.

[155] McIntyre, op. cit., p. 12.

[156] New York State Regents, op. cit., p. 4.

[157] CASA, op. cit., pp. 19-20.

[158] Ross L. Neagley, Program for Full-Time Resident Students (Philadelphia: Temple University, 1967).

[159] Gregg, op. cit., pp. 24-25.

[160] See, for example, Culbertson, "Common and Specialized Content in the Preparation of Administrators," p. 58; and Goldhammer, The Social Sciences and the Preparation of Educational Administrators, p. 33.

[161] Gregg, op. cit., p. 34.

[162] UCEA Central Staff, "Long-Range Goals" (Paper prepared for a conference sponsored by the Ford Foundation, 1966), p. 4.

[163] Goldhammer et.al., op. cit., pp. 104-105.

[164] Ibid., p. 105.

[165] Ibid., p. 155.

[166] Ibid., p. 105.

[167] UCEA Central Staff, Toward the Development of a 1969-1974 UCEA Plan for Advancing Educational Administration, p. 58.

[168] Ibid., p. 86.

[169] Goldhammer et.al., op. cit., pp. 105-106.

[170] UCEA Central Staff, op. cit., pp. 86-87.

[171] Cunningham and Nystrand, op. cit., p. 12.

[172] Goldhammer et. al., p. 156.

[173] Ibid., p. 112.

[174] Cunningham and Nystrand, op. cit., p. 19.

[175] Goldhammer et. al., op. cit., p. 111.

[176] Goldhammer, op. cit., p. 42.

[177] See, for example, Roald F. Campbell, "The Professorship in Educational Administration: Preparation," The Professorship in Educational Administration, Eds. Donald J. Willower and Jack Culbertson (Columbus: UCEA, 1964), pp. 18-19; and Keith Goldhammer, "Notes on Institutional Relationships in the In-Service Education of the Professional Administrator," Continuing Education of School Administrators, Eds. Patrick D. Lynch and Peggy L. Blackstone (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1966), p. 41.

[178] UCEA Central Staff, "Professors" (paper prepared for a conference sponsored by the Ford Foundation, 1966), pp. 1-2.

[179] Jack Culbertson, "Post-Doctoral Education for Professors," UCEA Annual Report (1965-66), p. 3.

[180] Judson T. Shaplin, "The Professorship in Educational Administration: Attracting Talented Personnel," The Professorship in Educational Administration, p. 5.

[181] Shaplin's third type of professorial specialization is interpreted in this way in UCEA Central Staff, Toward the Development of a 1969-1974 UCEA Plan for Advancing Educational Administration, pp. 45-46.

[182] Roald F. Campbell, "Training Research Professors of Educational Administration," Educational Research: New Perspectives, pp. 342-343.

[183] Goldhammer et. al., op. cit., p. 114.

[184] UCEA Central Staff, op. cit., p. 57.

[185] Dan C. Lortie, "Complexity, Specialization and Professional Knowledge: Overall Strategies in the Preparation of School Administrators," Preparing Administrators: New Perspectives, p. 87.

[186] Goldhammer, "Implications for Change in Training Programs," p. 183.

[187] UCEA Central Staff, op. cit., pp. 61-62.

[188] Robert B. Howsam, "In-Service Education of School Administrators: Background, Present Status, and Problems," Continuing Education of School Administrators, p. 17.

[189] Goldhammer et. al., op. cit., p. 110.

[190] Ibid., p. 113.

[191] Ibid., p. 114.

[192] A. D. Albright, "An Administrative Staff College for Education," Preparing Administrators: New Perspectives, p. 138.

[193] Goldhammer et. al., op. cit., p. 110.

[194] Howsam, op. cit., p. 16.

[195] Albright, loc. cit.

[196] Howsam, op. cit., pp. 16-17.

[197] Goldhammer et. al., op. cit., p. 113.

[198] Ibid., pp. 157-158.

[199] AASA, In-Service Education for School Administration (Washington, D. C. : The Association, 1963), p. 7.

[200] Ibid., p. 74.

[201] Ibid., p. 104.

[202] UCEA Central Staff, op. cit., p. 62.

[203] Scott, op. cit., p. 92.

[204] Harlow, loc. cit.

[205] Benjamin C. Willis, "Continuing Education for Present Administrators," Preparing Administrators: New Perspectives, p. 122.

[206] *Ibid.*, p. 127.

[207] CASA, *In-Service Programs for School Administration* (Washington, D. C.: AASA, 1966).

[208] UCEA Central Staff, *op. cit.*, pp. 92-95.

[209] Cunningham and Nystrand, *loc. cit.*

[210] *Ibid.*, p. 21.

[211] Goldhammer *et.al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

[212] Scott, *loc. cit.*

[213] Goldhammer, "Notes on Institutional Relationships in the In-Service Education of the Professional Administrator," p. 43.

[214] Albright, *op. cit.*, pp. 138-150.

[215] *Ibid.*, p. 150.

[216] Stephen J. Knezevich and Michael J. Murphy, "The Emerging AASA National Academy," *Phi Delta Kappan*, Vol. L, No. 4 (December, 1968), pp. 224-227.

Chapter Eleven

Results of a Questionnaire Survey

Because the professional literature tends to be selective (in terms of both what is written and who writes it) a second approach was utilized in this study to provide additional data on the perceptions of "occuptational experts" concerning trends and needs in preparation programs for public school superintendents. This approach consisted of the design, testing, administration, and analysis of a questionnaire which was developed in two versions, one for response by personnel in university departments of educational administration and the other for response by chief school officers. The instrument was intended to yield information pertaining to certain aspects of current preparatory programs, changes which have been implemented in the programs during the past five years, perceived strengths and weaknesses of the programs, and predictions as to program changes which will likely become desirable within the next five-to-ten years. It is the purpose of the present chapter to report the methodology and results of this questionnaire survey. As in the preceding chapter, the emphasis here is upon briefly reporting the findings; interpretations and generalizations deriving from these data are offered in the next chapter.

Methodology

The development and execution of the questionnaire survey were conducted during the Spring, Summer, and Autumn of 1968. The means by which these tasks were accomplished comprise the subject of this chapter's initial section. First, the construction of the questionnaire is described and the responses to a limited pre-test of it are reported. This if followed by a discussion of the procedures employed and the results achieved in selecting the samples of respondents. Finally, consideration is given to some of the methodological and substantive limitations which must be recognized in interpreting the findings of the survey.

Design and Testing of the Questionnaire

As indicated above, two versions of the questionnaire, entitled "Trends and Needs in Preparation Programs for Educational Administrators," were developed for administration to university personnel and school superintendents, respectively. The two versions are identical except for minor differences in wording necessitated by distinctions between the two groups of respondents; in addition, the universities' version contains one question which does not appear in the superintendents' version. The instrument consists of two main parts. Each question in Part I solicits responses in terms of the ten program components discussed in Chapter Ten. Two Part I questions are common to both versions of the questionnaire; one of these asks for perceived strengths and weaknesses in the various program components at present, and the other requests opinions as to changes which will likely become desirable in the several components within the next five-to-ten years. Part I of the universities' version contains an additional question which seeks information on changes (additions, deletions, or alterations) which have been incorporated into the ten program components within the past five years. Thus, Part I of the questionnaire is designed not to provide descriptive information on how programs of preparation for the superintendency are now constituted, but rather to gather judgmental data on what the chief trends, strengths, weaknesses, and needs in these programs have been in the immediate past, are at present, and will likely be in the near future. The pursuit of this objective is based upon the assumption that preparatory programs are not static entities but are changing, growing, evolving organisms. Part I seeks to capture the major elements of this development at least insofar as they may be determined through examining the perceptions of those directly involved with them.

Most of Part II of the questionnaire, on the other hand, reflects an attempt to arrive at more precise, objective descriptions of selected current facets of a single preparatory component: program content. One of the Part II questions seeks to determine what disciplines external to Education are drawn upon for content in superintendent preparation and how this "out side" content is incorporated into pre-service doctoral programs. A second question lists ten topics which, in the opinion of the investigators, represent areas of emergent significance to the public school superintendency, and requests respondents to indicate whether each topic is covered thoroughly, slightly, or not at all in their programs, and whether exposure to the topic is mandatory or optional for prospective superintendents; space is provided under each topic for participants to elaborate upon their responses should they wish to do so. The final item in Part II of the questionnaire consists simply of a blank half-page in which respondents were encouraged to write any additional remarks they wished to make pertaining to their preparatory programs, especially in terms of the appropriateness of these programs to the public school superintendency of today and tomorrow.

The majority of the questions on the instrument are only slightly structured and are open-ended in nature. Because a basic purpose of the survey was to seek information rather than to test hypotheses -- information which is largely judgmental rather than objective in nature -- it was felt that minimal rather than maximal structuring would be most appropriate. The open-ended, semi-structured approach diminshed the danger of losing information which may be viewed as important to respondents but which might not have been anticipated by the investigators; it also represented a means by which valid response categories might be determined for possible use in future, more refined studies. Thus, *a priori* classification of responses and subsequent ease of analysis were sacrificed so that participants could be free to reflect their own perceptions and priorities without pre-ordained restrictions.

In general, the questionnaire seems to have provided the kinds of data it was intended to yield. The intent of the various questions was apparently understood by virtually all of the participants, and most of their responses appear to reflect thorough and critical thought. More specifically, with regard to Part I of the instrument, the ten-component framework seems to have provided a meaningful scheme within which respondents could organize their perceptions on the questions asked. There were very few examples of misinterpretation or confusion. In about a dozen instances, participants apparently were unable to differentiate between "program content" and "program structure"; also, in three or four cases "in-service programs" was misconstrued as continuing education for professors rather than for superintendents, and "program evaluation" as the assessment of graduate students rather than of preparatory programs. With reference to the questions asked in Part I, answers to the "strengths and weaknesses" item tended to be more detailed or thorough than responses to the "predicted future changes" question. Among the possible reasons for this are that answers to the latter question were viewed as implicit in those to the former, that participants felt less competent or confident in responding to the latter than to the former, or simply that by the time respondents had reached the latter question their time or interest was beginning to wane. In about half-a-dozen instances, there was evidence that participants had misread the questions and had merely described their programs rather than analyzing the trends and needs in them, and three or four respondents apparently answered the "predicted future changes" questions in terms of innovations which would occur but which would not necessarily be desirable. Regarding Part II, there appeared to be no cases of confusion or misinterpretation. Approximately half of the participants took advantage of the opportunity to elaborate on their answers to the second question ("coverage of selected topics"); the majority of these remarks were explanations of the ways in which certain topics were covered, and the remainder were largely either evaluative comments on the quality of coverage (mainly by school superintendents) or indications of plans for increased coverage in the future (mostly from university personnel). By and large, then, the questionnaire served the purposes intended for it by the investigators.

A limited pre-test of the universities' version of the questionnaire was conducted during the latter part of June.[1] The instrument, along with a list of six questions pertaining to the pre-test, was mailed to personnel in six universities which were randomly selected from the UCEA membership roster. In each case, the UCEA Plenary Session representative was asked to take primary responsibility for the completion and return of the questionnaire and pre-test instrument. Personnel in one of the universities asked to be excused from the pre-test because several members of their department, including the Plenary Session representative, were out-of-residence at the time. Responses were received from the remaining five universities in the sample. The results of the pre-test may be summarized, in relation to the six questions which were asked, as follows:

1. Did you find the structure of the instrument and the formulation of the questions to be clear, meaningful, and conducive to response? Three of the participants responded positively to this question and two responded negatively. Both of the latter felt that the items on the questionnaire were presented at so general a level that the responses generated would not be sufficiently precise to have much meaning.

2. Do you feel that the responses which you were able to give are truly indicative of trends in program elements at your university and of your department's dominant opinions concerning strengths, weaknesses, and future changes in your program? There were four affirmative responses to this item. The fifth participant (one of the two responding negatively to the first question) expressed reservations because "a thing so complex as a graduate program which has developed over more than a decade cannot be described adequately in a few arbitrarily categorized paragraphs."

3. Do you think it is realistic to expect that most UCEA member universities will complete the questionnaire? Four of the participants responded affirmatively to this question. The single exception was one of the two which responded negatively to the first question (but not the one responding negatively to the second).

4. Would you suggest any changes in the content or format of the questionnaire? The two participants that responded negatively to the first question suggested that the ten program components in Part I of the questionnaire be broken down into several sub-categories in order to elicit more specific answers. The remaining three responses were favorable, although one included some suggested topics which might be added to those in Part IIB of the instrument.

5. Approximately how long did the completion of your questionnaire take? Answers to this item varied in accordance with the ways in which responses were determined. Including the time spent deliberating with colleagues as well as that devoted to recording responses, estimates ranged from 1 hour and 45 minutes to "periodically for a couple of weeks."

6. How many professors were involved in completing your questionnaire? Of the four participants responding to this question, three of them had involved four persons in the task and one of them had involved six persons.

Two main conclusions seem indicated by the results of the pre-test of the universities' version of the questionnaire. One is that completing the instrument was found to be a demanding and time-consuming task -- but a task which the majority felt most UCEA member universities could be expected to accomplish. The second is that, while the majority of respondents felt that the questionnaire was satisfactory as then constituted, a significant minority of participants were concerned about the open-endedness and lack of specificity of the items (particularly in Part I of the instrument). In line with the investigators' opinion, discussed previously, that the open-ended, semi-structured nature of the instrument was appropriate to the survey's purposes, the decision was made to follow the majority opinion and administer the questionnaire unchanged. Nevertheless, the minority view was recognized as an important limitation of the study and is discussed as such later in the present section of this chapter.

Samples of Respondents to the Survey

Both versions of the questionnaire were administered by mail, and stamped return envelopes were enclosed for the convenience of participants. The letters of transmittal briefly described the study, encouraged cooperation, and guaranteed anonymity to all persons, places, and organizations associated with responses to the survey. In selecting the sample of administrators to whom the superintendents' version was sent, a letter was mailed in mid-June to the UCEA Plenary Session representative in each of the 57 universities then holding membership in the Council, requesting him to prepare and return a list of the names and addresses of all current public school superintendents who had received doctorates in educational administration from his university within the past five years (i.e., during and since 1963).[2] The investigators suspected that those who had graduated more than five years ago might have difficulty recalling several facets of their doctoral programs. It was felt necessary to go back as far as 1963 in selecting graduates so that a substantial number of administrators could be included in the sample and so that, as a group, they would represent a significant amount of post-doctoral experience in the superintendency. In response to the initial letter, lists of superintendents were received from 26 universities. In late July, a second request was sent to the 31 non-responding institutions, with the result that 25 additional responses were received. One university was eliminated from the population because, as a newly established institution, it had not as yet placed any graduates in public school superintendencies. Thus, lists of superintendents were received from 51 of the 56 eligible universities -- a response rate of 91 per cent.

As the lists were received during July and August, the superintendents' version of the questionnaire was mailed to those identified.[3] While almost 350 administrators were sent copies of the instrument, it is apparent that there were some errors in the universities' records because a number of the replies received indicated that the individuals concerned had graduated prior to 1963, had not yet received their doctorates, were not currently public school superintendents, or were not at the addresses listed by the universities. When these known ineligibles were eliminated there remaining a total of 325 persons apparently qualified to respond, although it seems likely that some of the non-respondents among these should have been disqualified as well. Approximately 145 responses had been received by mid-September, at which time a follow-up letter and inquiry along with an extra copy of the questionnaire were sent to each non-respondent. By December 31, the final deadline set by the investigators for inclusion in the analysis, a total of 180 returns had been received from superintendents, representing a conservatively estimated response rate of 55 per cent. Of the non-respondents, fourteen indicated that they could not devote sufficient time to completing a questionnaire as long as the superintendents' version, and four declined to respond because, while they had graduated within the past five years, they had completed the courses for their doctorates long ago and they felt that their perceptions would be so outdated as to be meaningless. The remainder of the non-respondents did not reply to the follow-up inquiry.

The universities' version of the questionnaire was administered in late July to all of the 57 UCEA member universities.[4] In each case, several copies of the instrument were sent to the UCEA Plenary Session representative, along with a letter requesting him to take responsibility for completing and returning one copy which would reflect the dominant opinions of his university's department of educational administration as a whole. The extra copies were for the use of his colleagues should he choose to involve them in the response process. This department-based approach was adopted rather than asking each professor to respond separately because it was believed by the investigators that (with particular reference to Part II) a department as a group could probably provide more accurate and complete information on the wide variety of program elements included in the questionnaire than could any individual professor. Thirty returns had been received by mid-September, when a follow-up letter and inquiry were sent with an additional copy of the instrument to each non-responding university. By December 31, the cut-off date, completed questionnaires had been received from a total of 46 institutions -- a response rate of 82 per cent for the universities' version. No replies to the follow-up inquiry were received from the non-responding institutions, aside from a few expressions of intent to participate at a later date.

As a matter of information, university participants were asked upon what bases their responses to the two opinion questions in Part I of the instrument ("strengths and weaknesses," and "predicted future changes") had been determined. Of the 46 participating institutions, 3 did not answer this question. All but 4 of the 43 replies indicated that responses had been arrived at either through consultation with individual professors (18), through deliberations of the department as a whole(12), or through a combination of these two methods (9). The remaining 4 institutional returns had been completed on the basis of the UCEA Plenary Session representative's interpretation of his department's dominant opinion.

Limitations of the Study

It is widely recognized that there are limitations inherent in questionnaire studies, and there is no need to catalogue the typical ones here. However, there are additional special problems associated with an exploratory, information-gathering survey such as this one which must be understood. The most significant limitation characterizing the present study results from the open-ended, semi-structured nature of the instrument and is related to the concern expressed by two of the participants in the pre-tests. Because specific response categories were not provided for most of the items in the questionnaire, it is meaningless to derive generalizations from the data in terms of comparisions among the universities represented. Each participant responded according to his personal values and priorities and in terms of his unique categorization scheme. His referents are individually determined and, without knowledge of them and how they relate to those of others, one cannot justifiably draw conclusions which associate differences and similarities among responses with differences and similarities among respondents (or groups of respondents). Nor is it possible to identify statistically significant differences or systematic tendencies in the responses, irrespective of the respondents, for significance and systematicness depend upon the recognition of non-random variances in the response distributions and, where responses are unstructured, non-randomness is virtually impossible to establish. It is possible, however, to generalize over the total sample of respondents in terms of the relative frequencies of various responses -- to identify those trends and needs, strengths and weaknesses, which are mentioned most often by participants --without attempting to impute statistical significance or systematicness to these findings. It is also possible to identify gross distinctions between the responses of school superintendents (as a group) and university personnel (as a group).

What this means, then, is that the results reported in the following section of this chapter represent the concerns expressed most often by the respondents in toto. It means that the findings reflect the dominant opinions of "occupational experts" in educational administration across the country. It means that some of these dominant opinions contradict others, for they are expressed by differing, unidentified sub-samples among the participants. It means that any conclusions drawn are applicable to no single university or "type" of superintendent, nor to any distinct group of universities or "types" of superintendents, but rather to universities or superintendents in general. This does not mean that all findings are applicable to all respondents; it does mean, however, that some findings are applicable to some respondents. It means, in essence, that the results reported indicate national trends and needs in the preparation of public school superintendents which are important in the perceptions of "occupational experts."

There are several other, perhaps less consequential, limitations inherent in this study, among which are the following:

1. Conscientious response was a time-consuming and intellectually demanding task. According to comments made by non-respondents the time factor, in particular, limited the number of responses received. Comments made by one of the participants in the pre-test, plus the fact that answers to the second question in the instrument tended to be somewhat less thorough than answers to the first, suggest that the quality of responses may also have been limited by these factors. While the investigators do not believe this to be the case, it must nevertheless be considered as a potential limitation of the study.
2. The responses of superintendents who received their doctorates four or five years ago -- especially those who finished their course work several years prior to completing their degrees -- may not be particularly applicable to preparation programs operating today. However, because of the slow pace of change characteristic of most preparatory programs, this possible limitation was of little concern to the investigators.
3. Commonality of meaning in the usage of terms may not have pertained in all cases. That is, an expression employed by one respondent may have meant something slightly different to him than the same expression meant to another who used it. Similarly, some of the terms in the questionnaire may not have been interpreted identically by different participants. While there is little evidence in the data to support this possibility, it could have been true, for example, of such terms as "interdisciplinary," "systems analysis," and "sensitivity training."
4. With regard to institutions in which superintendents may be prepared through alternative programs (e.g., for the Ed.C. and Ph.D. degrees), the questionnaire did not systematically differentiate between the alternatives; nor did it discriminate between programs or components designed specifically to prepare school superintendents and those intended for preparation in educational administration more generally. Thus, while distinctions were made by a few participants, the majority of responses must be viewed as perceptions of an institution's preparatory programs in general.

5. There may have been subtle interactions operating implicitly among respondents' perceptions of various program components. Thus, a perceived weakness associated with program content may have been attributable more to poor instructional approaches than to lackings in the content *per se*; similarly, what is viewed as a strength in graduate student research may have been a direct result of more effective recruitment and selection. The questionnaire provides no means by which the nature or extent of such interactions can be assessed.
6. The complex and personal character of perception suggests that a variety of psychological variables could have influenced responses. At a very general level, for example, one might expect some defensiveness or positive bias on the part of university personnel in discussing the programs which constitute their chief *raisons d'être*. Similarly, it could be anticipated that school superintendents would be favorably disposed toward programs which they successfully completed and which, in large part, made it possible for them to achieve their present positions and salaries. Nevertheless, as noted previously, the responses appear to reflect a high degree of critical objectivity, with a few notable exceptions.
7. While gross distinctions between the responses of superintendents and those of university personnel are indicated in this report, care must be taken not to impute too much significance to these differences. It is quite possible that some of the variations indicated are reflective more of differences among universities than of distinctions between the two samples of respondents. This is true because only one questionnaire was received from the university personnel associated with a given institution whereas anywhere from 0 to 13 returns were obtained from superintendents associated with a given institution.

These, then, are illustrative of some of the possible limitations which must be recognized in interpreting the results of this questionnaire survey. One final precaution should be noted in reference to the findings, especially those related to the "strengths and weaknesses" items. The results cannot be generalized to the point of interpreting them as indicators of relative satisfaction and dissatisfaction with current preparatory programs on the part of participants ; in fact, responses of a general nature such as "adequate," "good," "insufficient," and "poor" are usually ignored in the analysis which follows. Rather, the emphasis is upon respondents' perceptions of comparatively *specific* strengths and weaknesses related to particular components of the programs concerned.

Results

The questionnaire survey yielded a rather immense amount of data which may be analyzed in several ways with varying degrees of specificity. In the light of some of the limitations outlined previously, the analysis presented here is at a fairly general level. This section, thus, contains a condensed report of the main themes and dominant opinions (determined primarily on the basis of frequency of mention) reflected in the responses of the sample as a whole. No attempt is made to discriminate among findings according to university affiliations the location and nature of school districts represented, or other personal and situational characteristics associated with the respondents. Rather, the results reported here consist simply of the major trends and needs in the preparation of public school superintendents as perceived by a nationwide[5] sample of "occupational experts" in educational administration. A few relationships are noted, however, between the responses of university personnel and those of school superintendents in the sample. The organization of this section follows that of the questionnaire.

The Past, the Present, and the Future

As has been stated, respondents were asked in the first part of the instrument to indicate what, in their opinions, were the strengths and weaknesses of their preparatory programs, and what changes they felt would become desirable within the next five-to-ten years. In addition, university personnel were asked what changes had been implemented in their programs during the past five years. Responses to these questions were solicited in relation to the ten program components considered in Chapter Ten, and the discussion here is organized according to that framework. For each component, the strengths and weaknesses are treated first, followed by the recently implemented changes and, finally, the predictions as to the future. The terms utilized in describing frequencies according to broad proportional categories are largely relative in nature. Thus, "most" and "majority" refer to more than half of the responses on a given item; "significant" and "substantial" usually mean close to or more than one-tenth of the responses of the sample concerned, and "few," between 3 and 10 per cent; and "negligible" refers to less than 3 per cent of the respondents (responses made by "negligible" proportions are frequently not reported here).[6] The proportions indicated are based upon the number of persons responding to the question concerned rather than upon the total membership of the sample. Most of the figures in parentheses are the absolute numbers of responses of a given type.

Program Content. There appeared to be substantial agreement between superintendents and university personnel with regard to the content aspects of their preparation programs which they valued most highly. For both groups of respondents, the four strengths which were cited most frequently were: the interdisciplinary nature of program content, and particularly the incorporation of subject matter from the social sciences; the conceptual or theoretical characteristics of the content; the extent to which content was relevant to practice -- to current problems and needed skills in school administration; and the variety or breadth of content, which includes concern for the degree of articulation or balance achieved between theory-based and practice-oriented content. Clearly, these four identified strengths are inter-related and, as one would expect, the distribution of responses among them varied somewhat between the two groups of participants. For example, the proportionate number of superintendents (38=25%) recognizing practice-based content as a strength was greater than the proportionate number of university personnel (7=16%); conversely, the proportionate number of university personnel (16 =36%) recognizing discipline-based content as a strength was greater than the proportionate number of superintendents (17=11%). University respondents were also more likely than school superintendents to identify as program strengths conceptual - theoretical content (superintendents=16=10%, universities=6=14%) and theory-practice articulation in content (superintendents=17=11%, universities=9=20%). Content strengths which were cited by a few superintendents, but by none of the university personnel, included the incorporation of material from the humanities (mainly philosophy and, in one case, history) and of content on statistics or quantitative methods. Offerings on research methodology were perceived as a strength by a few university personnel but by a negligible proportion of the superintendents.

The weaknesses in program content indicated by respondents corresponded to some extent with the strengths, although there was a greater variety of weaknesses than of strengths identified. By far the most frequently cited weakness by superintendents (36=23%) was the lack of field-related content dealing with current problems, needed skills, and administrative tasks. This was identified as a weakness by only two (5%) of the university personnel. On the other hand, lackings in content on research methodology were named as a weakness by proportionately more university personnel (7=16%) than superintendents (3=2%). Several respondents in both samples felt that insufficient attention was paid to content related to new management and planning technologies such as PPBS, systems analysis, and operations research. The weaknesses in program content recognized by a few respondents in both samples included shortcomings in offerings of an interdisciplinary character (particularly from economics and political science) and an absence or neglect of content on personnel administration (specifically, collective negotiations). Weaknesses identified by a few superintendents, but by no university personnel, were an over-emphasis on research and statistics (perceived by some to be irrelevant or unnecessarily intricate) and the neglect of content on public relations. A few university personnel, but a negligible proportion of the superintendents, cited weaknesses in offerings of a conceptual-theoretical nature, poor theory-practice articulation, insufficient content drawn from the humanities (especially as applied to values), and lackings in content on curriculum and supervision, data-processing and the computer, and school administration in other countries (or "comparative administration").

The changes which have been implemented in the area of program content over the past five years illustrate, by and large, familiarity with the above strengths and weaknesses on the part of university personnel and an attempt to capitalize upon the former while seeking to eliminate the latter. There were very few deletions or decreases in emphasis noted, although three universities reportedly had cut out some technical ("how-to-do-it") content. However, several recent additions were cited. There were seven kinds of content additions reported by a significant number (more than 10 per cent) of the university respondents. In order of their frequency of mention, they were: increases in the amount of social science content offered (22 respondents) -- with specified disciplines being anthropology, economics, political science, social psychology, and sociology; more content of a conceputal or theoretical nature (15); additional research-related content -- including research methodology, the analysis of research, and the administration of research (14); and increased content offerings in the areas of new management and planning technologies (13), staff personnel -- especially collective negotiations (11), data-processing -- including statistics and computer programming (8), and urban school problems (7). Other content additions mentioned by personnel in a few (3%-10%) of the universities, were in the areas of federal-state relations, group processes -- including human relations and sensitivity training, supervision and curriculum theory, and the humanities. Three participants stated that they are up-dating their offerings in such traditional task areas as school law and finance, and two reported attempts to change their substantive focus to a problem-orientation. Two universities had apparently made no changes in program content within the past five years.

With regard to the future, there was substantial agreement between superintendents and university personnel concerning the changes in content which were predicted to become desirable by more than 10 per cent of the respondents in each group. Four such changes indicated by a significant number in both groups were: greater utilization of social science content (superintendents = 41, universities = 19), increased attempts to deal with current issues and problems in "the field" (superintendents = 38, universities = 7), more emphasis upon content dealing with staff personnel administration, particularly in the area of collective negotiations (superintendents = 35, universities = 9), and the incorporation of content on emergent management technologies (superintendents = 19, universities = 11). Changes which were predicted by more than one-tenth of the university personnel but by relatively few superintendents included increases in theoretical-conceptual subject matter and in content on research methodology (including statistics), more attention to social problems -- particularly within the urban context, and a growth in the technical or functional specialization of content. The one area which was predicted to receive more attention in the future by a significant number of superintendents but by comparatively few university personnel involved content on data-processing and the use of the computer in education. Changes which were predicted by a few (but more than 3 per cent of) respondents in both samples included increased attempts to bridge the theory-practice "gap," greater utilization of material from the humanities, fewer offerings of a technical or "how-to-do-it" nature, and incorporation of more content on educational planning, human relations (including sensitivity training), and business management. Numerous other content changes were predicted, but because each was mentioned by very few respondents they are not recorded here. It should be noted that two participants in each sample stated that they found it impossible at this time to Predict content changes which will likely become desirable within the next five years, and that this item was left blank in the returns from 3 universities and 31 superintendents. (While directions in the questionnaire asked respondents to leave an item blank if they predicted "no change" for that particular program component, it is probably not valid to conclude that all of these blanks should be interpreted as predictions of "no change" because of the likelihood that some participants had simply become tired of responding or were running out of time at this stage in completing the instrument.)

Program Structure. There was only one aspect of program structure which was identified as a strength by a significant proportion of respondents in both samples. This was individualized flexibility -- the adaptability of a program by which the experiences which comprise it may be differentiated from one student to another so that the unique needs of each can be optimally met. Thirty-five superintendents and 17 university respondents identified individualized flexibility as a strength in their programs. Another strength recognized by more than 10 per cent of the superintendents (25), although by relatively few university personnel (4), was structured sequence -- the logical progression of successive elements within the program which demonstrates that it was well planned according to some Gestalt conception of how the total preparatory experience should develop. The effectiveness of the incorporation of content from the social sciences into preparation programs, and of interdepartmental and inter-college relationships more generally, was cited as a strength by more than one-tenth of the university personnel (5), but by only a few superintendents (4). One strength which was cited by a few participants in both groups was the existence of an integrated common core of courses and/or other experiences within the program structure. Two program elements which were indicated to be structural strengths by a few superintendents, but by only one or two university personnel, were good balance between mandatory and optional offerings, and the breadth or variety of knowledge and experiences covered in the program. Coversely, the depth of specialization available was identified as a strength by those in a few universities but by none of the superintendents responding.

The single weakness in program structure which was indicated by over 10 per cent of the participants in both samples was a lack of sufficient flexibiligy. Thus, 18 superintendents and 8 university personnel were concerned about such characteristics as an over-abundance of compulsory courses, lack of attention to the individual needs and career goals of students, and too much dependence upon graduate school or state certification requirements. While this was the only weakness cited by a substantial number of superintendents, there were two others named by more than one-tenth of the university personnel (and by a few superintendents): a lack of, or poorly, sequenced content (reflected in such specific complaints as "interships and research courses came too late in the program" and "preliminary exams were administered before required courses were completed"); and a poorly constructed, or lack of a, common core, resulting in unrelated or fragmented course offerings. A few respondents in both samples identified the duplication or overlap of content in different courses and the unrealistic duration of certain preparatory experiences as structural was cited as a weakness by a few superintendents, but by no university personnel, and a lack of depth or focus in areas of specialization was a weakness indicated by a few of those in universities, but by a negligible proportion of the superintendents' sample.

The two most frequently cited changes in program structure which had been implemented by university personnel within the past five years were the establishment or refinement of a core of required courses, with options available for various specializations (in 9 instutions); and (in 8 universities) the development of increased individualized flexibility in tailoring programs to students' needs, facilitated by such means as diagnostic testing of candidates. Three other recent structural changes identified by more than 10 per cent of the respondents were: the improvement of working relations with departments in other colleges, resulting occasionally in the establishment of minors in social science disciplines (6); the development of a Gestalt conception, or integration theme(s), for the total program -- in some cases with a conmmitant increase in the amount of structure (5); and the improvement of sequence between successive program elements (5). An increase in the depth of, or opportunity for, specialization was cited as a recent structural change in two institutions. Several respondents indicated that they are currently attempting to completely restructure their preparation programs, and two stated that they had recently added a new doctoral program (in both cases, the Ph. D.). Three university personnel remarked that there had been no structural changes, or on by "incidental" changes, implemented in their programs within the past five years, and ten respondents left, this item blank on the questionnaire.

Predictions offered by respondents as to changes in program structure which will likely become desirable during the next five-to-ten years reflected in general an expected continuation and expansion of the changes which have reportedly been implemented in some institutions within the past five-year period. It should be noted at the outset that this item was left blank by 85 superintendents and 10 university personnel, and that 4 other superintendents either predicted little or no change or stated that they were unable to make predictions of this nature. In addition, 3 university respondents reported that they will soon be undergoing total program revisions and hence could offer no specific predictions about future changes in structure at this time. Hence, the total samples of participants responding to this question are somewhat smaller than those for previously discussed items.

Three structural changes which were predicted to become desirable in the near future by more than 10 per cent of the respondents in both samples were: increased flexibility, which included such characteristics as more adaptability with reference both to individual student needs and to changing problems and issues in the field, less regulation by state certification requirements, and a decrease in the number of mandatory preparatory experiences (superintendents = 25, universities = 9); better integration, coordination, and sequence among program elements (12 superintendents, 6 universities); and increased variety (breadth) of available offerings, with particular emphasis upon content in social science disciplines (superintendents = 10, universities = 5). Related to this last prediction was the suggestion, made by a significant number of university personnel (8) but by relatively few superintendents (5), that working relationships between departments of educational administration and "outside" divisions will be improved, with the prediction by two respondents that minors in social science disciplines will be built into their preparatory programs. (As one superintendent put it, there is a need for "the petty jealousies of professors and departments" to be overcome.) Another prediction made by over one-tenth of the university respondents (9) but by few superintendents (3) was that an integrated common core of preparation experiences (or sequence(s) of "blocks"), supplemented by a variety of electives, will be introduced or refined within their programs during the next five years. More than 10 per cent of the responding superintendents (10) but only a few of the university participants (3) predicted that it will become desirable to reassess the amount of time allotted to various elements within the preparatory program so as to improve the balance among such activities as course work, student research, and field-related experiences. Finally, a few respondents in both samples predicted that future programs will need to become more highly structured, with an increase in the number of required experiences and a decrease in the "cafeteria" approach to program design; and a few superintendents, but no university personnel, suggested that greater depth of specialization (especially of a problem-oriented nature) will soon become a desirable innovation in program structure.

Recruitment and Selection. The "strengths and weaknesses" item on this program component was left blank in the returns from six superintendents and one university, and nineteen superintendents stated that they were unable to respond to it because of their unfamiliarity with recruitment and selection practices in the universities they attended. In addition, four university personnel indicated that they either are now, or plan soon to be, seeking answers to this question but do not as yet have them. With regard to perceived strengths in current recruitment efforts, there was some apparent disagreement between the two samples of respondents. The only strength identified with considerable frequency by superintendents (13) was an emphasis on seeking candidates with prior successful administrative experience; yet this was identified as a strength by only one university participant. Conversely, a strength identified by more than 10 per cent of the responding university personnel (4) was a more expansive recruitment pool with emphasis upon attracting younger, less "seasoned" persons and people with a variety of previous experiences and educational backgrounds; this was cited as a strength by comparatively few superintendents (7). A related strength mentioned more frequently by university respondents (5) than by superintendents (3) was the recruitment of students from a broad geographical area (in some instances, both nationwide and international). Two recruitment strengths were cited by a few respondents in both populations: the utilization of well established contacts between professors and practitioners in seeking candidates recommended for advanced preparation; and the development of aggressive, well supported recruitment programs.

More weaknesses pertaining to recruitment were cited by more respondents than was the case with strengths. The one limitation identified by a significant proportion of both samples concerned a need for more active, systematic recruitment efforts with less dependence on chance or on the "self-recruitment" of candidates (superintendents = 31, universities = 13). The lack of adequate financial support for students was indicated to be a problem in recruitment by more than one-tenth of those in universities (8), but by only one superintendent. Another criticism levelled by over 10 per cent of the university representatives (5) but by relatively few superintendents (6) was that recruitment efforts are too geographically localized. On the other hand, a number of superintendents (14) but no university respondents felt that a weakness in current programs is an insufficient emphasis on recruiting candidates with successful prior administrative experience, with the result that some immature, naive students are attracted into advanced preparation. A few respondents in each category identified as a weakness the tendency of institutions to recruit too many experienced educators and to neglect talented younger people who have not worked extensively in the schools. Finally, a lack of functional contact with "the field" and a failure to consult practicing administrators in seeking candidates for preparatory programs was recognized as a recruitment weakness by three university representatives, but by only one superintendent.

There was no particular strength in the area of selection which was identified by more than two of the university respondents. The application of rigorous selection standards, especially of an academic nature, was identified as a strength by over one-tenth of the superintendents (17) but by only a couple of university personnel. A selection strength cited by a few respondents in both samples was the analysis of an extensive variety of data in screening applicants, and the consideration of non-intellectual characteristics (such as commitment and aggressiveness) and of subjective evaluations in selecting students was identified as a strength by several superintendents but by no university participants. Two members of each sample felt that a strong aspect of their preparation programs was the application of screening measures at several different points throughout the total preparatory experience.

There were only two weaknesses in selection which were perceived by more than one or two respondents in either sample. Twelve superintendents, but only one university representative, felt that an excessive reliance on a few tests (the GRE and Miller Analogies were offered as illustrations) constituted a weakness in current selection efforts and that more attention should be paid to such personal characteristics as emotional stability, creativity, and motivation in screening applicants. The most frequently mentioned selection weakness cited by university participants was the lack of demonstrated validity in predicting administrative success which is characteristic of currently available screening measures; this was identified as a problem by five university personnel but by only four superintendents.

There appear to be three main thrusts evident in the recruitment changes which have been implemented by universities within the past five years, two of which relate to the first limitation discussed in the preceding chapter (restricted pool) and one to the second limitation (haphazard methodology). A majority of the responding university personnel (25) indicated that they have recently taken steps to expand the pool from which their candidates are recruited. Of these, five respondents said that they had extended the geographical area within which they seek applicants, and a like number had reportedly begun to identify candidates at a younger age than previously; related changes, each implemented in four institutions, included increased recruitment of students from minority groups (especially Blacks), relaxation of requirements for prior administrative and teaching experience, and greater emphasis upon identifying potential candidates with diverse educational and experiential backgrounds; and three university personnel reported that they had recently begun seeking applicants for doctoral programs in educational administration from among undergraduates and Master's students. On the other hand, six respondents indicated that they had increased their emphasis upon recruiting from the traditional ranks of teachers and administrators. With regard to the second (methodological) limitation in recruitment discussed in Chapter Ten, ten university personnel indicated that they had developed more active and systematic approaches to the identification of potential candidates for advanced preparation, through such means as instituting filing systems on promising persons, establishing an annual recruitment luncheon, developing and disseminating recruitment brochures, and soliciting recommendations from successful graduates; among these respondents, two stated that their recruitment efforts had been advanced through the procurement of increased funds for student support.

In regard to changes in selection during the past five years, two chief trends are apparent, One is a tendency toward the application of more rigorous intellectual criteria in screening applicants. A recent thrust in this direction was indicated by sixteen university respondents, twelve of whom reported raising their admission standards and four of whom stated that they were placing increased emphasis in selection upon measures of academic aptitude. The second trend, also reflected in the returns from sixteen institutions, was toward departing from the traditional screening devices utilized. Of this group, twelve respondents indicated that they had stopped using certain tests (e.g., the Miller Analogies), had added new tests (e.g., the Current Affairs), or had rendered more precise the means by which test results were assessed; and four slated that they were using a greater number and variety of non-test indicators in screening applicants, such as interviews and evaluations of non-cognitive personality factors like social commitment.

Respondents' views on changes which are likely to become desirable within the coming five-to-ten-year period indicate, in general, an expectation that the above trends will need to be continued and extended. Seventy-two superintendents and six university personnel left this item blank; in addition, three superintendents predicted "no change" and two felt that change in this program component is "impossible to predict." Proportions reported below are based upon the remaining participants who gave specific responses to the item. A majority of the responding university personnel (21), and a substantial number of the superintendents (22), felt that it will become desirable to develop a wider base of recruitment for doctoral programs leading to the superintendency. Within this general category, particular extensions of the traditional talent pool that were mentioned included: more emphasis on identifying younger, less experienced candidates (superintendents = 11, universities = 4); seeking a greater number of persons with training and/or experience outside the field of Education (superintendents = 7, universities = 4); expanding the geographical area within which recruits are sought (superintendents = 1, universities = 4); and attempting to "tap" undergraduate and Master's programs for potential candidates (superintendents = 2, universities =2). The second most frequently mentioned need for the future was for the development of more systematic, aggressive recruitment programs by universities, thereby eliminating "accidental recruitment." This, too, was perceived as desirable by over 10 per cent of both samples (superintendents = 15, universities = 13). Two changes were predicted by more than one-tenth of the university personnel and by a few of the responding superintendents, one related to the necessity of universities' developing and utilizing closer working relationships with "the field" in identifying potential recruits (superintendents = 9, universities = 5), and the other involving the need to procure and allocate increased funds for the support of doctoral students (superintendents = 6, universities = 5). A change predicted to become desirable by a few superintendents, but by no university participants, was an increased emphasis upon recruiting into candidacy only those persons who have had prior successful administrative experience in the schools. The assignment of higher priority to the recruitment of full-time students was a change which a few university personnel, but no superintendents, stated would become desirable in the near future.

The only change in selection which was predicted to become desirable during the next five years by a significant proportion of both samples concerned a perceived need to develop screening measures which are better able to predict successful administrative performance. This general idea appeared in the responses of 25 superintendents and 7 university personnel. A large number of superintendents in this group felt that the traditional tests of cognitive ability should be replaced by such "more relevant" indicators as measures of "human" qualities, ability to work with people, creativity,motivation, initiative, self-confidence, ambition, courage, emotional stability, and physical endurance. A selection change predicted to become desirable by more than one-tenth of the superintendents (20), but by only two university personnel, was the raising of admission standards so as to render them more intellectually rigorous. Over 10 per cent of the respondents in universities (5), but only four superintendents, felt that selection methods will need to become more intensive and thorough ("less superficial") in the future than they are now. Related to this was the need, perceived by two university representatives but by only one superintendent, to introduce screening devices at several successive stages throughout the preparation program, rather than only at the point of admission. Finally, a few superintendents, but no university participants, felt that institutions will need to increase the involvement of practicing administrators in their selection of candidates for doctoral programs.

Instructional Approaches. Four superintendents and seven university personnel did not record any perceptions on strengths and weakness of instructional approaches utilized in preparing chief school officers. Eight superintendents but, unsurprisingly, only one university respondent cited no specific strengths and weaknesses, but stated that the quality of instructional approaches in their universities varies from one professor to another -- as one superintendent put it, "from excellent to unbelievably bad." From the perceptions of the remaining participants one theme emerges rather clearly -- traditional lecture approaches are unpopular, and a variety of less formal (especially reality-oriented) methods and materials are highly valued.

The only perceived strength which was recognized by a significant number of respondents in both samples was the utilization of a wide variety of instructional approaches in preparatory programs (superintendents = 26, universities = 8). The strength cited most frequently by superintendents (45), although by only two university participants, was an emphasis upon seminars and small discussion groups. The use of case studies was another instructional approach which was apparently highly valued by superintendents (25), but was identified as a strength by relatively few university personnel (4). Two strengths indicated by more than 10 per cent of the respondents in universities but by only a few superintendents were the use of simulation or other role-playing techniques (superintendents = 9, universities = 8), and the "teaming" of professors in teaching (superintendents = 2, universities = 5). A few members of both groups perceived a de-emphasis upon traditional lecture-and-discussion approaches and a high incidence of student participation in classes to be strong aspects of their programs. Lectures by "outside experts" and contact with reality through field trips were viewed as strengths by a few superintendents, but by only one university respondent in each case. A few of those in universities, but a negligible number of superintendents, believed the use of computer-assisted methods and the encouragement of individualized professor-student relationships to be among the strengths of instructional approaches practiced in their doctoral programs.

With regard to weaknesses, the single criticism levelled by over one-tenth of those responding in both samples was that too much reliance is placed upon the traditional, professor-centered, lecture-and-discussion method, with little or no use of the "new" media which are available (superintendents = 55, universities = 8). More specific expressions of this general criticism were reflected in the identification of several other instructional weaknesses: a few respondents in both samples felt that there was insufficient use of simulation materials in their programs; a few university personnel, but a negligible number of superintendents, identified a lack of coordination among the approaches utilized by different professors as an instructional shortcoming, and expressed the view that the variety of methods and materials employed was inadequate; and a few superintendents, but no university participants, felt that more cases and seminars were needed in their programs. Finally, two possible reasons for inadequacies in current instructional approaches were offered by some of the university respondents; a shortage of staff time to develop and experiment with novel methods and materials, and a lack of evidence demonstrating the relative value of the various approaches available.

The apparent trend reflected in changes of an instructional nature implemented in universities during the past five years suggests a recognition of the dominant theme indicated in the above responses to the "strengths and weaknesses" item. Of the forty-three university personnel responding to this question, a substantial majority (34) indicated that they had either introduced or expanded the use of simulation in preparing superintendents and large proportion s of them mentioned increases in the use of cases (17) and seminars (13) in instruction. More than 10 per cent of them (5) stated that they had begun experimenting with such new approaches as micro-training and computer-based instruction and simulation, and many mentioned the expanded utilization of audio-visual materials -- specifically tapes, films, and television (6); team teaching (5); and gaming (5). Changes in instructional approaches reported as having been recently implemented in three or four institutions included declines in the amount of professor-centered lectures and corresponding increases in student participation in classes, more field-oriented instruction through such methods as school visitations and lectures by practicing administrtors, expanded use of programmed instruction or independent study, introduction of group dynamics methodologies (including T-grouping), and greater emphasis upon laboratory training exercises.

Predictions as to changes in instructional approaches which will likely become desirable within the next five-to-ten years reflect an anticipated continuation of the thrust indicated above. Of the 110 superintendents and 35 university personnel recording specific responses to this item more than 10 per cent in both samples felt that the near future should bring a growth in the use of simulation (superintendents = 30, universities = 14), increased utilizations of seminars and small discussion groups (superintendents = 26, universities = 7), fewer traditional lecture-and-textbook approaches with more emphasis upon student involvement and participation in classes (superintendents = 21, universities = 11), and greater experimentation with and employment of a variety of emergent and new media such as closed-circuit television and instant-replay videotape (superintendents = 19, universities = 8). A substantial number of superintendents, but relatively few university personnel, predicted that more extensive use of cases will become desirable and that attempts will likely be made to improve the integration of instructional approaches with field-related experiences through such means as school visitations and "practicums." More than one-tenth of the university respondents, but only a few superintendents, expressed the belief that it will become advisable during the next decade to expand the utilization of computers, of team teaching, and of laboratory methods in preparing chief school officers. Finally, a few respondents in each group predicted that the future should bring increased use of group dynamics and sensitivity training methods, and of such approaches to individualized instruction as tutorials in doctoral programs.

Field-Related Experiences. There was a high rate of response to the questionnaire item on strengths and weakness of field-related experiences in preparation programs for superintendents. Only four superintendents left the item blank; two indicated that they did not know the answer; and three university personnel declined to respond because they are currently in the process of assessing their strengths and weakness and have as yet no results to report. A significant proportion of the respondents in both samples viewed the field-related experiences in their programs favorably. More than 10 per cent of the participating superintendents and university personnel cited the involvement of students in "meangingful" internships (superintendents = 31, universities = 6) and their participation in field studies (superintendents = 43, universities = 5) as strengths. About one-third of these respondents specified that the experiences referred to were required in their programs. No other strengths were cited by more than one-tenth of the superintendents. However, two other factors were identified as strengths in currently offered field-related experiences by over 10 per cent of the university personnel responding and by a few of the superintendents: the wide variety of experiences available (superintendents = 8, universities = 6), and the special opportunities provided through such College-based agencies as a Bureau of Field Services and facilitated by excellent staff contact with "the field" (superintendents = 5, universities = 8). One strength identified by 3-10 per cent of the respondents in each sample concerned the flexibility of field-related experiences in that they were not required activities but were available for students with little previous administrative experience who could benefit most from them, or in that they were consciously "tailored" to fit the unique needs and career goals of individual students (universities = 3, superintendents = 15). The availability of opportunities to visit, and to observe in operation, schools and a variety of other community agencies was cited as a strength by eleven superintendents, but by no university participants; and the incorporation of field-related experiences into other program components (e.g., through being an integral aspect of certain courses) was viewed as a strength by a few of those in universities, but by only two superintendents.

The most frequently identified weakness in field-related experiences -- cited by more than one-third of the respondents in both categories -- was a general deficiency of or underemphasis upon such activities in doctoral programs (superintendents = 62, universities = 19). This complaint was applied, in most cases and almost equally, to internships and survey participation, and it was variously expressed in terms of none or an insufficient number of such opportunities being possible, not enough time being devoted to those that were available, or full advantage not being taken of the potential learning experiences inherent in them. A significant number of superintendents and a few university personnel were critical of the quality (rather than the number, as above) of available field-related experiences (superintendents = 21, universities = 4). Among the specifically reported manifestations of this perceived weakness were a lack of diversity in internships, a haphazard and variable (rather than systematic) approach to incorporating field activities into the preparatory program, a lack of individualization in "molding" field experiences to students' needs and goals, fragmentary participation in comprehensive surveys, and poorly planned and supervised internships. A weakness identified by over 10 per cent of university respondents (6), but by only two superintendents, concerned the lack of sufficient staff time which could be devoted to the development and implementation of meaningful field-related experiences; and a few of those in universities, but no superintendents, stated that adequate financial support was not available for this purpose. A few superintendents, but only one or two university personnel, felt that their programs suffered because field activities were not required during preparation, and similar proportions of the respondents perceived as a weakness the total lack of internships in their programs.

With regard to changes in field-related experiences which have been implemented in universities during the past five years, two respondents reported no change, one reported dropping the internship program because of a cutback in funds, and five did not respond to this item; all of the remaining institutions in the sample had apparently increased and/or improved their offerings related to this program component. The most frequently cited change (12) was the introduction of internships on an optional basis, particularly for students lacking in administrative experience. This was followed, in terms of frequency of mention, by increases in the amount of student participation in survey activities (11) and in the number of students involved in internships (7). General enrichments and extensions of the survey and internship opportunities available to prospective superintendents had been achieved in seven of the institutions included in the sample. Six universities reported the introduction of comparatively innovative practical components into their programs; these included the establishment of internships in regional, state, and federal education agencies (including Title III Centers), the creation of "field stations" in urban centers, and the introduction of periodic observation visits to the headquarters of national educational organizations and to big city school systems. The availability of chances to participate in school surveys had been introduced in three institutions (in one of which the studies were conducted exclusively by student teams), and involvement in field-related experiences had been made a requirement for the doctorate in two of the programs. Two university respondents stated that they had, within the past five years, taken steps to render their internships more flexible and adaptable to the needs of individual students.

On the questionnaire item related to changes in field-related experiences which will likely become desirable within the next five-to-ten years, 48 superintendents and 7 university personnel did not respond, three superintendents predicted no changes, and five others gave responses which were not sufficiently specific to be included in this analysis. Four changes were predicted by more than 10 per cent of the remaining members of both samples. The most frequently mentioned response called for a general increase in the number and variety of field-related experiences available to doctoral candidates (superintendents = 43, universities = 10). Next, in terms of frequency of mention, was the prediction that internship programs would need to be expanded and improved (superintendents = 30, universities = 15). Three relatively specific kinds of expansion or improvement were cited by several of these participants -- the availability of internship opportunities for a greater number of students (superintendents = 16, universities = 4); the establishment of a wider variety of intern posts -- including placements in federal, state, county, and local school offices, in state legislatures, and in a variety of non-school community agencies (superintendents = 6, universities = 7); and the development of more concentrated, intensive, better supervised internships (superintendents = 8, universities = 1). The third most frequently mentioned change viewed as advisable for the future was an increase in the usefulness or meaningfulness to the student of field-related experiences in general (superintendents = 29, universities = 4). Specific recommendations by these respondents included improvements in the design and direction of field activities, increases in the number of observational visits to a variety of school-related agencies, greater care in assigning students to field experiences which are closely related to their needs and aspirations, better integration of field activities into the total preparatory program, more in-depth projects in single school districts, and more experiences in urban systems. The fourth change predicted by more than one-tenth of the respondents in both samples was that field-related activities (especially internships) will need to become a required facet of the total program of preparation for the superintendency, especially for students with little or no prior administrative experience (superintendents = 16, universities = 6). Finally, a few members of both samples felt that it will become desirable to introduce internships into their programs in the near future; a few superintendents, but only one university respondent, felt that greater emphasis would be placed on student participation in school surveys; and a few university personnel, but a negligible proportion of the superintendents, perceived a future need to improve and formalize contacts between universities and school districts, and to evaluate the effectiveness of field-related experiences in the preparation of chief school officers.

Student Research. Only four superintendents and five university personnel declined to respond to the "strengths and weaknesses" item related to student research. Two other superintendents cited no particular strengths or weaknesses but said that the quality of student research depends on one's adviser. Of the strengths identified by the remaining respondents, the most frequently mentioned was the accordance of a high degree of freedom to the student in selecting his dissertation topic and methodological approach (superintendents = 28, universities = 4). Another strength cited by a significant proportion of the members in both groups was the involvement of students in experiences other than (and frequently prior to) the dissertation which help to develop their research skills (superintendents = 18, universities = 6). Included among specifically noted examples of such activities were attendance at national research meetings, writing qualifying papers, enrollment in courses on research methodology, employment as research assistants to professors, and participation in seminars devoted solely to the discussion of dissertations underway or being planned. Over 10 per cent of the superintendents (28), but (modestly) only one university respondent, indicated that the high level of interest, assistance, and competence on the part of faculty advisers constituted a strength in the student research component of their programs. Strengths identified by more than one-tenth of the university personnel but by relatively few superintendents included the high or increasing degree of sophistication evident in student research -- as indicated by evidence of theoretical bases, careful design, and advanced methodologies (superintendents = 12, universities = 13); and the availability of good supporting facilities such as a well-stocked library, an easily accessible computer center, and a Bureau of Educational Research (superintendents = 6, universities = 5). A few respondents in both groups cited as strengths the focus of student research on timely and relevant problems, the opportunity for the studies of several students to be integrated so as to generate a substantial programmatic research thrust, and the focus upon empirical studies in their programs. A few superintendents, but none of the university respondents, perceived an emphasis upon applied or action research in their programs as a strength; and several practitioners, but only one university participant, felt that the extensive variety among different kinds of studies conducted was a strong aspect of their institutions' programs.

There were no weaknesses in student research which were identified by more than one-tenth of the respondents in both samples. Over 10 per cent of the superintendents (18), but only two of the university participants, stated that their research suffered from a lack of adequate interest, help, or competence on the part of their faculty advisers. Two weaknesses identified by more than one-tenth of the university personnel but by relatively few superintendents were the lack of coordination or integration among the research projects of different students, or of students and professors, with the consequence that results tended to be isolated or fragmented (superintendents = 14, universities = 10); and the inadequacy of training in research design and methodology provided for students (superintendents = 9, universities = 7). A few respondents in both groups felt that student research in their programs tended to be of little relevance to prospective superintendents, in that the topics were of no practical significance or the studies did not succeed in improving the students' research skills. A few superintendents, but no university personnel, criticized the lack of freedom on the students' part to select their own dissertation topics or methodological approaches. Finally, a few university participants, but a negligible proportion of the superintendents, identified low standards or insufficient sophistication as a weakness in student research at their institutions.

Of the 38 university personnel responding to the question on changes in student research which have been incorporated into their programs over the past five years, three stated that there had been no change in this component. The most frequently mentioned change by the remainder involved increased emphasis upon particular kinds of research by students. Among the types of studies most often referred to by the 33 institutions claiming innovations of this nature were empirical (11), theoretical (8), statistical (4), and experimental (3). Three other recent advancements reported to have been instituted in a substantial number of the universities were an increase in the integration of individual student research projects (6), a growth in the sophistication of research designs and methodologies -- including more common use of advanced statistics and computer technology in analysis (5), and a provision of additional opportunities for students to participate actively in faculty research activities(4). Two university respondents stated that the past five years had seen the emergence of student research on problems which were considerably more timely and relevant to the role of the superintendent than had been the case previously, and a like number of institutions had introduced or expanded their course offerings on research methodology. Finally, three resource-related alterations were reportedly achieved in one university each -- the procural and allocation of increased funds to support student research; the addition of new, research-oriented faculty; and the connection of student projects to university-based research organizations.

More than half of the sample of superintendents (95) and fourteen participating university representatives declined to respond to the questionnaire item on changes in student research likely to become desirable within the coming decade. In addition, five superintendents and four university respondents stated that they anticipated no such changes. Among the remainder, the change predicted most frequently was an expected growth in the relevance or problem-orientation of student research, with more emphasis on making a direct contribution to the resolution of significant, contemporary policy issues confronting the superintendent of schools (superintendents = 22, universities = 5). Other changes expected to become desirable during the next five-to-ten years by more than one-tenth of those who responded specifically were: greater emphasis upon coordination and integration among individual student research projects--variously referred to by participants as "programmatic" or "team" research (superintendents = 12, universities = 11); provision of more training in the design and methodologies of research (superintendents = 9, universities = 4); and increased flexibility and variety in the choice of topics and approaches to be pursued, with substantial attention being paid to the individual needs, abilities, and interests of students (superintendents = 8, universities = 4). More than 10 per cent of responding university personnel (5), and several superintendents (7), were of the opinion that student research in the near future will need to achieve a higher level of sophistication, particularly as reflected in theoretical bases, rigorous methodologies, and computer-programmed analyses. Over one-tenth of the responding superintendents (11), but only one university representative, felt that more time, attention, interest, and competency would need to be devoted by professors to student research in the coming decade than is the case at present. A few members of both samples expected soon to see a growth in the proportion of experimental studies conducted by students and in the number of research opportunities made available to students prior to embarking upon their dissertations. And two small groups of superintendents, but none of the respondents in universities, expressed opposing expectations: four of them predicted that student research should receive more emphasis during the next decade in relation to other components of the total preparatory program, while three anticipated that it will become desirable to eliminate student research entirely from the doctoral-level preparation of superintendents and to replace it with expanded field-related experiences.

Requirements for Graduation. The most frequently perceived strength, by the 172 superintendents and 38 university personnel responding to the questionnaire item on strengths and weaknesses related to requirements for graduation, concerned required periods of full-time residency

(33 superintendents, 6 universities). Of these respondents, approximately half specified no particular duration of the required residency which they viewed as desirable, and the remainder were split almost equally between one-year and two-year periods. It should be noted, incidentally, that three superintendents (but no university personnel) felt that a lack of a residency requirement was a strength in their programs. Four other requirements for graduation were viewed as strengths by a few respondents in either or both samples: work in related disciplines external to Education (superintendents = 8, universities =2); limited competency in a foreign language (superintendents = 8, universities = 1); field-related experiences (superintendents = 6, universities = 3); and data-processing and research activities (superintendents = 6, universities = 1). Expressing views contrary to the second group above were twelve superintendents and one university respondent who felt that the lack of a foreign language requirement constituted a strength in their programs, and four superintendents and one university person who perceived as a strength the opportunity in their programs to substitute for the foreign language requirement some other experience (such as additional work in statistics, research methodology, or a related "outside" discipline). A strength identified by a substantial number of university personnel (7) but by a lesser proportion of the responding superintendents (11) was the flexibility of requirements for graduation in their institutions where, as one professor said, "more attention is paid to student needs than to credit hours." Other strengths related to requirements in general which were identified by a few participants included the demandingly high level of standards (superintendents = 6, universities = 2), the clear specification and consistent application of criteria for completion (superintendents = 6, universities = 0), the achievement of breadth and balance among requirements (superintendents = 5, universities = 0), and the freedom from "false hurdles" in their programs (superintendents = 4, universities = 0).

The only weakness related to a particular existing requisite for graduation that was recognized by more than one-tenth of the respondents in either sample related to the view that the foreign language requirement is of questionable, if any, value to prospective superintendents (superintendents = 21, universities = 2). Several practitioners (13), but only one university participant, identified the residency requirement as a weakness, particularly because it is too expensive for students in terms of both time and money. (As one superintendent put it, "they lose good men that way.") About one-tenth of the university respondents, but only two superintendents, felt that there were too many "false hurdles" in their programs which, as one professor stated, "make program planning difficult without contributing to program quality." Another substantial group of respondents (primarily superintendents) identified some weaknesses, not in existing requirements, but in requirements which are lacking in their programs. Predominant among these criticisms were, in order of frequency of mention: an insufficient requirement of field-related experiences (superintendents = 15, universities = 1), not enough required work outside the College of Education (superintendents = 7, universities = 1), and an inadequate (or no) period of required residency (superintendents = 4, universities = 0). A few respondents in both categories felt that their requirements for graduation were too rigid, lacking flexibility in terms of students' individual needs or interests; and a similar proportion of participants criticized the large number of courses (some of which were reportedly repetitive and some of limited value) required in their programs. A few superintendents, but only one university person, felt that their programs suffered from inconsistent or vague requirements which were occasionally "kept secret from students." Finally, two weaknesses identified by a few university respondents but by no superintendents were that too many of their requirements were imposed from sources external to the Department of Educational Administration (specifically, policies of the College of Education and state certification laws), and that their programs take too long to complete because of excessive requirements.

In response to the question on changes in requirements for graduation which have been implemented within the past five years, seven university personnel left the item blank and ten reported that there had been no such changes made. One change was reported by a majority of the remainder: a decrease in the strenuousness of the foreign language requirement (16). Within this group, seven reported that it had become possible for prospective superintendents to substitute for a language some other kind of work, such as study in a related discipline or in statistics and research design; five indicated that the number of languages in which some competency was required had been reduced from two to one; and three stated that the foreign language requirement had been dropped completely. Three other recent changes were reported by more than one-tenth of the respondents: the introduction or extension of a required period of residency (12, with 8 specifying a one-year period, and 2 a two-year period); the establishment of a requirement that several hours be taken in disciplines "outside" of Education, with the amount ranging from 10 per cent of the total program to thirty hours (7); and the initiation of required courses in statistics and/or research design (5). An increase in the individualized flexibility of requirements for graduation, a decrease in the number of courses required for the doctorate, and the introduction of required field-related experiences were changes reported as having been recently incorporated into preparatory programs for superintendents in two or three of the institutions responding.

A total of 81 superintendents and 23 university participants either did not or could not respond to the questionnaire item on changes in requirements for graduation which will likely become desirable within the next five-to-ten years. Two superintendents and four respondents in universities predicated that no changes in this program compenent will be needed in the next decade. The values reflected in the responses of the remainder tend to reiterate those expressed in the preceding paragraphs. The change predicted most frequently by respondents to this item involved an increase in the emphasis placed upon required field-related experiences, predominantly internships, in the preparation of future superintendents (superintendents = 24, universities = 2). Another change viewed as advisable by a significant proportion of the chief school officers concerned the abolition or reduction of foreign language requirements (superintendents = 18, universities = 2); of these respondents, both university representatives and twelve of the superintendents predicted a need to abolish the requiremnt, while six practitioners felt it would become desirable to permit substitutes (especially statistics and research design) for the language requisite. It should further be noted, however, that three superintendents stressed their belief that the foreign language requirement should be retained in future doctoral programs. The change predicted most frequently by university representatives was an increase in the individualized flexibility of requirements for graduation, with fewer common restrictions being applied (superintendents = 11, universities = 7). There was considerable difference of opinion on the future desirability of a required period of residence for prospective superintendents: while some felt that required residency periods should be introduced or increased in the years ahead (superintendents = 12, universities = 3), others believed they should be eliminated or reduced (superintendents = 10, universities = 1). One other change predicted by at least 10 per cent of those responding specifically to this item concerned an anticipated removal of "petty barriers" or irrelevant requirements from preparatory programs for chief school officers (superintendents = 14, universities = 2). On the other hand, three practitioners felt that the number of requirements should be increased and the programs lengthened so as to incorporate all of the rapidly emerging knowledge relevant to the superintendency. Three changes were predicted to become desirable by a few members of both samples: more required work in related disciplines (especially the social sciences), increased rigor of requirements through establishing higher standards, and a grwoth in the amount of research-related experience required. In contrast to the latter view, six superintendents (but no university personnel) felt it would be desirable to permit substitutes (particularly of a field-related nature) for required research activities. Finally, a few superintendents, but none of the respondents in universities, stated that requirements for graduation in the future would need to be better clarified and more consistently applied to doctoratal candidates than they are at present.

Program Evaluation and Development. Fifteen superintendents and five university participants did not respond to the questionnaire item on strengths and weaknesses related to program evaluation and development. Moreover, nineteen superintendents stated that they could not answer because they knew nothing about how or whether their universities' programs were assessed and refined. Five additional superintendents said that it was impossible for the programs at the institutions they attended to be evaluated according to their success in preparing "good" superintendents (as this component was defined in the questionnaire) because their programs were not aimed directly at preparation for the superintendency. Five other superintendents perceived program evaluation and development in their institutions favorably, but responded in such unspecific terms as "adequate," "good," or "excellent."

Among the remaining responses the particular strength most frequently cited was the periodic employment of informal, unstructured means of program evaluation (superintendents = 13, universities = 5). The strength identified most often by superintendents (14), but by only two university personnel, was the regular solicitation of reactions to the program from its graduates through follow-up questionnaires or interviews. The institution of regular faculty meetings for self-study purposes was the strength receiving the most mention from university respondents (8), although from only two superintendents. Twelve superintendents and three university representatives felt that systematic, thorough, and continuous program assessment and revision took place in their institutions, and a few respondents in both categories cited as a strength the fact that program changes occur, the implication being that consequential evaluation and development must therefore have been conducted. Another strength identified by a few members of both samples was the frequent seeking of reactions to the program from students currently enrolled in them. A few superintendents, but none of those in universities, perceived as strengths in their programs the solicitation of reactions and advice from practicing school administrators and the utilization of external evaluations (presumably by national, regional, and state accrediting associations). One strength was cited by a few university respondents but by no superintendents: the formation of college - or university - wide committees to advise on program evaluation and development in educational administration.

The weakness in this component most frequently mentioned by superintendents, and by a significant proportion of the persons in universities as well, was that little or no evaluation and development of their programs was conducted (superintendents = 40, universities = 5). It should be noted, though, that about a dozen of these practitioners added to this response a qualification such as "to my knowledge" or "that I know of"; and it is quite likely that those progressing through a program as students are unaware of all the ways in which faculty members are endeavoring to evaluate and improve it. The weakness most often cited by university respondents, and also by more than one-tenth of the superintendents, was that systematic, precise, or continuous evaluation of their programs was lacking and that, even if assessments and refinements were attempted, they tended to be sporadic, informal, and unstructured (superintendents = 15, universities = 15). A few participants in both groups considered that evaluation of their programs was weak because it included little or no consulting with and follow-up of graduates, and a few superintendents (but none of those in universities) perceived the same fault with regard to the solicitation of students' reactions. Finally, a few university respondents (but a negligible proportion of the superintendents) reported four weaknesses which they viewed as underlying causes of their shortcomings in program evaluation and development: a lack of performance criteria by which to judge the quality of their "products," a lack of carefully planned programs with measurable objectives, a lack of funds sufficient to support meaningful evaluation and development, and a lack of staff time to conduct such activities systematically.

Although seven university personnel did not respond to the question on changes in program evaluation and development which have been implemented during the past five years, and four of them indicated that no such changes had been made, it should be noted that most of the institutions in the sample had, to varying extents, evaluated their past achievements and projected future goals in connection with their participation in the UCEA five-year planning process within the last year. Nearly all of the respondents who replied specifically to this question reported recent improvements in their approaches to program evaluation and development. Nine of them indicated that they had instituted regular, continuing means of gaining reactions to their programs from graduates, particularly those now holding superintendencies, through such mechanisms as questionnaires and annual alumni meetings. Seven university representatives reported having implemented a variety of regular self-evaluation procedures within their departments of educational administration; these included such approaches as establishing special committees (e.g., a "program design and monitoring unit") for the purposes of assessing preparatory programs and recommending revisions, and video-taping class sessions to be critiqued by department members. Five institutions had had doctoral dissertations or other studies conducted to evaluate their programs and to project refinements, and a like number had completed formal follow-up studies of their graduates within the past five years. Four respondents reported that they had attempted (not always successfully) to restructure their programs on the basis of recent evaluations. More than one-tenth of those responding(4) stated that they had had external evaluations of their programs conducted during the last five years, and the same number claimed to have initiated a more systematic approach to program planning and development, in most instances in connection with similar efforts applied throughout the College of Education or on a university-wide basis. Only two respondents reported having instituted more structured means of gaining reactions to their programs from students enrolled in them.

More than half of the superintendents' sample (99) and one-third of those in universities (16) did not respond to the question on changes in program evaluation and development which will likely become desirable within the next five-to-ten years. Two members of each sample predicted that there would be no such changes. A substantial proportion of the remaining participants in both groups anticipated the necessity of more systematic carefully structured, and continuously applied approaches to program evaluation and development (superintendents = 35, universities = 20). Within this group, six superintendents and two university personnel stressed the importance of defining program objectives more precisely and in terms of performance criteria which could be measured in assessing the quality of their "products." Two other changes predicted to become desirable by more than 10 per cent of the respondents in both samples were the greater formalization and increased solicitation of evaluative "feedback" from graduates of the program (superintendents = 10, universities = 4), and the growth of continuous student involvement in program planning and assessment activities (superintendents = 8, universities = 6). Over one- tenth of the chief school officers, but only a few university participants, expressed the views that follow-up studies of graduates' performance on-the-job would need to become more frequent and systematic during the coming decade, and that mechanisms should be devised whereby the advice of school superintendents could be regularly solicited in assessing and refining preparatory programs. Finally, two changes were perceived as advisable in the future by more than 10 per cent of the university representatives but by relatively few superintendents: the increased use of "external" consultants to evaluate programs and recommend revisions in them, and the greater formalization of intra-departmental mechanisms for program monitoring and development (such as standing sub-committees appointed specifically for this purpose).

Departmental Functions and Staffing. Only seven superintendents, but eight university personnel, failed to respond to the question on strengths and weaknesses in departmental functions and staffing. A total of 71 practitioners and 5 university representatives, however, recorded answers that were of so general a nature as to have little meaning in the interpretation of results; of these respondents, the vast majority perceived departmental functions and staffing at their institutions in a favorable light (superintendents = 62, universities = 4). The particular strength cited most frequently by the remainder of those in both samples was the breadth and balance of specialties and competencies -- both discipline-based and practice-based -- represented by professors in their departments (superintendents = 23, universities = 11). A strength identified by a significant number of superintendents (19), but by only a few university respondents, was the high level of specialized competence which they perceived professors in their institutions as possessing. A number of superintendents (12), but no university people, also viewed the fact that many of their professors had

had successful administrative experience as a strength in their programs. Adequacy in terms of the size of Departments of Educational Administration was viewed as a strong point by over one-tenth of the university people (5), but by none of the chief school officers. Two related strengths were identified by a few members of both samples: the research- and theory-orientations and social science backgrounds of some of the professors in their departments, and the utilization in their programs of professors in other disciplines. A strength recognized by a few superintendents, but by none of those in universities, was the employment of "outside experts" (especially practicing administrators) as resource persons to supplement departmental strengths. And a few university respondents, but only one superintendent, perceived the internal cohesiveness of their departmental staffs as a strength.

There were no weaknesses in departmental functions and staffing identified by over 10 per cent of the respondents in both samples. The shortcoming most frequently cited by superintendents (35), although noted by only two university representatives, was the presence in educational administration departments of professors who had had little or no administrative experience or recent exposure to "the field." Many of the practitioners felt that these professors were too theory-oriented and out-of-touch with "reality" to be preparing school superintendents. Another general area of weakness cited by a substantial number of respondents, in this case predominantly those in universities, concerned lackings in particular areas of specialization (23 such lackings were reported); specialties named in this regard by three or more participants included economics and school finance, research, and personnel management (specifically, collective negotiations). Two weaknesses recognized by more than one-tenth of the university respondents but by relatively few superintendents were the understaffing of departments and the involvement of professors in too many peripheral functions so that existing competencies were not fully utilized. Four weaknesses in departmental functions and staffing were reported by a few superintendents but by no (or only one) university personnel: too frequent turnover of staff, insufficient breadth and balance among staff interests and competencies, too little use of "outside experts" (especially practicing administrators) as guest lecturers, and a lack of cohesiveness or harmony among staff members. Finally, a weakness identified by a few of those in universities, but by only one superintendent, concerned the insufficient depth of specialization (i.e., the fact that there were too many generalists) represented by staff members of their departments.

Four university respondents reported that no changes in departmental functions and staffing had been implemented in their institutions within the past five years, and one person left this item blank on the questionnaire. A large majority of the remaining participants indicated that they had increased the size of their staffs in recent years (31). Among the responses which were specific, additions of professors with theoretical competencies or backgrounds in the social sciences were mentioned most frequently (10); four universities had added persons with special research competencies; three had added people with field-related expertise (i. e., recent administrative experience), and with specialties in emergent planning and management technologies; and two had added specialists in curriculum and instruction, collective negotiations, data-processing, business management, and intergovernmental relationships. In addition, five respondents indicated that recent staffing patterns in their departments reflected a trend away from generalists and toward specialists. Other changes in departmental functions and staffing reported to have been implemented within the past five years (each by two universities) included: improvements in the variety and balance of staff competencies and specialties, increased use of resource persons from "outside" disciplines and from" the field" and formation of a Department or Division of Educational Administration as a distinct entity within the School of Education.

Of the 86 superintendents and 33 university personnel responding to the question on changes in departmental functions and staffing which will likely become desirable within the next five-to-ten years, only one member of each group predicted no change. Among the remainder, the responses appear to reflect an anticipated continuation of the trends reported above. A significant proportion of the respondents in both samples felt that additional staff will be needed by Departments of Educational Administration; of the fourteen specialties mentioned by those who were specific in this regard, the ones identified by more than three respondents included competencies in discipline-based theory (8), in research (6), in planning and management technologies (5), and in collective negotiations (4). No other anticipated need was mentioned by over 10 per cent of those in both samples. A hope that the future would bring increases in the relative number of professors with successful administrative experience was expressed by more than one-tenth of the superintendents (27), but by only one university person; five of these respondents suggested that such experience need not be gained prior to entering the professorship but, perhaps preferably, should constitute a mid-career activity whereby professors would return to the "firing line" for "refresher courses on reality." Related to this response were the predictions, each offered by a few superintendents but by none of the university personnel, that it will become advisable for Departments of Educational Administration to utilize practitioners more frequently as part-time staff members, and that they will need to seek a better balance between theory-oriented and practice-oriented professors. Another change expected to become desirable by more than one-tenth of the responding superintendents (11), but by only two university perople, was an improvement in relations between Departments of Educational Administration and other areas in the university, with a consequent increase in the number of faculty members "brought in" from "outside" disciplines.

Two changes predicted by a significant number of university respondents but by only a few superintendents concerned the development of special new mechanisms for the pre-service and continuing education of professors, and an increase in the breadth and depth of specializations represented on department staffs. On the other hand, a few university people but a negligible number of superintendents felt it would become desirable to resist the trend toward specialization and to seek more generalists for their staffs. A few members of both groups believed it would be necessary to generally increase the level of competence of their staffs, and some of the superintendents called for younger, more progressive and flexible professors. Seven superintendents, but no university respondents, anticipated that professors during the coming decade will allocate more time to, and receive greater recognition for, teaching and advising students than they do at present. One final change was predicted by a few university personnel, but by a negligible proportion of the superintendents: improvements in intra-departmental organization and coordination (as reflected, for example, in the formation of professorial teams).

In-Service Programs. A number of participants, in responding to the question on strengths and weaknesses in the in-service programs offered by their universities, gave answers at such a general level as to have little meaning in this analysis. Of these, the vast majority were supportive in nature (superintendents = 27, universities = 4) while only a few were critical (superintendents = 7, universities = 2). Eleven superintendents and seven university representatives did not respond to this item, and seven chief school officers reported that they "don't know." The in-service strength most frequently identified by the remaining respondents was the availability of many opportunities for the continuing education of superintendents through a variety of periodic short-term conferences, clinics, seminars, workshops, and lecture series (superintendents = 29, universities = 4). A second relatively specific strength identified by a significant proportion of both samples was the relevance and timeliness of the in-service programs offered, in that they deal with contemporary problems and needs of the public school superintendency (superintendents = 13, universities = 4). Substantial numbers of practitioners but comparatively few university personnel viewed as favorable aspects of their institutions' continuing education programs the provision of consulting services to superintendents through individual professors' efforts or through special field-related agencies attached to Colleges of Education (such as Departments of Continuing Education or School Study Councils), and the conduct of relatively long-term annual workshops or institutes for school superintendents -- usually on campus during the summer. A few university respondents, but a negligible proportion of the superintendents, felt that their in-service programs profited through being coordinated with the efforts of such other agencies as professional associations of administrators and state departments of education. And two strengths cited by a few superintendents but by none of those in universities were the effectiveness of methodological approaches utilized in their institutions' in-service programs (including the employment of renowned resource persons) and the thoroughness of professors' follow-up activities with graduates in an attempt to help them "get started" in the superintendency.

There was only one weakness in in-service programs which was recognized by more than one-tenth of the respondents in both samples: the lack of regular, formal programs of continuing education for superintendents which are initiated by institutions of higher education (superintendents = 30, universities = 17). These respondents seemed to feel that, even when some efforts at in-service training were made, they tended to be sporadic, unstructured, and infrequent. A number of superintendents (12), but only one university participant, indicated that, to their knowledge, no in-service programs for superintendents were offered by their institutions. Four kinds of weaknesses were identified by a few members of both samples: a lack of relevance and timeliness in the topics chosen for in-service programs, the inadequate duration of the programs offered, limited participation in them (due largely to poor communication between professors and practitioners), and insufficient staff time and money available to support worthwhile continuing education endeavors. A weakness cited by several superintendents (8) but by no university people was the limited geographical coverage of in-service programs, in that they tend to serve only those superintendents who live and work near the site of the host institution.

Eight university respondents did not answer the question on changes in their in-service programs which have been implemented within the past five years, the responses of seven others were not applicable to the question, and three reported that no such changes had occurred in their institutions. A majority of the remainder (17) indicated that they had increased the number and variety of continuing education opportunities made available to superintendents. While most of these responses referred to short-term, on-campus offerings, three of them made specific reference to new courses or services which were being provided in "the field," and two mentioned recently instituted longer-term (e.g., two-week) experiences conducted annually during the summer. Another frequently cited change (by 12 participants) concerned a reported increase in the relevance and timeliness of in-service programs. These respondents indicated that they had endeavored to focus more upon problems confronting the superintendency than they had prior to five years ago, and some of them referred specifically to recent in-service programs on collective negotiations (5), emergent management technologies such as PPBS and systems analysis (2), and issues in educating the disadvantaged (2). Five university personnel stated that their in-service offerings had been improved through the development of cooperative relationships with such agencies as Title III Centers, state departments of education, school boards associations, and local school districts. Two institutions were reported to have improved the continuing education opportunities made available to their own graduates who had moved into superintendencies, either through providing on-the-job advisory service to them during the year following graduation or through making it possible for them to audit university courses free of charge. Finally, two respondents indicated that their in-service procedures had been carefully reassessed in recent years with the result that they had developed a more integrated, systematic approach to providing continuing education experiences for superintendents.

Looking five-to-ten years into the future, six superintendents and three university personnel recorded very vague responses calling for a general improvement in, or the initiation of some kind of, in-service activities in their institutions. Four superintendents and one university person predicted that little or no change will become desirable within the next decade, three practitioners said they did not know what changes would be needed, and many members of both samples did not respond to this item (superintendents = 85, universities = 14). Among the specific responses to this question, three needed changes were anticipated by over 10 per cent of those in both groups. The most often mentioned was an increase in the number, variety, and frequency of short-term continuing education experiences made available to chief school officers by higher education institutions (superintendents = 38, universities = 5). The second predicted change was the placing of greater emphasis upon providing in-service programs which are focused intensively upon the current, significant problems which confront school superintendents (superintendents = 20, universities = 6); the topic most frequently mentioned in this regard concerned the issues involved in urban school administration. The third change expected to become desirable by more than one-tenth of those in both samples was the development of more longer-term, in-residence continuing education programs for chief school officers (superintendents = 15, universities = 8); such mechanisms were variously referred to as "annual retreats," "administrative staff colleges," "post-doctoral programs," and "mid-career experiences."

A significant number of university respondents and a few superintendents felt it would become advisable to establish a variety of new off-campus mechanisms for meeting the continuing education needs of chief school officers (universities = 6, superintendents = 6); among the specific methodologies suggested in this regard were the dissemination of written materials summarizing recent research or describing innovative practices (including the distribution of recommended readings), the preparation of taped lectures or reports for replay on desk consoles in superintendents' offices, the development of ETV in-service courses for school administrators, and the provision of increased on-the-job assistance to superintendents by professors. A few respondents in both groups felt it would become desirable for universities to facilitate improved in-service programs by developing better cooperative relationships with "outside" organizations such as other units within the university, local school districts, professional associations, and Title III Centers. Finally, two desirable changes were predicted by a few superintendents but, in each case, by only one university person: the improvement of continuing education services to an institution's graduates, through such means as inviting them to return regularly to campus for problem-oriented discussions and permitting them to utilize university resources on a non-credit basis; and the increased involvement of non-university personnel in in-service programs, with universities serving more as resources than as initators for the programs. (As one superintendent put it, "Let the AASA Academy do it.")

Specific Descriptions and General Reactions

As stated in the first section of this chapter, two main purposes were intended to be served by Part II of the questionnaire. The first was to solicit more specific, objective information than could be gained through Part I, with particular reference to a single preparatory component -- program content. Two main questions were included in the instrument for this purpose. One concerned content utilization from fields of study external to Education and asked (1) how "outside" content was incorporated into doctoral programs at respondents' institutions, and (2) which content areas (disciplines or fields of study)each of the identified approaches applied to. The second question related to this purpose contained a list of ten topics considered by the investigators to represent areas of emergent significant to the public school superintendency, and asked respondents to indicate for each topic (1) whether it was covered thoroughly (i.e., in an entire unit or course), slightly (i.e., in a class or two), or not at all in their programs, and (2) whether exposure to it was mandatory or optional for prospective superintendents. The topics included in this list were: systems analysis (including operations research); use of the computer for management and information-processing purposes (as opposed to instructional and research purposes); concepts and technologies of planning in education; federal-state-local relationships in education; involvement of business and industry in education metropolitan problems and education (including such issues as race, poverty, cultural deprivation, urbanization, unemployment, unequal educational opportunity, community pressure groups); teacher militancy (including collective negotiations); student unrest (including demonostrations, walkouts); local inter-agency cooperation in education (including community groups, nonpublic schools, the home, the church, welfare and police organizations, city government departments, businesses and industries); and administration of schools in other countries.

A second main purpose of Part II of the questionnaire was to give respondents an opportunity to express any concerns they may have about the appropriateness of contemporary preparation for the superintendency which they were unable to convey in previous portions of the instrument or which they wanted to particularly emphasize. To this end, they were simply invited, in a totally unstructured fashion, to do so at the end of the questionnaire. The following pages contain summaries of responses to Part II; the order of reporting follows that of the questions' presentation in the instrument.

Utilization of Content External to Education. Responses to the questions on how "outside" content is incorporated into superintendents' preparation programs and what content is thus incorporated are summarized in Tables 1 and 2, which report the answers given by superintendents and university participants, respectively. The number codes in the top row of each table refer to different methods of incorporating "outside" content, and to combinations of these methods. Four such approaches were suggested as examples in the questionnaire, and virtually all respondents answered in terms of these alternatives. (A negligible proportion of the superintendents mentioned that, in addition to the four given approaches, certain kinds of content were "pickedup" informally or indirectly through such activities as field-related experiences, research projects, and conversations among graduate students.) The four direct approaches to incorporation are number-coded in the tables as follows:

1 = content presented by professors of educational administration
2 = content presented by interdisciplinary teams of professors
3 = content presented by professors from other areas offering courses specifically for students in educational administration
4 = educational administration students exposed to content by going "across campus" to take courses in other areas

The column headings consisting of two-, three-, or four-digit number codes refer simply to various combinations of the four basic approaches to incorporation. Thus, for example, responses in the "24" column mean that students were exposed to content in a given area both by interdisciplinary teams of professors and through taking courses "across campus," and responses in the "1234" column mean that content in a given area was presented to students in all four ways.

A hasty inspection of Tables 1 and 2 yields three main observations. First, as one might expect (or at least hope), there appear to be no substantial differences between the responses of superintendents and those of university personnel. The orders of frequency with which both the five general content areas and the fifteen approaches to incorporation are mentioned are essentially the same in both tables, at least insofar as the "Total" categories are concerned. (The few variations which occur within the bodies of the tables, with one exception which is discussed below, do not

TABLE 1

UTILIZATION OF CONTENT EXTERNAL TO EDUCATION AS REPORTED BY SCHOOL SUPERINTENDENTS (N=180)

General Content Areas	Approaches to Incorporation															
	1	2	3	4	12	13	14	23	24	34	123	124	134	234	1234	TOTAL
Soc. & Behav. Sciences	24	22	11	103	0	1	22	5	20	14	1	6	9	8	7	253
Management Sciences	4	7	3	44	0	0	7	1	4	1	0	4	2	1	4	82
Humanities	2	2	0	18	0	0	5	3	1	3	0	1	0	0	2	37
Phys.Sci. - Math.-Rsch.	6	3	5	6	0	0	1	0	1	5	1	0	3	2	3	36
Miscellaneous	1	2	0	7	0	0	2	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	22
TOTAL	37	36	19	178	0	1	37	10	27	26	3	12	15	12	17	430

TABLE 2

UTILIZATION OF CONTENT EXTERNAL TO EDUCATION AS REPORTED BY UNIVERSITY PERSONNEL (N=46)

General Content Areas	Approaches to Incorporation															
	1	2	3	4	12	13	14	23	24	34	123	124	134	234	1234	TOTAL
Soc. & Behav. Sciences	9	6	2	65[a]	0	0	37	0	9	17	1	11	18	6	0	181
Management Sciences	2	1	2	21	0	0	14	0	3	11	0	0	6	0	0	60
Humanities	1	0	0	8	0	0	6	0	2	6	0	1	2	0	0	26
Phys.Sci. - Math. -Rsch.	0	0	0	6	0	0	4	0	4	2	0	0	1	0	0	19
Miscellaneous	1	0	0	3	0	0	3	0	0	2	0	2	1	0	0	10
TOTAL	13	7	4	103	0	0	64	0	18	38	1	14	28	6	0	296

[a] The number of responses reported in this cell exceeds the number of respondents because of the fact that participants frequently identified more than one content area within a general category.

appear to be significant in terms of this analysis.) Secondly, by far the most frequently mentioned approach to the incorporation of "outside" content is to send students "across campus" to take courses in other areas. This is tru whether the approach is the only method utilized or whether it is combined with other approaches. It is also clear that the least frequently utilized approach is the offering of courses specifically for students in educational administration by professors from other areas. The only exception to these two tendencies occurs with regard to content in the general area incorporating the "Physical Sciences, Mathematics, and Research," and it occurs only in the responses of superintendents, who report that this kind of content is presented as frequently by professors of educational administration as by those "across campus," and more frequently by professors from other areas offering courses specifically for students in educational administration than by interdisciplinary teams of professors. Finally, by far the most frequently mentioned general content area is the "Social and Behavioral Sciences"; well over half of the total responses by both samples of participants fall into this category. Approximately one-fifth of the answers of each group are in the general category of "Management Sciences." This is followed by content from the "Humanities" and from the general area of "Physical Sciences, Mathematics, and Research," each with approximately one-twelfth of the responses in both tables. And a variety of "Miscellaneous" content areas account for about one-thirtieth of the responses by superintendents and university personnel. This tendency applied to all four of the primary approaches to incorporation, with the previously mentioned exception that, according to the responses of superintendents only, for approaches "1" and "3" exposure to content in the area of "Physical Sciences, Mathematics, and Research" is menationed more frequently than exposure to any other content area except for the "Social and Behavioral Sciences," and for approach "2" it is mentioned more frequently than exposure to the "Humanities."

Because the content areas mentioned in Tables 1 and 2 are of so general a nature, it is important that they be analyzed somewhat more specifically, as follows:

Social and Behavioral Sciences -- There were six content areas in this category which wer mentioned much more freuqntly than any others, and in the same order of frequency relative to one another, by both groups of respondents: Sociology (superintendents = 68, universities = 42), Political Science (superintendents = 48, universities = 40), Psychology (superintendents = 46, universities = 38), Economics (superintendents = 41, universities = 31), Anthropology (superintendents = 14, universities = 17), and Social Psychology (superintendents = 11, universities = 14). For all six areas, and according to both groups of respondents, sending students "across campus" was the most frequently utilized approach to incorporation.

Management Sciences -- While there was a wide variety of specific course titles mentioned within this category, the majority of responses by both groups can be classified according to two main content areas: Business Administration (superintendents = 25, universities = 16) and Public Administration (superintendents = 12, universities = 11). Again, the order of frequency of mention is the same for both samples, and in all cases the approach to incorporation reported most often was to send students "across campus."

Humanities -- In the responses of both groups of participants two humanities areas were mentioned much more frequently than any others: History (superintendents = 16, universities = 6) and Philosophy (superintendents = 14, universities = 13). While the two groups agreed that, for each subject, sending students across campus was by far the most frequently utilized approach to incorporation, it is difficult to explain why History is more frequently mentioned than Philosophy by superintendents whereas the opposite is true for university personnel. It is possible that this discrepancy reflects differences among institutions in that only one response was received from professors associated with a given university while the number of superintendents associated with an institution varied among universities.

Physical Sciences, Mathematics, and Research -- There was only one content area within this category which was mentioned by more than one-tenth of the respondents in either sample: Data-Processing (superintendents = 19, universities = 12). However, as stated above, the two groups of participants disagreed on the most frequently utilized approach to incorporation of this content; while university personnel reported that sending students "across campus" was the procedure used most often, superintendents' responses indicate that this content is more frequently presented by professors of educational administration, or by professors from other areas offering courses specifically for students in educational administration, than by any other means. Again, this discrepancy may be more reflective of differences among institutions than of differences between the two samples of respondents.

Miscellaneous -- One content area within this category was mentioned much more frequently, by both groups of participants, than any of the others: Law (superintendents = 12, universities = 7). Again, there was agreement between the two samples that the most common approach to incorporation of this content was to send students to take courses "across campus."

Although no invitation was issued in the instrument for respondents to offer general comments related to this question, a number of the superintendents did write some remarks, most of which can be summarized in the following four statements (in order of their frequency of mention);

1. With regard to the "across campus" approach, little evidence was perceived of coordination or cooperation between the Department of Educational Administration and the "outside" divisions involved.
2. With regard to the "across campus" approach, educational administration candidates felt that they were in competition with graduate students in the other areas concerned, often to the perceived disadvantage of the former.
3. With regard to the "across campus" approach, students of educational administration were grateful for the opportunity to meet and interact with "non-Educators."
4. With regard to the "interdisciplinary team" approach, students were impressed with the cooperation and coordination they perceived in the implementation of this mechanism.

While the first two statements are typical of the remarks offered by a few (3-10 per cent) of the superintendents, the last two reflect the comments of a lesser proportion.

Coverage of Selected Topics. Table 3 presents the results pertaining to the question on the amount and choice of coverage of ten selected topics in doctoral programs of preparation for public school superintendents. The meanings of the abbreviations in the column headings are as follows:

TH= Thorough Coverage
S= Slight Coverage
N= No Coverage
To= Total Responses
M= Mandatory Exposure
O= Optional Exposure

In examining the "Total" row in Table 3, one notices immediately that there appear to be substantial differences between the responses of superintendents and those of university personnel. Considering all ten topics together, superintendents' responses indicate that slight coverage is much more common than either thorough coverage or no coverage, and that exposure to these topics is more frequently mandatory than optional. The responses of university personnel, on the other hand, demonstrate that, while slight coverage is a little more common than thorough coverage, both occur much more frequently than no coverage at all; moreover, they suggest that exposure to these topics is more typically optional than mandatory. These discrepancies cannot be explained satisfactorily on the basis of data collected through this survey; while differences among universities may have played a causative role, it is likely that other factors (such as variations in the times at which superintendents took their course work and perceptual distinctions in terms of professors' and students' respective awareness of available courses) were also determinants. Moreover, some of the discrepancies become less evident as Table 3 is examined in greater detail, as discussed below.

TABLE 3

AMOUNT AND CHOICE OF COVERAGE OF SELECTED TOPICS

Selected Topics	Coverage													
	Superintendents							University Personnel						
	Amount				Choice			Amount				Choice		
	Th	S	N	To[a]	M	0	To	Th	S	N	To	M	0	To
Systems	7	84	73	164	46	49	95	17	29	6	52	13	28	41
Computer	16	82	79	177	23	71	94	18	28	3	49	14	29	43
Planning	87	83	7	177	108	34	142	25	21	3	49	27	17	44
Inter-Governmental	123	50	5	178	134	29	163	36	7	1	44	30	11	41
Business	29	116	30	175	50	78	128	13	32	4	49	12	27	39
Metropolitan	61	89	32	182	85	39	124	28	20	1	49	23	19	42
Teacher Militancy	35	78	67	180	54	38	92	27	20	0	47	22	20	42
Student Unrest	4	44	130	178	17	22	39	6	32	8	46	21	18	33
Inter-Agency	76	83	17	176	87	38	125	23	24	1	48	25	18	43
Other Countries	31	102	43	176	47	68	115	8	26	13	47	4	28	32
Total	469	811	483	1,763	651	466	1,117	201	239	40	480	182	218	400

[a] The figures in the total columns differ because not all respondents answered all questions, and some respondents provided two answers to some questions.

When the table is scanned according to columns, it becomes apparent that, in the perceptions of superintendents, the most thoroughly covered topics are: concepts and technologies of planning in education, federal-state-local relationships in education, metropolitan problems and education, and local inter-agency cooperation in education. Superintendents viewed the least thoroughly covered topics as being: systems analysis, use of the computer for management and information-processing purposes, involvement of business and industry in education, teacher militancy, student unrest, and administration of schools in other countries. Superintendents' responses also indicate that mandatory exposure is more typical than optional exposure for five of the ten topics: concepts and technologies of planning in education, federal-state-local relationships in education, metropolitan problems and education, teacher militancy, and local inter-agency cooperation in education. The only major difference between these tendencies and those reflected in the responses of university personnel is that the latter were more likely to perceive four of the topics (systems analysis, use of the computer for management and information-processing purposes, involvement of business and industry in education, and teacher militancy) as receiving thorough coverage than were the chief school officers. With some exceptions, there appears to be a general tendency, reflected in the responses of both groups, for more thorough coverage to be accorded to topics for which exposure is mandatory than to those for which it is optional.

An examination of Table 3 in terms of the ten selected topics reveals the following general tendencies:

systems analysis -- little coverage in the perceptions of superintendents but considerable coverage in the perceptions of university personnel; optional exposure more typical than mandatory exposure in the views of both groups

use of the computer for management and information-processing purposes -- little coverage in the perceptions of superintendents but considerable coverage in the perceptions of university personnel; optional exposure more typical than mandatory exposure in the views of both groups

concepts and technologies of planning in education -- considerable coverage in the perceptions of both samples; mandatory exposure more typical than optional exposure in the views of both groups

federal-state-local relationships in education -- considerable coverage in the perceptions of both samples; mandatory exposure more typical than optional exposure in the views of both groups

involvement of business and industry in education -- little coverage in the perceptions of superintendents but considerable coverage in the perceptions of university personnel; optional exposure more typical than mandatory exposure in the views of both groups

metropolitan problems and education -- considerable coverage in the perceptions of both samples; mandatory exposure more typical than optional exposure in the views of both groups _teacher militancy_ -- little coverage in the perceptions of superintendents but considerable coverage in the perceptions of university personnel; mandatory exposure more typical than optional exposure in the views of both groups

student unrest -- little coverage in the perceptions of both samples; optional exposure more typical than mandatory exposure in the views of both groups

local inter-agency cooperation in education -- considerable coverage in the perceptions of both samples; mandatory exposure more typical than optional exposure in the views of both groups

administration of schools in other countries -- little coverage in the perceptions of both samples; optional exposure more typical than mandatory exposure in the views of both groups

In conclusion, the following five statements summarize the main trends revealed in the above discussion:

1. Despite indications to the contrary in the "Total" row of Table 3, on a topic-by-topic basis both samples agreed on the choice of exposure to the topics.
2. Both samples agreed that considerable coverage was accorded to the following topics: concepts and technologies of planning in education, federal-state-local relationships in education, metropolitan problems and education, and local inter-agency cooperation in education.
3. Both samples agreed that little coverage was accorded to the following topics: student unrest, and administration of schools in other countries.
4. Differences of opinion between the two samples concerning the amount of coverage accorded to the remaining four topics (systems analysis, use of the computer for management and information-processing purposes, involvement of business and industry in education, and teacher militancy) all reveal that superintendents perceived these topics as being accorded less thorough coverage than did university personnel.
5. Where both samples agreed on the amount of coverage accorded to a topic, considerable coverage was associated with mandatory exposure while little coverage was associated with optional exposure.

Final Comments. In the final section of the questionnaire, participants in the survey were given an opportunity to write any remarks they wished expressing their views in regard to the doctoral pre-service and in-service programs in educational administration offered at their institutions, especially in terms of the appropriateness of these programs to the public school superintendency of today and tomorrow. Fifty-one superintendents (28 per cent) and twenty-seven university representatives (59 per cent) declined to take advantage of this opportunity. The comments offered by those who did respond provide some indication of their major concerns -- the chief strengths and weaknesses, trends and needs, which they perceived -- in regard to the professional training of school superintendents currently being conducted by universities across the country. While one advantage of these remarks is that they were unconstrained by the response categories employed earlier in the instrument, most of them clearly relate to the elements of the ten-component framework and many, in fact, are repetitions of certain responses recorded earlier in the questionnaire (presumably, responses which participants wished to give some added emphasis to). Summaries of the general comments written by university personnel and superintendents are reported separately here.

Most of the remarks offered by university respondents can be classified according to three of the ten program components which have been discussed: Program Evaluation and Development, Program Content, and Program Structure. Nine university participants wrote comments related to Program Evaluation and Development: of these, three emphasized a perceived need for dramatic re-thinking and re-designing of their preparatory programs, one of them stressing the necessity of developing effective mechanisms to do this and another emphasizing the importance of involving persons "outside" of educational administration departments in such activities; three stated that extensive evaluations and revisions of their programs are currently underway; and three reported that they had recently achieved thorough redevelopments of their programs, one of which had adopted a major theme of educational policy making, and another a tri-partite thrust in the areas of urban school administration, educational planning, and the administration of research. Five university respondents wrote comments related to Program Content: two of these persons stressed the need to develop "cognitive flexibility" in prospective administrators rather than to simply "feed" them information on current administrative problems and techniques; one of them stressed the need for content on new management technologies; one emphasized the necessity of relating theory to practice in program content; and one referred to the importance of focusing upon values in preparing superintendents. The comments of three university respondents were related to Program Structure: two of these remarks concerned a need to achieve better integration and sequence among course offerings, and one referred to the necessity of achieving improved linkages with other university departments (both within and external to Education). General improvements in Instructional Approaches, Field-Related Experiences, and In-Service Programs were each called for in the remarks of one university person, and one comment referred to a phenomenon which transcends the ten-component framework -- the need for increased individualized flexibility in the doctoral-level preparation of chief school offices.

The final comments written by superintendents tended to be either very general or very specific in nature, with the majority being of the latter type. Thirty-one general remarks were offered; of these, twenty-nine were positive toward the preparatory programs experienced and only two were negative. The comments which were more specific in nature tended either to emphasize particular aspects of programs which were viewed as outstanding or to stress perceived needs in the programs which must be met if superintendents are to be prepared effectively. The majority of these remarks were of the latter type.

While more than twenty specific program strengths were identified, almost all of them can be classified in terms of five of the program components which have been utilized throughout this analysis, as follows:

- Program Content (11) -- Nine respondents praised their programs' stress on social science theory, and two approved of efforts by their professors to emphasize the relevance of theory to practice.
- Recruitment and Selection (2) -- Both of these respondents felt positively about the high standards applied in identifying and screening candidates for adminssion to their programs.
- Field-Related Experiences (4) -- All four of these respondents were in favor of the heavy emphasis placed on this area at the institutions they attended.
- Student Research (3) -- These respondents believed that their doctoral programs had developed their ability to conduct and to interpret research and their appreciation of the importance of research in school administration.
- Departmental Functions and Staffing (5) -- Two of these respondents praised the high level of competence possessed by their professors, one viewed with favor the fact that his professors had once been successful school administrators, one appreciated his exposure to professors in "out side" disciplines, and one approved of the close professor-student relationships which existed at the institutions he attended.

The only other strength which was commented upon by more than a single participant was, again, individualized flexibility throughout the preparation program; this phenomenon received support in the remarks of three superintendents.

Virtually all of the final comments of a specific nature offered by superintendents in an attempt to stress preparatory problems that must soon be overcome may be classified according to the ten-component framework, as the following summary demonstrates:

- Program Content (35) -- Eight of these respondents expressed the view that program content does not reflect the current problems faced by chief school officers. Ten of them stressed the need for programs to cover such topics as are listed in Part IIB of the questionnaire, with specific mention being made of new management technologies, data-processing, and collective negotiations. Five called for more "borrowing" from cognate disciplines, and three cited a need for improved development of "social-political" skills in prospective superintendents. On the other hand, one stated that disciplinary competence should be achieved prior to entry into a doctoral program, and four criticized preparatory programs as being too theory-oriented. Two perceived a need to develop more adaptable, change-oriented superintendents, and the following particular content areas were identified as lacking by one participant each: public relations, professional ethics, and school law.

Program Structure (3) -- Two of these respondents criticized their programs as being poorly structured in general and one deplored a lack of meaningful sequence among courses.

Recruitment and Selection (3) -- One of these respondents felt that age and extensive experience should receive less attention in recruitment, one perceived a need to identify candidates with charismatic personalities, and one called for the establishment of more rigorous selection criteria.

Instructional Approaches (5) -- All five of these respondents recognized a need for more effective instruction on the part of professors of educational administration.

Field-Related Experiences (7) -- All of these respondents felt that more field activities should be incorporated into programs for preparing superintendents, two of them stressing that internships were particularly important.

Student Research (1) -- This respondent suggested that the dissertation should be replaced by an internship for prospective chief school officers.

Requirements for Graduation (4) -- Two of these respondents emphasized that an internship should be a required element in the preparation of all school superintendents, one emphasized the importance of a mandatory residency, and one felt that there were too many requirements imposed on students in his program.

Program Evaluation and Development (2) -- One of these respondents felt that universities should conduct more thorough and frequent evalutions of their graduates' performance on-the-job, and one called for the increased involvement of practitioners in program planning and revision.

Departmental Functions and Staffing (13) -- Six of these respondents criticized the fact that some of their professors had had little or no administrative experience in schools, four emphasized the need for professors to devote more time and attention to teaching and advising students and less to their personal research and consulting interests, one felt it essential that professors return periodically to "the field" to become "updated," one suggested that professors' salaries be raised so as to attract "good ones," and one criticized the amount of turnover and the lack of cohesiveness on the staff in the institution he attended.

In-Service Programs (12) -- Six of these respondents emphasized the need for more frequent continuing education programs devoted to contemporary administrative problems (with student unrest, teacher militancy, and urban issues being specified), two felt that universities should accept more responsibility for keeping their alumni updated ("wherever they may be"), two called for the implementation of formalized post-doctoral programs for graduates, one stressed a need for longer (e.g., one-week) in-service programs, and one remarked that practicing administrators should be involved more frequently in the planning and implementation of continuing education activities.

Finally, the comments of four superintendents related to a perceived need which cuts across several of the above components in that they felt there should be greater specialization in programs designed to prepare superintendents; one of them specifically expressed the hope that differentiated preparation for administrators and scholars would evolve within the near future.

Notes

[1] Appendix I contains copies of the pre-test instrument and letter of transmittal.

[2] Appendix II contains copies of the initial and follow-up letters requesting lists of current superintendents who are recent graduates from UCEA member universities.

[3] Appendix III contains copies of the superintendents' version of the questionnaire, letter of transmittal, and follow-up letter and inquiry.

[4] Appendix IV contains copies of the universities' version of the questionnaire, letter of transmittal, and follow-up letter and inquiry.

[5] The term "nationwide" is not entirely accurate because 2 of the 46 university responses were from Canadian institutions and 2 of the 180 practitioner responses were from school superintendents in Canada. However, there were no apparent differences among responses which could be attributed to international distinctions.

[6] These proportional estimates are conservative in that, for most items, a number of the responses included in the total considered were actually of so general or irrelevant a nature as to have little meaning and hence are not reported in the analysis.

Chapter Twelve

Observations and Implications

In the preceding chapters of this section data are reported which resulted from two distinct efforts to determine the perceptions of "occupational experts" with regard to trends and needs in the advanced (doctoral and post-doctoral) pre-service and in-service education of public school superintendents in UCEA member universities. Chapter Ten presents a review of the literature directly relevant to advanced preparation in educational administration, with particular emphasis upon material published within the last five years. Chapter Eleven relates the methodology and results of a questionnaire survey of opinions held by samples of school superintendents and university personnel about selected aspects of preparatory programs, changes which have been implemented in the programs during the past five years, perceived strengths and weaknesses of the programs, and predictions as to program changes which will likely become desirable within the next five-to-ten years. It is the purpose of the present chapter to interpret and draw some generalizations from the data which have been reported. The first section of the chapter presents some observations based upon the results of the literature review and questionnaire survey. This is followed by the consideration of some implications deriving from these observations. A list of the generalizations developed through the chapter concludes this section of the report.

Observations

A large amount of data is contained in the findings reported within the two previous chapters, and it is necessary to summarize the main tendencies reflected in these data before meaningful interpretations and significant observations can be drawn from them. The first portion of this section is addressed to that task. To facilitate the process, the summary is organized according to the ten-component framework which has been utilized throughout Section IV of this report. Thus, for each component, the major findings of both the literature review and the questionnaire survey are identified and some interpretive generalizations are derived from them.[1] In the second portion of this section some more general conclusions--unconstrained by the ten-component framework but, rather, drawn from the chief results of the study as a whole--as submitted. Hence, the order in which the observations are reported here reflects the inductive manner in which they were determined.

Summary of Major Tendencies Reflected in the Data

In the presentation of results from the questionnaire survey in Chapter Eleven, the primary organizational schema was based upon the structure of the instrument. Thus, for example, perceived strengths and weaknesses were reported before predicted changes, and Part I responses were treated prior to those of Part II. In the summary which follows, on the other hand, the emphasis is upon the thematic substance of the findings rather than upon the superficial structure employed to elicit them. An exception, of course, is that this summary is organized according to the ten-component framework utilized previously, a constraint which is removed in the subsequent portion of the present section. Of necessity, the interpretive summary that follows is selective, touching only upon the predominant tendencies reflected in the data.

Program Content. As a gross generalization, it can be stated that the predominant recent trend in program content has been away from the technique-oriented approach based upon practical experience and toward the theory-oriented approach based upon disciplines external to Education, and that the major current need in program content is to relate disciplinary concepts and modes of inquiry more effectively to practical problems and skills. The trend toward "external" content which tends to be theoretical, conceptual, and research-related in nature is well documented in the literature and clearly reflected in the questionnaire responses. There is general agreement among authors and responding superintendents and university personnel that the social and behavioral sciences constitute by far the most common source of such content and, more specifically, that the most typically utilized disciplines are sociology, political science, psychology, economics, anthropology, and social-psychology--in that order of frequency, according to questionnaire responses. It is further apparent that prospective superintendents in several universities are exposed to content in the areas of business and public administration, although this occurs much less frequently than exposure to the social and behavioral sciences. Despite some support in the literature for the incorporation of humanities content into administrative preparation programs, the incidence of this in reality is apparently very limited and, where it does occur, it tends to be restricted to the study of philosophy and history.

The substantial movement toward theoretical content in the social and behavioral sciences appears to be viewed favorably by both practitioners and scholars: it is supported by several contributors to the literature; it was perceived as a strength in program content by a significant number of both samples of questionnaire respondents (although by relatively more university personnel than superintendents); and it was predicted that more such content would be desirable in the future by a significant number of both groups participating in the survey (although, again, the professors were more frequently supportive than the practitioners).

Nevertheless, there is evidence that this trend is not problem-free. A danger recognized in the literature is that the social and behavioral sciences in administrative preparation may become glorified in and of themselves as a means of academically legitimating educational administration as a field of scholarly endeavor--that the issue of relevance may be ignored in a deification of "theory for theory's sake"--and, hence, that the theory-practice "gap" may be widened. Some authors state that this has, in fact, occurred in a number of institutions, and support for this view may be found in the questionnaire data. A significant number of responding superintendents, in particular, identified a lack of content relevant to the contemporary problems of administrative practice as a weakness in their preparatory programs, and a substantial proportion of both groups in the survey predicted that more attention to current issues in "the field" will be required in the preparation of future superintendents. One clue as to a possible reason for the irrelevance of theoretical content that some perceive in preparatory programs may inhere in the suggestion, offered in the literature, that social science content can be more effectively incorporated into administrative preparation by having scholars in the disciplines apply their expertise directly to problems in educational administration than by simply sending prospective superintendents to take courses "across campus." The questionnaire responses indicate that the latter approach occurs much more frequently than does the former.

The need to articulate theoretical insights and administrative problems, however, is not unrecognized, nor is it being totally ignored. Several skills and problem areas are identified, both in the literature and in the questionnaire responses, as needing attention in superintendent preparation. Among these topics are: data-processing, more of which was predicted to become necessary in the future by a significant number of responding superintendents, but not of university personnel; teacher militancy and collective negotiations, more of which was predicted to become necessary by a significant proportion of both samples in the survey; and issues in urban education, more of which was predicted to become necessary in the future by a significant number of university personnel, but not of school superintendents. Two other skill areas were recognized by questionnaire respondents as needing attention, but are virtually ignored in the literature on preparation: emergent management technologies (exclusive of basic data-processing), a lack of which was cited as a weakness in program content by significant proportions of both groups of respondents, and more of which was predicted to become desirable by significant numbers in both questionnaire samples; and research methodology (including statistics), a lack of which was recognized as a weakness and more of which was predicted to become desirable by significant numbers of university personnel, but not of superintendents. One additional change which was called for by a substantial number of respondents in universities, but not of superintendents, was an increase in the degree of specialization of program content related to administrative techniques and functions.

That these needs are not being totally ignored seems clear from questionnaire data which indicate that significant proportions of both superintendents and university personnel viewed as strengths in their programs the inclusion of practice-based content and the articulation of theory and practice. Moreover, a substantial number of universities have reportedly added content during the last five years in the areas of collective negotiations, data-processing, urban school problems, and new management technologies. Responses to the question in the instrument on topic coverage further illuminate this subject. Superintendents and university personnel tended to agree that considerable (mandatory) attention is devoted in their programs to planning concepts and technologies, federal-state-local relationships, metropolitan problems, and local inter-agency cooperation. They further agreed that little or no coverage is accorded to the administration of schools in other countries (an area which receives some support in the literature) or to student unrest (a topic which is virtually ignored in the literature). The two samples tended to disagree, however, in regard to the amount of attention accorded to systems analysis, data-processing (which, when covered, is apparently dealt with through the "across campus" approach), teacher militancy, and the involvement of business and industry in education; in all four cases, university personnel claimed more extensive coverage than did superintendents. This apparent disagreement may be partially explained, at least with reference to the first three areas, by the finding that substantial numbers of universities have added content on these topics within the past five years. It is possible that these additions are so recent that they occurred after most of the responding superintendents had completed their advanced courses.

The following generalizations related to program content seem to be supported by the data summarized above:

1. There is an established trend in program content toward the incorporation of theoretical, conceptual, and research-related material drawn largely from the social and behavioral sciences (predominantly sociology, political science, psychology, economics, anthropology, and social-psychology).

    (a) The most frequently utilized approach in this "movement" is to send students "across campus" to take courses, and the least frequently utilized approach is for scholars in the disciplines to apply their expertise directly to problems in educational administration.

(b) This "movement" is viewed favorably by both school superintendents and university personnel, although more frequently by the latter than by the former.

(c) This trend is recognized in the literature and by both school superintendents and university personnel.

2. There is a need to achieve greater relevance in the application of "external" content to the skills required and the problems confronted by practicing educational administrators.

   (a) The practice-based topics most frequently mentioned as requiring more coverage are data-processing, teacher militancy and collective negotiations, issues in urban education, and emergent management technologies.

   (b) This general need is supported by both school superintendents and university personnel, but more frequently by the former than by the latter. With regard to specific topics, the need for new content on data-processing is supported more frequently by school superintendents than by university personnel, and the need for new content on issues in urban education is supported more frequently by university personnel than by school superintendents.

   (c) This general need is recognized in the literature and by both school superintendents and university personnel, with the exception that, in reference to specific topics, the need for more content on emergent management technologies is largely ignored in the literature on preparation.

3. There is an emergent trend in program content toward according increased attention to topics which deal with contemporary problems of, and new skills needed in, school administration.[2]

   (a) The practice-based topics most frequently mentioned as having received more coverage within the past five years than previously are the same as those cited as needing greater attention in 2(a) above. Among these, differences between the responses of school superintendents and university personnel suggest that the topics most recently incorporated into program content are data-processing, collective negotiations, and emergent management technologies.

   (b) Among other problem- or skill-based topics, there is agreement between superintendents and university personnel that considerable coverage (but not necessarily more in the past five years than previously) is being accorded to planning concepts and technologies, federal-state-local relationships, and local inter-agency cooperation, and that little or no attention is being paid to the administration of schools in other countries or to student unrest. University personnel more frequently feel that the involvement of business and industry in education is thoroughly covered than do school superintendents.

(c) This general trend is viewed favorably by both school superintendents and university personnel.

(d) While there is evidence of this trend in the responses of both school superintendents and university personnel, the extent of its recognition in the literature on preparation is negligible.

Program Structure. In regard to the internal structure of doctoral programs to prepare superintendents, two seemingly antithetical trends appear to be operating--one toward greater flexibility and the other toward increased structure. The former tendency--toward adaptability in a program such that the experiences which comprise it may be differentiated from one student to another so the unique needs of each can be optimally met--is recognized in the literature and is reflected in the survey results. A substantial number of university personnel reported that they had increased the individualized flexibility of their programs within the past five years, and significant proportions of both groups responding to the questionnaire viewed flexibility as a strength in their programs. However, that structural flexibility in preparation is a trend rather than a nationally recognized accomplishment is suggested by the opinions of significant numbers of both superintendents and university personnel that a lack of sufficient flexibility constitutes a weakness in their programs, and in the prediction by significant proportions of both samples that increased flexibility (and variety of available offerings) will be needed in the future.

The second trend, toward greater structure in preparation programs, is also recognized in the literature and reflected in the questionnaire responses, although with somewhat less unanimity. Statements in the literature that programs tend to be fragmentary (lacking integration) and non-cumulative (lacking sequence) suggest the need for increased structure. This need is supported by the responses of a substantial number of university personnel (although not of superintendents) who viewed poor sequence and a lack of structure as weaknesses in their programs, and in the predictions of substantial proportions of both samples that improved integration, coordination, and sequence will be needed in future preparatory programs. Another facet of this need, reflected in both the literature and the predictions of a significant number of superintendents (but not of university personnel), is a perceived lack of balance within programs among course work, field-related experiences, and research activities. That there is a trend toward satisfying this perceived need for better program structure is suggested by indications from significant numbers of university personnel that they have implemented changes during the past five years resulting in the development of integrating themes and in improved sequence among program elements within their programs. In addition, a significant number of superintendents perceived as a strength the structured sequence of their preparatory programs.

Implicit in these two seemingly antithetical trends there appears to be a third tendency--toward the achievement of a functional balance between structure and flexibility in preparatory programs. This tendency is represented in the emergence of common cores of experiences within programs, supplemented by a variety of specialized options. That this trend is more recent than the two discussed above is suggested by the fact that, while significant numbers of university respondents (although not of superintendents) perceived the lack of a common core as a weakness in their programs and predicted that the development or refinement of such a core will be required in the future, none of the structural strengths identified by significant proportions of either sample referred to the existence of a common core. Nevertheless, a substantial number of universities have reportedly taken steps within the past five years to develop cores of common experiences with options available for a variety of specializations.[3] Further evidence of the recency of this trend is apparent in comments in the literature which recognize the emergence of common cores but indicate that balance between structure and flexibility has, by and large, not yet been achieved.

With reference to the external aspects of program structure, one phenomenon appears predominant in the data--the development of effective working relationships between Departments of Educational Administration and university divisions external to the School of Education. That some progress has been made in this direction is recognized in the literature and is reflected in the claims that improved inter-departmental and inter-college relationships have been achieved in a significant number of institutions within the past five years. Moreover, a substantial number of university respondents identified such working relationships as a strength in their programs. On the other hand, it is pointed out in the literature that great variability is evident among institutions in this area, and a significant number of university respondents predicted that increased efforts toward this end will be needed during the next decade. Related to this topic is evidence in the literature that a new structure--the "Graduate School of Administration"-- is currently being experimented with in a few institutions. However, because the frequency with which such a structure was mentioned in questionnaire responses is negligible, it cannot be viewed as constituting an emergent trend on the basis of this study's data. It could, nevertheless, develop into an emergent trend within the next few years.

The following generalizations related to program structure seem to be supported by the data summarized above:

1. There are needs for, and established trends toward, both greater flexibility and increased internal structure in preparatory programs.
    (a) The need for greater flexibility is recognized in the literature and is supported by both superintendents and university personnel; a favorable disposition toward the trend in this direction is reflected in the literature and in the responses of both samples.
    (b) The need for increased structure (i.e., more integration, sequence, and balance among program elements) is recognized in the literature, but is supported more frequently by university personnel than by school superintendents; the trend in this direction is reflected in the responses of both samples but not in the literature, and its progress is viewed favorably more frequently by superintendents than by university personnel.

2. Implicit in the above trends and needs is a need for, and an emergent trend toward, the achievement of improved balance between flexibility and structure within preparation programs.
    (a) This need is recognized in the literature, but is reflected more frequently in the responses of university personnel than in those of school superintendents.
    (b) The trend in this direction, represented mainly by the development of common cores supplemented by a variety of specialized options, is recognized in both the literature and the responses of university personnel.

3. With regard to external structural arrangements, there is a need for, and a trend toward, improved working relationships between Departments of Educational Administration and university divisions outside of the School of Education.
    (a) This need is recognized in the literature and in the responses of university personnel; the trend in this direction is recognized in the literature, but its progress is viewed favorably more frequently by university personnel than by school superintendents.
    (b) While the testing of "Graduate Schools of Administration" is recognized in the literature, support for such experimentation is, with a negligible number of exceptions, not reflected in the responses of school superintendents or university personnel.

Recruitment and Selection. Considerable attention is devoted in the literature to a variety of legal and extra-legal obstacles to the effective recruitment of talented persons into administrative preparation programs, and several proposals are offered concerning strategies needed to overcome or "get around" these obstacles. One need identified in the literature is for more aggressive and systematic recruitment efforts which utilize all available means of communication, including specially developed written and audio-visual materials. School superintendents and university personnel appear to be aware of this need, for significant proportions of both samples perceived the lack of aggressive and systematic recruitment efforts to be a weakness in their programs and predicted that such efforts will need to be launched within the next few years. There appears to be an emergent trend in this direction, as reflected in the responses of a substantial proportion of university personnel who claimed that increased emphasis has been placed on aggressive and systematic recruitment in their universities within the past five years, although the mechanisms utilized seem still to be limited largely to written brochures and face-to-face contacts. That this trend is an emergent rather than an established one is suggested by the fact that systematic and aggressive recruitment was not perceived to be a program strength by a significant proportion of either sample.

A second recruitment need identified in the literature is reflected in the questioning of traditional teaching and administrative prerequisites to recruitment for advanced administrative preparation (and, concomitantly, of the justifiability of some state certification requirements) and in the view that the recruitment pool needs to be expanded to include younger, less experienced educators, persons whose training and/or experience are not in Education, members of disadvantaged minority groups (especially Blacks), and students currently enrolled as high school seniors or in undergraduate and Master's programs. This need was recognized by questionnaire respondents in that a significant proportion of both samples predicted the desirability of resolving it during the next decade. An added component, not treated in the literature, inheres in the perception of a significant number of university personnel that a limited geographical area for recruitment constitutes a weakness in their programs and in the prediction by several of them that their recruitment pools will need to be extended geographically in the future. That an emergent trend toward the expansion of the recruitment pool in most of the ways mentioned above is underway seems indicated by claims that such expansion has occurred in a substantial number of institutions during the past five years and by the perceptions of a significant proportion of university respondents that an expanded recruitment pool constitutes a strength of their programs. There is no indication in the survey data, however, that some of the innovative approaches toward this end which are proposed in the literature (such as the use of an internship to telescope experience requirements for younger candidates and the development of programs in administration similar to the Master of Arts in Teaching to attract candidates from liberal arts areas) have been implemented.

It should be noted that a view contrary to the above trend is also reflected in the questionnaire responses: a significant number of school superintendents (but not of university personnel) perceived an emphasis upon recruiting candidates with prior successful administrative experience in schools as a strength of their programs; and, correspondingly, a significant number of superintendents (but, again, not of university respondents) perceived the lack of such an emphasis as a weakness in their programs.

Two other recruitment needs seem evident in this study's data. One relates to a lack of sufficient funds to support doctoral students in educational administration. Such a lack is recognized in the literature and was perceived as a program weakness by a significant proportion of university respondents. The procural of increased funds for student support was identified by a significant number of university personnel as a change which will be desirable in the future. Another change predicted as a future need by a significant proportion of university respondents was the development of better working relationships with practicing administrators in the identification of potential candidates for preparatory programs. The need for such relationships receives limited attention in the literature.

A general dissatisfaction with current selection procedures on the part of personnel in universities is suggested by the fact that no facet of selection was perceived by a significant number of them to be a program strength. Two needs appear predominant among those hampering the screening of students into doctoral programs in educational administration--one relating to standards and the other involving procedures. In regard to the first, it is recognized in the literature that many students admitted to administrative preparation programs are academically and intellectually inferior to most other groups of university students. According to questionnaire responses, this problem appears to concern school superintendents more frequently than it does university personnel. A significant number of the former predicted that admission standards will need to be raised in the future to make them more intellectually rigorous. And the only aspect of selection viewed as a strength by a significant proportion of responding superintendents (but not of university personnel) was the application of rigorous cognitive screening standards. While the need for higher standards was not viewed as problematic by many university personnel, a significant number of them indicated that they had established more rigorous intellectual criteria in screening applicants during the last five years.

The second predominant need indicated by the data is for selection procedures that possess greater validity in predicting successful administrative performance on the part of applicants. This need is well documented in the literature, where it is suggested that new kinds of screening techniques (such as sociometrics, situational performance tests, laboratory training exercises, and successive-stage selection procedures) should be utilized, and that measures of non-cognitive traits (such as creativity and value systems) should be obtained and assessed. The lack of predictive validity in commonly employed selection measures was recognized as a program weakness by a significant number of university respondents to the questionnaire, and significant proportions of both samples predicted that more valid procedures will become necessary in the future. Superintendents, in particular, felt that selection should include consideration of such non-cognitive characteristics as motivation, initiative, courage, emotional stability, and physical endurance. While recent changes cited by a substantial number of university personnel suggest that some non-cognitive measures have been added to selection criteria in recent years, there is little evidence of departure from dependence on the traditional interviews, tests, and paper credentials in screening procedures. That the future will require less superficial, more intensive selection efforts was predicted by a significant number of respondents in universities.

Two other needs related to selection are identified in the literature. One is for the increased involvement of practicing administrators in screening activities, an approach which was predicted by a few superintendents to become desirable in the near future. The other is for the facilitation of quality control through agreement on an aptitude test to be universally and uniformly administered, interpreted, and reported. There is no evidence in the questionnaire responses of any attempt to implement this proposal.

The following generalizations related to recruitment and selection seem to be supported by the data summarized above:

1. There is a need for, and an emergent trend toward, more systematic and aggressive efforts to recruit talented persons into administrative preparation programs.
    - (a) This need is recognized in the literature and by both school superintendents and university personnel.
    - (b) The emergent trend in this direction is not recognized in the literature and is reflected more frequently in the responses of university personnel than in those of school superintendents.
    - (c) This trend is limited in that few innovative communication devices are apparently being utilized.

2. There is a need for, and an emergent trend toward, the expansion of the traditional recruitment pool for candidates for advanced

preparation in educational administration.

(a) New target populations in this expansion include younger, less experienced educators, persons with training and/or experience in areas other than Education, members of disadvantaged minority groups, and those living beyond the geographic boundaires of a university's "service area."

(b) This general need is recognized in the literature and by both school superintendents and university personnel. More specifically, the geographic component of the need is not reflected in the literature and is supported more frequently by university personnel than by school superintendents; and superintendents, more frequently than university personnel, support a contrary emphasis upon recruiting persons with prior successful administrative experience in schools.

(c) There is no evidence that some of the proposals offered in the literature to meet this need are being implemented in practice.

(d) The emergent trend in this direction is not recognized in the literature and is reflected more frequently in the responses of university personnel than in those of school superintendents.

3. There is a need in recruitment for increased financial assistance to students.

   (a) This need is recognized in the literature and is supported more frequently by university personnel than by school superintendents.

4. There is a need for greater involvement of practicing administrators in recruiting candidates for doctoral programs.

   (a) This need is recognized in the literature and is supported more frequently by university respondents than by school superintendents.

5. There is a need for more rigorous intellectual screening standards in the selection of students for advanced preparation in educational administration.

   (a) This need is recognized in the literature and is supported more frequently by school superintendents than by university personnel.

   (b) There is no evidence that some of the proposals offered in the literature to meet this need are being implemented in practice.

6. There is a need for selection procedures that possess greater validity in predicting successful administrative performance on the part of applicants.

(a) Components of this need include both the utilization of improved and more intensive screening devices and the assessment of relevant non-cognitive traits.

(b) This general need is recognized in the literature and by both school superintendents and university personnel, although the first component (above) tends to be supported more frequently by university personnel than by school superintendents.

7. There is a need for increased involvement of practicing administrators in selecting candidates for doctoral programs.

   (a) This need is recognized in the literature and tends to be supported more frequently by school superintendents than by university personnel.

Instructional Approaches. It seems clear from the data of this study that there is a major established trend away from the textbook-lecture-discussion approach in preparing superintendents and toward the use of a variety of media, reality-oriented materials, and alternative instructional strategies. Further, there is a perceived need to continue and to refine this trend. That the traditional lecture approach persists is obvious, but that it is viewed with some disfavor, at least when over-used in comparison with other approaches, is indicated in the literature and in the questionnaire responses of significant proportions of both school superintendents and university personnel who viewed an over-reliance on lectures as a weakness in their programs. The trend toward the use of a variety of alternative instructional approaches is reported in the literature and was perceived as a program strength by significant proportions of both samples in the survey. More specifically, substantial numbers of university personnel reported increases within the past five years in their institutions' uses of: written case studies; small group seminars; traditional simulations, consisting of in-baskets supplemented by multi-media background information, filmed problem stimuli, and taped interruptions; audio-visual media (particularly films, tapes, and television); team-teaching; and gaming techniques and materials. Some experimentation with such devices as micro-training and computer-based simulation and instruction is also apparent. The utilization of laboratory training exercises, programmed instruction, and sensitivity training appears to be more limited, and the employment of taped, filmed, and programmed cases seems, on the basis of questionnaire responses, to be negligible. Differential perceptions of the extent to which particular facets of this trend have had a salutary impact upon preparatory programs are indicated in the questionnaire data: uses of seminars and cases were viewed as program strengths by significant proportions of the superintendents' sample, but not of the universities' sample; and uses of simulation and team-teaching by professors were perceived as strengths by significant numbers of university respondents, but not of school superintendents.

The need to continue the above trend is recognized in the literature and in the survey data. Changes predicted to be desirable in the next few years by significant proportions of both samples of questionnaire respondents included a de-emphasis on the lecture approach, an increase in the use of simulation, more frequent utilization of seminars, and increased experimentation with such media as television and videotapes. Significant numbers of superintendents (but not of university personnel) called for the inclusion of more case studies in future preparatory programs and for better integration of instructional approaches with field-related experiences through such mechanisms as visitations and practicums. Significant proportions of university respondents (but not of superintendents predicted that increased uses of team-teaching, laboratory training exercises, and the computer will be needed in the near future.

The need to refine this trend is reflected in the literature, but not to any notable extent in the survey data. Particular refinements called for by authors include: a need to assess the impact of simulation upon students; a need to record the results of experiences with simulation; a need to develop multi-faceted systems of instructional materials; a need for materials capable of effectively transmitting content from the humanities; and a need for materials with a large-city orientation. There is no evidence in this study that these needs have been met to the extent that they have had an impact upon preparatory programs in educational administration.

The following generalizations related to instructional approaches seem to be supported by the data summarized above:

1. There is an established trend in instructional approaches away from the traditional lecture-textbook method and toward a variety of audio-visual media, reality-oriented materials, and alternative instructional strategies.

    (a) This trend has progressed furthest with the increased use of simulation, cases, seminars, and team-teaching; more limited progress to date has been achieved with the introduction of new audio-visual media and gaming; experimentation is under way with micro-training and computer-based simulation and instruction.

    (b) This general trend is recognized in the literature and by school superintendents and university personnel. With regard to specific approaches, the use of cases and seminars is viewed favorably more frequently by school superintendents than by university personnel, and the use of simulation and team-teaching is viewed favorably more frequently by university personnel than by school superintendents.

2. There is a need for the continuation and refinement of the above trend.
    (a) The need for continuation of the trend is recognized in the literature and by school superintendents and university personnel.
    (b) The need for refinement of the trend is reflected in the literature but is not supported to a significant extent in the questionnaire responses of school superintendents or university personnel.

Field-Related Experiences. There is an established trend toward increasing the quantity of field-related experiences available to students preparing for superintendencies; there is a need for, and an emergent trend toward, assessing and improving the quality of field-related experiences. Both of these phenomena are recognized in the literature and in the questionnaire responses of school superintendents and university personnel. With regard to particular kinds of field-related experiences, however, attention in the literature is limited largely to the internship; this is not true of the survey data. The trend toward an increase in the quantity of field-related experiences is reflected, with specific reference to the internship, in the literature and is indicated by the claims of significant numbers of university respondents that within the past five years internships have been introduced into their programs, the number of students involved in internships has been expanded, and the participation of students in survey activities has increased in their institutions. This trend appears to be viewed favorably. Significant proportions of both samples in the survey perceived an under-emphasis upon field-related experiences as a weakness in their programs, the involvement of students in internships as a strength, and the participation of students in survey activities as a strength. In addition, the wide variety of field-related experiences available to students was viewed as a program strength by a significant number of university respondents. That this trend should continue is suggested by evidence in the literature that participation of students in field-related experiences is still limited and by the predictions of significant proportions of both survey samples that it will be desirable in the near future to increase the number and variety of field-related experiences available for students and to make these experiences (especially the internship) required activities for prospective superintendents (particularly those with limited previous administrative experience).

On the other hand, it is evident in the literature and in the responses of both school superintendents and university personnel that considerable dissatisfaction exists concerning the quality or value of field-related experiences as typically implemented. A number of unresolved problems pertaining to the internship are identified in the literature. The dissatisfaction is also reflected explicitly in the view of a significant proportion of superintendents that the poor quality of field-related experiences (specifically, lack of diversity, unsystematic incorporation into total preparation, lack of individualization, fragmentary participation, and poor planning and supervision) constitutues a weakness in their programs, and it is reflected implicitly in the perception of a significant number of university personnel that a program weakness in their institutions is the insufficient time they have available to develop and implement meaningful field-related experiences. Further evidence of this need is provided in the predictions of significant proportions of both samples that it will be desirable in the next few years to develop more meaningful field-related experiences generally and to improve the quality of the internship in particular.

Both of these predictions appear as well in the literature, and a few authors have offered some relatively innovative proposals for improving field-related experiences. It has been suggested, for example, that students be posted as interns in a variety of non-school educational organizations and non-educational community agencies, that "targeted field experiences" be implemented in urban school systems, and that students be assigned to several school districts during their internships. There is evidence in the questionnaire data that at least the first of these proposals has been introduced in a significant number of universities within the past five years, an innovation which was perceived as a program strength by several school superintendents. Moreover, a substantial number of university respondents reported that efforts have recently been launched to generally enrich the internship and survey experiences offered in their institutions. Thus, there appears to be an emergent trend toward the resolution of the need for improved quality in field-related experiences for prospective superintendents.

The following generalizations related to field-related experiences seem to be supported by the data summarized above:

1. There is an established trend toward increasing the quantity of field-related experiences available to doctoral students preparing for school superintendencies.

(a) This trend is particularly characteristic of involvement in internships and participation in surveys on the part of students with limited previous administrative experience.
(b) This trend is recognized and viewed favorably in the literature (with particular reference to the internship) and by school superintendents and university personnel.

2. There is a need for, and an emergent trend toward, improving the quality of field-related epxeriences.
   (a) This need is recognized in the literature and by school superintendents and university personnel.
   (b) There is evidence that some of the proposals offered in the literature to meet this need have been implemented, and some have not.
   (c) The trend toward the resolution of this need is not recognized in the literature but is reflected in questionnaire responses, particularly those of university personnel.
   (d) A constraint to the resolution of this need, recognized by university respondents, is the limited time available for professors to effect improvements in field-related experiences.

Student Research. Very little attention is devoted to student research in the literature, aside from a general acknowledgement that involvement in and understanding of research is important to prospective superintendents. There are, however, some trends and needs related to student research reflected in the questionnaire survey results, a few of which are accorded limited recognition in the literature. The major established trend is toward increased sophistication of student research. This trend is supported in the literature and is reflected in the responses of significant numbers of university personnel who stated that within the past five years at their institutions the use of advanced statistics and computer technology in research analysis has increased and greater emphasis has been placed upon theoretically-based and empirical research by students. That this trend is highly valued, at least by university respondents, is suggested in the responses of significant proportions of them who perceived the increasing sophistication of student research as a strength of their programs and who predicted that a higher level of sophistication will become desirable within the next five-to-ten years. The trend in this direction is apparently not viewed favorably so frequently by school superintendents.

Two other trends in student research appear to be emerging in response to perceived needs. One relates to the need for more integrated research efforts--that is, more collaborative or "programmatic" research in a particular problem area conducted by teams of students or of students and professors. Recognition of this need is indicated in the responses of a significant number of university personnel who viewed the lack of such efforts as a program weakness in their institutions, and in the responses of substantial proportions of both samples who predicted that more such research will be desirable in the near future. An emergent trend in this direction is recognized in the literature and in the claims of a substantial number of university respondents that greater integration of student research projects has been achieved in their institutions within the past five years. The second emergent trend is in response to a perceived need for students to have increased opportunities for training and experience in research prior or in addition to the dissertation. Examples of such opportunities include research assistantships, courses on research design and methodology, and attendance at local and national conferences on research in educational administration. The need in this area is reflected in the responses of a significant number of superintendents who perceived the lack of such opportunities as a weakness in their programs, and in the predictions of significant proportions of both samples that such opportunities will need to be increased in the next few years. That some progress in this direction has been achieved is suggested by the statements from a substantial number of universities that expanded opportunities for non-dissertation research-related activities have been provided for their students during the past five years, and by the views of significant proportions of both samples that such opportunities constitute a program strength in their institutions.

Three additional needs related to student research are reflected in the questionnaire data. One is for increased individualized flexibility and student freedom in the selection of research topics and methodologies. This was predicted to become desirable in the near future by significant proportions of both samples of respondents. While there is little evidence of a recent trend toward satisfying this need, it has apparently been met in a substantial number of universities, for significant proportions of both superintendents and university personnel perceived such freedom to be a strength of their programs. A second need, identified more frequently by superintendents than by university personnel, is for more adequate competence, interest, time, and assistance on the part of professors to be devoted to student research. This was predicted by a substantial number of superintendents to become necessary within the next few years, and a lack of it was perceived by a significant proportion of them to be a weakness in their programs. Again, no recent discernible trend in this direction can be identified in the questionnaire data; yet a significant number of superintendents perceived high professorial competence and assistance in student research to be a program strength in their institutions. A related strength, identified by a significant proportion of university respondents, was the availability of good supporting facilities for student research (such as a well-stocked library and an easily accessible data-processing center). Finally, there

8

appears to be a generally unmet perceived need for research by prospective superintendents to be more relevant to current problems in educational administration--for more emphasis to be placed on research which makes a direct contribution to the resolution of significant contemporary policy issues confronting chief school officers. That this will become desirable within the near future was predicted by significant proportions of both questionnaire samples, and it is reflected in proposals in the literature that research expectations, experiences, and requirements at the doctoral level be differentiated for prospective school administrators and prospective researchers in educational administration. There is no evidence in the survey results that this has been achieved to any significant extent in more than a few universities.

The following generalizations related to student research seem to be supported by the data summarized above:

1. There is an established trend toward the increased sophistication of student research.
    (a) Facets of this sophistication include empirical approaches, theoretical bases, elegant designs, advanced methodologies, and intricate statistical analyses.
    (b) This trend is recognized in the literature and is viewed favorably more frequently by university personnel than by school superintendents.

2. There is a need for, and an emergent trend toward, more "programmatic" research by teams of students (and professors).
    (a) This need is supported by both school superintendents and university personnel.
    (b) The trend in this direction is recognized in the literature and by university personnel.

3. There is a need for, and an emergent trend toward, making available to students increased opportunities for non-dissertation training and experience in research.
    (a) This need is supported by both school superintendents and university personnel.
    (b) The trend in this direction is recognized by university personnel and is viewed favorably by both school superintendents and university personnel.

4. There is a need for, and some achievement of, increased individualized flexibility for students in the selection of research topics and methodologies.
    (a) This need is supported by both school superintendents and university personnel.

    (b) Its achievement in some institutions is viewed favorably by both school superintendents and university personnel.

5. There is a need for, and some achievement of, increased competence, interest, time, and assistance on the part of professors to be devoted to student research.
    (a) This need is supported more frequently by school superintendents than by university personnel.
    (b) Its achievement in some institutions is viewed favorably more frequently by school superintendents than by university personnel.
    (c) A related achievement--of good supporting facilities for student research--is viewed favorably more frequently by university personnel than by school superintendents.

6. There is a need for student research by prospective superintendents to be more relevant to current problems confronting school administrators.
    (a) This need is supported in the literature and by school superintendents and university personnel.

Requirements for Graduation. As indicated above, student research is a generally accepted requirement for graduation, and is recognized as such in the literature. Other than this, attention to requirements for graduation in the literature is limited largely to the consideration of the residency and the internship. It is apparent from this study's data that the most clearly established trend related to requirements for graduation is toward the introduction or extension of a required period of full-time residence on campus for doctoral students in educational administration. This trend is noted and supported in the literature, where there is considerable discussion of the advantages of resident over part-time study. Significant proportions of the superintendents' and universities' samples in the survey perceived the required residency as a program strength in their institutions, and a substantial number of university respondents indicated that the residency requirement has been introduced or extended in their institutions within the past five years. Nevertheless, evidence in the literature demonstrates that there are still many more part-time than full-time doctoral students in educational administration acorss the country, and significant proportions of both survey samples predicted that the trend toward the required residency will need to be continued during the decade ahead. Support for this trend, where specified in the literature and questionnaire responses, tends to favor an academic-year or a two-semester period of required residence, while the two-year residency is promoted less frequently. A prediction contrary to this trend should also be noted, however: a substantial number of school superintendents felt it would be desirable to eliminate or reduce residency requirements in the future.

A second major trend in requirements for graduation is toward the elimination or reduction of foreign language requisites. While this trend is not recognized in the literature, it is reflected in the recent changes cited by many university respondents to the questionnaire. Within this general tendency, three sub-trends are indicated, in the following order of frequency: (1) making it possible to substitute for a foreign language course work in a related discipline or in statistics and research design; (2) reducing the number of foreign languages in which some competency is required from two to one; and (3) eliminating the foreign language requirement completely. That superintendents see a need for this trend is suggested by the perception of a significant proportion of them that the foreign language requirement is a weakness of their programs and by the prediction of a substantial number of them that it will need to be reduced or abolished within the next few years. Two other tendencies indicated in the survey results appear to be related, either directly or indirectly, to the first sub-trend identified above. These are represented by movements toward requiring course work (1) in "outside" disciplines and (2) in statistics and research design, both of which are changes that have been implemented in significant proportions of the universities' sample within the past five years.

A third general trend suggested by the questionnaire data is toward increasing the individualized flexibility of requirements for graduation. This has reportedly occurred recently in a significant proportion of institutions in the universities' sample. That it is a favorably perceived trend is indicated by the view of a substantial number of university personnel that flexible requirements constitute a strength of their programs and by the predictions of significant proportions of both samples that increased individualized flexibility will be needed in future years.

A continuing need in connection with requirements for graduation appears to be for the elimination of "false hurdles" or "irrelevant barriers" imposed in doctoral programs. This need is apparent in the perceptions of a substantial number of university respondents that such requirements comprise a weakness of their programs and in the prediction of a significant proportion of the superintendents' sample that the elimination of such requirements will be desirable within the next few years. The last two tendencies cited above may represent steps in this direction.

Finally, as noted above, some attention is devoted in the literature to the subject of required field-related experiences (especially internships). A significant proportion of superintendents responding to the questionnaire predicted that the introduction of such a requirement will become desirable in future programs to prepare chief school officers. However, there is no evident trend in this direction at present, and support for it in the literature is so limited that, while field-related experiences may be generally viewed as desirable for superintendents-in-training, the designation of their imposition as a generally recognized need seems unjustified on the basis of this study's data. It may be justifiable, however, to recognize a need for required field-related experiences if this requirement were limited to prospective superintendents with little or no previous administrative experience.

The following generalizations related to requirements for graduation seem to be supported by the data summarized above:

1. There is a trend toward a period of full-time residence as a requirement for graduation.
    (a) The most frequently supported duration of required residence is two semesters, or one academic year.
    (b) This trend is recognized and viewed favorably in the literature and by school superintendents and university personnel.
    (c) This trend is viewed favorably more consistently by university personnel than by school superintendents.

2. There is a trend toward the elimination or reduction of foreign language competency as a requirement for graduation.
    (a) This trend is recognized by university personnel but not in the literature.
    (b) The need for this trend is supported more frequently by school superintendents than by university personnel.

3. There are emergent trends toward requiring course work in "outside" disciplines and in statistics and research design.
    (a) These trends may be related, either directly or indirectly, to the one immediately above.
    (b) These trends are recognized by university personnel but not in the literature.

4. There is a trend toward increasing the individualized flexibility of requirements for graduation.
    (a) This trend is recognized by university personnel but not in the literature.
    (b) The need for this trend is supported by both school superintendents and university personnel.

5. There is a need to eliminate "irrelevant barriers" from requirements for graduation.

(a) Tendencies toward meeting this need are suggested in some of the trends noted above.
(b) This need is supported by school superintendents and university personnel but is not recognized in the literature.

6. There is a feeling on the part of some that field-related experiences should be included among requirements for graduation for prospective chief school officers.
    (a) This feeling applies particularly to the internship.
    (b) This feeling is expressed by school superintendents and, to a limited degree, in the literature.

Program Evaluation and Development. It seems clear from the data of this study that there is a need for, and an emergent trend toward, increased and improved efforts to conduct planning, assessment, and development of preparatory programs for chief school officers. The general need for program evaluation is reflected in the questionnaire responses of significant proportions of both school superintendents and university personnel who perceived a program weakness at their institutions to be that little or no evaluation or development is conducted. This need is recognized in the literature as well, where it is observed that, in part because of a shortage of resources which can be allocated to these activities, only a few universities commit professorial time and funds to the assessment and refinement of their preparatory programs in educational administration. It is further apparent that what little program evaluation and development are conducted tend, in general, to be sporadic at best. A need for more thorough, continuous, and systematic efforts in this area is indicated in the perceptions of significant proportions of both samples in the survey that the lack of such efforts constitutes a program weakness in their institutions, and in the predictions of substantial numbers in both groups that the future will require the definition of program objectives in terms of performance criteria which can be measured so that more systematic evaluation and development can be undertaken. The need for increased formalization is also recognized in the literature, where it is noted that most Departments of Educational Administration currently have inadequate arrangements for systematically up-dating existing programs and designing new ones.

While a general trend toward meeting the need for increased and improved program evaluation and development is not recognized in the literature, some progress in this direction is indicated in the views of significant proportions of both questionnaire samples that a strength of their programs resides in the periodic, informal means of evaluation which are implemented, and in the reports that a substantial number of universities have, within the past five years, instituted a more systematic approach to program planning and development, usually in connection with college- or university-wide endeavors.

Data are available on several specific aspects of the general need and trend discussed above. These aspects are related to various approaches to the assessment and refinement of preparatory programs. One such approach involves the regular solicitation of "feedback" concerning an institution's program from its graduates. While this strategy receives little attention in the literature, a need for it in the years ahead was predicted by significant proportions of both superintendents and university personnel in the questionnaire survey. The initiation of this approach within the past five years was reported by a substantial number of university personnel, and its achievement was perceived as a program strength by a significant proportion of the responding school superintendents. A related strategy concerns the involvement of practicing school administrators in program evaluation and development activities. A need for this approach is recognized in the literature and a substantial number of superintendents predicted in the questionnaire that it will be desirable in the near future, but there is little evidence that it has been implemented to any significant degree. A third strategy is the conduct of regular follow-up studies of the "on-the-job" performance of a program's graduates. A need for such studies, while virtually ignored in the literature, is recognized in the predictions of a significant proportion of the superintendents' sample in the survey, and a substantial number of university personnel reported that studies of this kind had been conducted in their institutions within the past five years. A related approach, also reported to have been implemented in a significant number of universities during recent years, involves the evaluation of an institution's program and the development of recommendations for improving it in doctoral dissertations or other formal studies. A fifth strategy, ignored in the literature but predicted by significant proportions of both questionnaire samples to become necessary in the years ahead, concerns the continuous direct involvement of students currently enrolled in a program in its evaluation and development. While it is known that such efforts have recently been implemented in a few institutions, there is no evidence in the questionnaire data that this approach is widespread at present. A sixth mechanism involves the establishment of formalized structures and procedures within Departments of Educational Administration for program design and monitoring purposes. A need for such a mechanism is recognized in the literature and in the predictions of a significant number of university respondents to the questionnaire. Some progress in this direction is indicated in the reports by a number of university personnel that regular self-evaluation procedures have been inaugurated within their departments during the past five years, and in the perceptions of a significant proportion of them that such mechanisms constitute a program strength in their institutions. Finally, it is proposed in the literature that some means be implemented to facilitate the evaluation and development of preparatory programs by external consultants. The future desirability of this approach is reflected in the predictions of a significant proportion of university participants in the survey, and a substantial number of them indicated that external evaluations of their programs had been conducted within the past five years.

The following generalizations related to program evaluation and development seem to be supported by the data summarized above:

1. There is a need for more thorough, continuous, systematic evaluation and development of preparatory programs for school superintendents.
    (a) Specific approaches needed include the solicitation of "feedback" on a program from its graduates, the involvement of practicing administrators in program evaluation and development, the conduct of "follow-up" studies of a program's graduates' "on-the-job" performance, the involvement of a program's current students in its evaluation and development, the establishment of self-evaluating mechanisms within Departments of Educational Administration, and the implementation of means for program evaluation and development by external sources.
    (b) This general need is recognized in the literature and by school superintendents and university personnel. With regard to specific approaches, only the needs to involve practitioners, to establish self-evaluative mechanisms, and to utilize external sources are reflected in the literature. While school superintendents support the needs for assessing graduates' performance and for involving practitioners more frequently than do university personnel, the latter support the needs for establishing self-evaluative mechanisms and for utilizing external sources more frequently than do school superintendents.

2. There is an emergent trend toward increased and improved evaluation and development of preparation programs in educational administration.
    (a) Specific approaches recently implemented in a significant number of institutions include the evaluation of programs in dissertations or other studies, plus all of the strategies cited in 1(a) above except the involvement of practitioners and of current students in program evaluation and development activities.
    (b) This general trend is not recognized in the literature but

is viewed favorably by school superintendents and university personnel. With regard to specific approaches, while school superintendents view favorably the solicitation of "feedback" on a program from its graduates more frequently than do university personnel, the latter view favorably the establishment of self-evaluative mechanisms within Departments of Educational Administration more frequently than do school superintendents.

Departmental Functions and Staffing. By and large, the trends and needs apparent in departmental functions and staffing reflect those noted previously in program content. The major established trend in departmental functions and staffing appears to be away from the adding of professors who are generalists with substantial previous administrative experience in schools, and toward the employment of specialists with particular competence in disciplinary or multidisciplinary areas. This trend is clearly indicated in the literature where data are reported illustrating that professors with little or no previous administrative experience but with discipline-based research and conceptualization skills have been added to departments of educational administration more frequently in recent years than previously, and that relatively fewer professors with extensive prior experience in the schools have been employed of late. As a result, the functional specializations of new professors of educational administration tend to be viewed more often from disciplinary or multidisciplinary perspectives than in terms of administrative positions or task areas. This trend is reflected in the reports from a significant proportion of university participants in the questionnaire survey that the majority of professors added to their departments within the past five years are specialists rather than generalists, and that most of these persons have expertise or backgrounds in social science disciplines and/or have special research competencies. While university personnel generally view this trend favorably and predict that it will need to continue in the future, school superintendents (as a group) appear to have mixed feelings about it. A significant number of them perceived the high level of specialized competence represented in the staff of departments to be a program strength at their institutions. On the other hand, they tended to view negatively the lack of administrative experience on the part of some professors and to view positively the presence on departmental staffs of professors who had served as school administrators. Significant proportions of the superintendents' sample perceived as a program strength professors with such experience, viewed as a program weakness professors without such experience, and predicted that more professors with such experience will be needed during the coming decade.

A second trend in departmental functions and staffing, related to but more recent than the above one, appears to be emerging in response to a need to achieve improved balance on departmental staffs between those with discipline-based expertise and those with practice-based expertise. It is important to note that the practice-based component of this tendency is affiliated with, rather than contrary to, the above trend in that (as could be expected from the earlier discussion of program content) the practice-based expertise which is being sought is represented not so much by previous administrative experience as by specialized competency in some of the more recent content areas relating to emergent skills needed and current problems confronted by school administrators. Thus, recent staffing changes reported in the questionnaire by substantial numbers of university personnel indicate that departments are not only adding professors with disciplinary orientations but are also employing experts in such areas as collective negotiations, data-processing, planning and management technologies, business management, and intergovernmental relationships. The achievement of this kind of breadth and balance in specializations was perceived as a program strength by substantial proportions of both samples of survey respondents. While this trend is not recognized in the literature, the need for it is. This need is also reflected in the perception of a substantial number of university respondents that the lack of balanced specializations on their department staffs constitutes a weakness of their programs, and in the predictions by significant proportions of both survey samples that additional staff will be needed in the near future to achieve such balance in their departments. A related prediction, made by a significant number of superintendents, is that it will be desirable to supplement departmental staffs by the increased use of guest lecturers both from disciplinary areas and from "the field."

Two other needs related to departmental functions and staffing are apparent in the data of this study. One is for the more effective and efficient use of professors' time and abilities in activities directly related to administrative preparation. While this need is not recognized in the literature, it is reflected in the perceptions of a significant proportion of university respondents who viewed as a program weakness the involvement of professors in too many "peripheral functions" such that their competencies were not being fully utilized in the preparation of school administrators. Related to this is the prediction of several superintendents that it will become necessary in the future for professors to allocate more time to, and receive greater recognition for, teaching and advising students than they do now. Finally, there appears to be a need for increased attention to be devoted to the pre-service and in-service training of professors of educational administration. The need for pre-service programs designed specifically for the preparation of professors is recognized in the literature and is reflected in the prediction of a substantial number of university personnel that such programs will be desirable in future years. The need for mid-career continuing education experiences for professors is suggested by data in the literature indicating that, at least in the perceptions of a nationwide sample of superintendents, many professors lack familiarity with contemporary problems in the practice of educational administration, particularly in large school districts. Consequently, it is proposed in the literature that some mechanism be devised whereby professors may return periodically to "the field" for up-dating purposes. This need for in-service programs for professors is supported in the predictions, by significant proportions of both questionnaire samples, that such programs will be desirable in the years ahead, with superintendents specifying more frequently than university personnel that these continuing education experiences should involve exposure to practice.

The following generalizations related to departmental functions and staffing seem to be supported by the data summarized above:

1. There is an established trend in departmental functions and staffing away from the adding of professors who are generalists with substantial previous administrative experience in schools, and toward the employment of specialists with particular competence in disciplinary or multidisciplinary areas.
    (a) This trend is recognized in the literature and by school superintendents and university personnel.
    (b) This trend is viewed favorably by university personnel. While school superintendents view the movement toward disciplinary and multidisciplinary specializations favorably, they frequently view unfavorably the movement away from an emphasis upon professors having had substantial previous administrative experience in schools.

2. There is a need for, and an emergent trend toward, the achievement of improved balance on departmental staffs between those with discipline-based expertise and those with practice-based expertise.
    (a) This movement toward balance is reflected, on the one hand, in the trend noted immediately above (adding professors with disciplinary or multidisciplinary competence) and, on the other hand, in the recent tendency to employ professors with competencies in such administrative skill- and problem-oriented areas as collective negotiations, data-processing, intergovernmental relationships, and emergent planning and management technologies.
    (b) This trend toward balance is recognized and viewed favorably by school superintendents and university personnel, but is not explicitly reflected in the literature.
    (c) The need for this trend is supported in the literature and by

school superintendents and university personnel.

(d) A related need, ignored in the literature and supported more frequently by school superintendents than by university personnel, is for the supplementing of departmental staffs by guest lecturers both from disciplinary areas and from "the field."

3. There is a need for more effective and efficient use of professors' time and abilities in the preparation of school administrators.
   (a) This need includes the allocation of less professorial time to "peripheral functions" and the accordance of greater recognition to professors for work directly with students.
   (b) This general need is supported by school superintendents and university personnel but is not recognized in the literature.

4. There is a need for special pre-service and continuing education programs for professors of educational administration.
   (a) This need is recognized in the literature and by school superintendents and university personnel.
   (b) With regard to the in-service aspect of this need, mid-career exposure to "the field" is supported more frequently in the literature and by school superintendents than by university personnel.

In-Service Programs. Considerable attention is devoted in the literature to the view that those in most universities are neglecting their responsibility (or do not perceive themselves as having the primary responsibility) for the continuing education of school superintendents. It is suggested that universities have not developed a commitment to providing and improving in-service programs (as reflected, for example, in their allocation of financial and human resources to such programs) commensurate with their commitment to pre-service preparation programs. This criticism does not receive unqualified support from the data generated by the questionnaire utilized in the persent study. While a substantial number of participating superintendents identified as a program weakness the lack of in-service programs offered by their institutions, and while significant proportions of both survey samples predicted that a greater number of such programs will need to be offered in the future, a majority of the responding university personnel indicated that they had, within the past five years, increased the number and variety of short-term continuing education opportunities which they offer, and significant proportions of both samples perceived the availability of such opportunities as program strengths in their institutions.

Related to the criticism noted above is the proposal that universities be divested of primary responsibility for the continuing education of school superintendents and that this responsibility be vested in some new agency created specifically for that purpose. Although this proposal is offered in the literature and is currently being tested, support for it in the questionnaire data is negligible. A compromise suggestion, between total responsibility and non-responsibility for in-service training on the part of universities, is that institutions of higher education should become involved in cooperative continuing education programs through joint efforts with such agencies as regional educational laboratories, state education departments, Title III centers, local school districts, and administrators' and school boards' associations. This suggestion is offered in the literature, and an emergent trend toward its implementation is indicated in the recent changes reported by a significant proportion of university personnel participating in the questionnaire survey.

Assuming that universities are viewed as having primary responsibility for the continuing education of school superintendents--and will likely continue to be so viewed--and recognizing, on the basis of the tendency noted above, that most of them are seeking to meet this responsibility through increasing the number and variety of short-term in-service programs offered, a few additional trends and needs become apparent in this study's data. For example, there appears to be a need for, and a trend toward, greater relevance in the content of these programs. It is suggested in the literature that many continuing education offerings are too technical or too theoretical--that they tend to ignore the significant contemporary problems faced by school superintendents "on the firing line," particularly in urban districts. This suggestion is supported in the predictions of significant proportions of both survey samples that greater relevance and timeliness will be desirable in future in-service programs. Some progress seems to have been made in this direction, for a substantial number of university respondents reported the implementation of changes of this type in their institutions during the past five years, with attention being devoted most frequently to the topic of collective negotiations, and significant proportions of both school superintendents and university personnel perceived the timeliness and relevance of continuing education offerings to be a strength of the programs in their institutions. This trend also receives some recognition in the literature.

A second problem area related to today's typical in-service programs has to do more with their structure than with their substance. It is stated in the literature that continuing education offerings for superintendents tend to be sporadic--that they are not designed and made available in a systematic, integrated, or continuing way, according to some "thread of purpose." That a need exists in this area is supported in the perceptions of significant proportions of both survey samples that this problem constitutes a program weakness in their institutions. There is no evidence in the questionnaire data that this need is currently being met to any significant degree, although limited progress in this direction within the past five years was reported by a few university respondents.

A third problem concerns the duration of typical in-service programs. It is observed in the literature that they tend to be too short in length, and it is proposed that a greater number of longer-term continuing education experiences be implemented for superintendents in the form of two-to-four-week "retreats" on campus or post-doctoral programs lasting for an entire semester or academic year. That a need is perceived to exist in this area is apparent from the predictions of significant proportions of both survey samples that it will be desirable in the years ahead to increase the availability to superintendents of longer-term, in-residence continuing education programs. This need seems not to have been totally neglected, however, for a substantial number of superintendents cited as a program strength the offering of relatively long-term in-service programs in their institutions, particularly during the summer months.

Finally, a need is recognized in the literature for the substantial expansion of off-campus continuing education opportunities available to practicing administrators. These opportunities would include, in addition to on-the-job consulting services offered by professors, the development and use of a variety of written and audio-visual mechanisms for rapidly disseminating information on new ideas, recent research results, and innovative practices to practitioners in "the field." That such mechanisms will be needed in the years ahead was predicted by a significant proportion of university personnel responding to the questionnaire. The only aspect of this need which appears to have been met to any significant extent is the provision of professorial consultation to school districts, a service which was perceived as a program strength by a substantial number of superintendents participating in the survey.

The following generalizations related to in-service programs seem to be supported by the data summarized above:

1. There is a need for, and a trend toward, increasing the number of in-service programs made available by universities to superintendents.
    (a) This need is supported in the literature and by school superintendents and university personnel.

    - (b) The trend in this direction typically takes the form of a variety of periodically offered, short-term continuing education opportunities.
    - (c) This trend is recognized and viewed favorably by school superintendents and university personnel, but is not reflected in the literature.

2. There is a need for, and a trend toward, greater relevance and timeliness in the content of in-service programs.
    - (a) This need is supported in the literature, with particular reference to urban school administration, and by school superintendents and university personnel.
    - (b) The trend in this direction is represented by an increased emphasis in continuing education programs upon the significant contemporary problems confronting chief school officers, especially in the area of collective negotiations.
    - (c) This trend is recognized and viewed favorably in the literature and by school superintendents and university personnel.

3. There is a need for, and an emergent trend toward, greater cooperation between universities and other agencies in the offering of in-service programs.
    - (a) The other agencies identified typically include professional associations, local school districts, state education departments, and federally funded centers.
    - (b) This need is supported in the literature.
    - (c) The emergent trend in this direction is recognized by university personnel but not in the literature.

4. There is a need for, and some achievement of, longer-term, residential in-service programs for superintendents.
    - (a) This need is typically expressed in terms of extended "retreats" or post-doctoral opportunities on campus.
    - (b) This need is supported in the literature and by school superintendents and university personnel.
    - (c) Its achievement in some institutions is viewed favorably more frequently by school superintendents than by university personnel.

5. There is a need for expanding the off-campus continuing education opportunities made available by universities to superintendents.
    - (a) Such opportunities include professorial consulting services and a variety of written and audio-visual mechanisms to disseminate new ideas and innovative practices.
    - (b) This need, with the exception of professorial consulting services, is supported in the literature and by university personnel.

6. There is a need for greater systematicness, integration, and continuity in in-service programs.
    (a) This need is supported in the literature and by school superintendents and university personnel.

7. There is a feeling on the part of some that a new kind of organization, external to universities, should be created specifically to meet the continuing education needs of chief school officers.
    (a) This idea is proposed in the literature but is not supported to a significant degree in the questionnaire responses of school superintendents or university personnel.
    (b) This proposal has recently been implemented in the form of AASA's National Academy for School Executives.

Conclusions

Inherent in the numerous generalizations developed throughout the above summary are a few pervasive themes which transcend the boundaries of particular program components. The remainder of this section of the present chapter is devoted to some brief observations pertaining to these themes. It must be understood that these observations are, in effect, generalizations about generalizations. They are a step further removed from the actual data of this study and, thus, exceptions to them in reality are plentiful. Nevertheless, they appear to reflect, at a considerable level of abstraction, the predominant "messages" conveyed by the results reported in Chapters Ten and Eleven of this report. The conclusions which follow are ordered according to two major groups: those which relate primarily to the approaches utilized in the study, and those which pertain mainly to the finding obtained. In each case, the conclusion is stated and then a few examples are given of the generalizations upon which it is based.

Approaches. The following conclusions concern matters related more closely to the sources of this study's data than to their substance. Two primary data-gathering procedures were utilized in the research--a review of selected literature and a questionnaire survey administered to samples of school superintendents and university personnel. Implicit in the choice of these methodologies are certain questions, such as: What kind of coverage is devoted in the literature to preparatory programs for chief school officers? How do the trends and needs in preparatory programs which are recognized in the literature relate to those reflected in questionnaire responses? Are there differences between the perceptions of school superintendents and those of university personnel and, if so, what is the nature of these differences? Are there important perceptual variations within the two samples of respondents and, if so, what is the nature of these variations? Is there any evidence that the questionnaire employed is a valid and reliable instrument? Each of these questions is addressed in the conclusions stated below.

1. Attention in the literature devoted to the preparation of school superintendents tends to be selective in focus, general in nature, and negative in attitude.

Of the ten components of preparatory programs considered in this study, by far the greatest amount of coverage in the literature is accorded to program content, with particular emphasis upon consideration of material from the social and behavioral sciences. Relatively neglected components are program structure, student research, requirements for graduation, and program evaluation and development. This may be explained by the likelihood that the latter have been viewed, more than other components, as matters peculiar to the concerns and constraints of individual universities whereas program content, which in effect defines the body of knowledge that is "educational administration," has been viewed, more than other components, as the property of the profession at large. Other examples of selective focus are the facts that, within the component of field-related experiences, the internship is the only activity which receives much attention in the literature and, with reference to requirements for graduation, published scholarship tends to ignore all requisites except the residency, student research, and field-related experiences.

While a few reasonably specific criticisms and proposals appear in the literature, the majority of published statements are relatively imprecise and general in nature. There is much repetition of broad platitudes, but little explicit analysis of trends and needs. Further, the platitudes tend largely to be negative in attitude. It is easier to be critical than to be constructive, and the majority of authors writing about the preparation of school administrators appear to have chosen not to accept the greater challenge of constructiveness or to have been overly modest in regard to reporting their achievements and offering their solutions pertinent to problems, which they prefer to reiterate ad nauseam.

2. While there are more similarities than differences between treatments in the literature and responses on the questionnaire in regard to trends and needs in administrative preparation, the differences which do exist suggest a disproportionate de-emphasis upon trends in contrast to needs in the literature.

This conclusion is related to the third aspect of the one above. Although the majority of trends and needs apparent in the data of this study are both recognized in the literature and reflected in the survey results, there are some which are identified in one data source but not in the other.

A few of these are needs which appear in the questionnaire responses but not in the literature, such as the need for greater utilization of guest lecturers from related disciplines and from "the field," the need to eliminate "irrelevant barriers" in requirements for graduation, the need for new content on emergent management technologies, and several needs related to student research. And some of them are constructive suggestions which appear in the literature but are not reflected with significant frequency in questionnaire responses, such as proposals to improve the internship, to advance recruitment and selection, to develop advanced instructional approaches, and to test the "Graduate School of Administration" concept in preparing educational leaders. The majority of discrepancies between the two sets of data, however, result from trends that are indicated by questionnaire responses but are not recognized in the literature. Examples are the trends toward emergent practice-related content, increased program structure, more aggressive and systematic recruitment, expanded recruitment pools, reduction or elimination of the foreign language requisite, greater individualized flexibility in requirements for graduation, theory-practice balance in departmental functions and staffing, more frequent cooperation with external agencies in continuing education offerings, and longer-term in-service programs. Thus, again, there is an apparent tendency in the literature to accentuate the negative and to de-emphasize the positive.

3. While there is a high level of agreement in questionnaire responses between the perceptions of school superintendents (as a group) and those of university personnel (as a group), the differences which do exist suggest that the former are more concerned with a variety of practice-related elements in preparatory programs than are the latter.

There are many more examples of perceptual agreement than of disagreement between superintendents and university people reflected in the questionnaire responses. Some of of the apparent disagreements may be explained by the likelihood that certain program changes have occurred in universities since most of the responding superintendents completed their course work, and other differences may be accounted for by the unlikelihood that students or practitioners would be aware of some program aspects with which professors are familiar. Of the perceptual differences which probably cannot be explained in these ways, a considerable plurality imply a greater value orientation toward practice on the part of superintendents than on the part of university respondents. Some illustrations of this phenomenon inhere in the following findings: tendencies which were viewed favorably more frequently or consistently by university personnel than by superintendents include the trends toward the incorporation of more theoretical content from the social and behavioral sciences, the recruitment of candidates with little or no prior administrative experience, the increased sophistication of student research, and the employment of relatively fewer professors with experience as school administrators; needs which were supported more frequently or consistently by school superintendents than by university personnel include the desirability of incorporating new content related to problems faced and skills needed by practitioners, involving practicing administrators in student selection and in program evaluation and development, including field-related experiences as a requirement for graduation for prospective chief school officers, inviting guest lectureres from "the field" to participate in courses, and enabling professors to have mid-career "refresher" experiences in "the field."

4. While there is general homogeneity of perception within each survey sample, a few clearly conflicting viewpoints within the superintendents' group are evident in the areas of program content, recruitment, and requirements for graduation.

There are very few instances where a trend or need in the data is reflected in the responses of a significant proportion of a given sample and a contradictory perception is also indicated in the responses of a significant proportion of the same sample. Perceptual variation of this kind occurs only within the responses of the superintendents' group. In regard to program content, for example, while a substantial number of superintendents supported the incorporation of theoretical concepts into preparatory programs, a significant proportion of them criticized the emphasis upon theory as irrelevant to the training of chief school officers. One suspects that the issue of relevance is at the heart of this differentiation and that, if theoretical insights were more effectively applied to practical problems and issues in school administration, the perceptual variation on this subject would decrease. A second matter on which there is apparent disagreement within the superintendents' sample concerns the recruitment of students with little or no prior administrative experience in schools. Each side of this issue (viz., the desirability of recruiting such persons) was supported by a significant number of school superintendents. A third question on which superintendents appeared to disagree involves the desirability of a required period of full-time residence on campus. While more than one-tenth of the superintendents were in favor of the residence requirement (largely because of the advantages of an extended period of immersion in the university milieu), another significant proportion of them rejected the required residency (primarily because it imposes unnecessary financial and other strains upon established administrators who want to work toward the doctorate). There appeared to be no other areas of substantial intra-sample perceptual variation.

5. There are some gross indications in the data that the questionnaire employed in this study possessed some degree of reliability and validity.

The exploratory nature and unsophisticated instrumentation of this research render impossible the determination of accurate measures of the questionnaire's reliability and validity. Nevertheless, there is some internal evidence in the data suggesting that the instrument did do what it was supposed to do and did it consistently. A few examples of this evidence should illustrate the point. (Each of these examples is drawn from responses of all participants, considered as a whole.) First, there is general consistency among responses to the three perceptual questions in Part I of the questionnaire. Thus, positively viewed characteristics tend to be cited not only as program strengths in institutions where they exist, but also as needed future additions in institutions where they do not exist; further, in institutions where they do not exist their absence tends to be viewed as a program weakness. Similarly, negatively viewed characteristics tend to be cited not only as program weaknesses but also as needed future deletions in institutions where they exist; moreover, in institutions where they do not exist their absence tends to be viewed as a program strength. Secondly, there is general consistency between responses in Part I of the questionnaire and those in Part II. Thus, the factual data reported in Part II verify trends in program content indicated by responses in Part I, and the general comments at the end of the instrument--almost without exception--reiterate perceived strengths and weaknesses or changes predicted to be desirable within the near future. Finally, there are several more specific indications of internal consistency in the responses. For example:

(a) Most of the content areas for which, in Part II of the questionnaire, university personnel reported greater coverage than did superintendents are areas in which, in Part I, university respondents claimed recent additions. This suggests that the additions are indeed recent and have probably been implemented since most of the responding superintendents completed their course work.
(b) Some of the trends and needs indicated in requirements for graduation correspond with similar trends and needs noted in other components, particularly program content and field-related experiences.
(c) Some of the trends and needs indicated in student research, departmental functions and staffing, and in-service programs correspond with similar trends and needs noted in program content.

The above illustrations demonstrate that there are several general themes, and some more specific perceptions, in the data which appear to "cut across" individual program components. Some of these themes are examined in the substantive conclusions stated below. The point here is that these various indications of internal consistency in the data provide some gross evidence of the questionnaire's reliability and validity.

Findings. While the above conclusions concern mainly the sources of this study's data, those which follow relate primarily to the substance of the results. The major purpose in stating the conclusions below is to identify the predominant trends and needs in administrative preparatory programs which appear to be reflected, or exemplified, in the generalizations developed throughout the summary presented earlier in this section. Some of the apparent general needs in superintendent preparation are discussed first, followed by some of the apparent general tendencies. It must be remembered, in considering the following observations, that these conclusions are based largely upon perceptual rather than empirical data.

1. Slow and differential progress has been achieved in recent years with regard to the various program components considered in this study, with the area of greatest need currently being program evaluation and development.

A gross indication of progress achieved in regard to each of the ten program components may be determined by comparing perceived strengths with perceived weaknesses and recently accomplished changes with needed future changes. That is, for components in which the strengths outweigh the weaknesses and the changes achieved outweigh the changes required, it could be concluded that some progress has been made. Conversely, for components in which the opposite conditions pertain, it could be concluded that little progress has been made. Utilizing these criteria, it is evident that the components in which the most progress has recently been achieved (although there is still a long way to go) are program content and instructional approaches; and the component in which the least progress has occurred recently (although limited advances are indicated) is program evaluation and development. The latter point is particularly significant because, in a very real sense, the effectiveness of all other components in administrative preparation depends upon the products of program evaluation and development. The apparently slow and scattered progress achieved in most of the other preparatory components could well be a direct result of the relative neglect of program evaluation and development.

2. Although inadequacy of resources to support administrative preparation was seldom perceived as a weakness, or as a major factor in changes predicted to be desirable in the future, a need for more money, people, or knowledge is evident in some areas.

It is interesting to note that, in the AASA study of preparatory programs for superintendents conducted in 1962-63, inadequacies in supporting resources were found to account in large measure for all other factors deterring change in administrative preparation.[4] In the study reported here, on the other hand, suprisingly few complaints about the adequacy of resources were registered. This suggests either that the situation with regard to resources has improved within the past five years (for which there is some evidence in the data) or that inadequate resources are no longer so commonly viewed as a valid reason for stasis in preparatory programs. Nevertheless, there are apparent in the findings a few areas in which additional supporting resources are currently required. More money is needed to provide financial assistance to students, thereby facilitating recruitment efforts, and to support an increased commitment on the part of universities to their responsibility for providing continuing education programs. More personnel are needed if justice is to be done to the tasks of teaching and advising students, improving field-related experiences, and conducting program evaluation and development activities. Finally, more knowledge is needed through research on virtually all components of preparation. More specifically, research is necessary: in the area of selection, to develop screening devices capable of predicting eventual administrative behavior of candidates; in the area of instructional approaches, to assess the effectiveness of various methodologies in terms of impacts upon students; in the area of field-related experiences, to determine the most productive kinds of exposure to practice; and in the area of program evaluation and development, to discover performance measures by which the quality of a program's "product" can be assessed.

3. There is a general need for the increased involvement of practicing administrators in several components of preparatory programs for superintendents.

The importance of improved university-field relationships to the advancement of preparatory programs, and particularly to making them more relevant to the needs of urban school administrators, has recently been emphasized by Cunningham and Nystrand.[5] These authors suggest a variety of aspects of preparation in which practicing school administrators could, and should, be fruitfully involved. Several of their suggestions are supported in the findings of the present study. There is, for example, evidence of needs for increased participation of practitioners in recruiting and selecting doctoral students, in designing instructional approaches and field-related experiences, in program evaluation and development, and in departmental functions and staffing (through serving as guest lecturers).

4. Although university personnel are apparently aware of most of the

major needs in preparatory programs and are evidently attempting to resolve them, a few needs are being neglected at present, particularly in the areas of recruitment and selection, program evaluation and development, departmental functions and staffing, and in-service programs.

The results of this study indicate that there are apparent trends directed toward the resolution of most perceived needs, and it cannot therefore be concluded that those responsible for designing programs to prepare superintendents are unaware of the limitations of their efforts or are not seeking to overcome these limitations. There are, however, some exceptions to this generalization--some perceived needs for which no meliorating trends are evident. These unmet needs fall almost exclusively within the domains of four program components and they include: in recruitment and selection--the needs to procure increased financial assistance for students, to involve practitioners in identifying and screening candidates, and to develop selection measures with adequate predictive validity; in program evaluation and development--the needs to design more systematic approaches for planning and assessment, and to involve students in a significant fashion; in departmental functions and staffing--the needs to develop special pre-service and continuing education programs for professors, and to utilize professors' time and abilities more effectively and efficiently in activities directly related to preparation; and in in-service programs--the needs to expand the number and variety of off-campus continuing education services, and to achieve increased systematicness, continuity, and integration in in-service programs. While the resolution of a few of these needs will require additional resources over which program designers have little control, the majority of them can be resolved through commitment, creativity, and hard work.

5. There is a general tendency toward increased individualized flexibility in administrative preparation programs.

Explicit trends toward greater individualized flexibility are evident in program structure (expanding choice of specialized options available), in student research (increasing freedom on the student's part to select his research problem and methodology), and in requirements for graduation. Also, implicit trends in this direction are suggested in selection (wherein the increasing variety of non-cognitive screening criteria makes differential admission standards feasible) and in field-related experiences (in which the growing number and variety of available opportunities renders easier the tailoring of activities to fit individual needs of students).

6. There is a general tendency toward increased specialization in

administrative preparation programs.

This conclusion refers not so much to the expanding number and variety of specialized areas to which a student may be exposed as to the greater depth in which he may pursue these areas. Growing specialization of this type is facilitated in part by the tendency toward increased individualized flexibility; and trends toward it are particularly evident in program content (wherein greater depth of exposure is becoming possible, particularly to material in the social and behavioral sciences and, more recently, to content in several emergent practice-related areas), in program structure (wherein specialized options are being developed to supplement common cores of experiences), and in departmental functions and staffing (wherein relatively fewer generalists and more specialists than in the past are being added to faculties). The tendency toward specialization will probably grow as current trends in recruitment (toward an expanded pool) and selection (toward improved predictive measures) continue, in that it will become increasingly possible to select candidates to be prepared for specialized administrative roles or functions on the basis of known background and predictable performance. Moreover, once the student is admitted, trends toward increased variety in both instructional approaches and field-related experiences will likely accelerate the movement toward specialization in his preparation.

7. There is a general tendency toward broadening the scope of "educational administration" as it is defined operationally in preparatory programs.

Administrative preparation in education has recently been experiencing (and will likely continue to experience) a marked expansionist movement as the boundaries defining its domain have been extended further and further outward. This movement is evident in a number of preparatory components. In program content it is reflected in the trend toward exposing students to subject matter in an increasing variety of areas not traditionally associated with the study of Education; also, the relatively rapid development of new roles and functions in administrative practice in recent years is resulting in several additions to the "menu" of program content. In program structure it is reflected in the trend toward improved working relationships between Departments of Educational Administration and a growing number of university divisions external to the College of Education. In recruitment it is reflected in the trend toward expanding the pool from which candidates for preparation are drawn. In selection it is reflected in the trend toward considering an increasing number of variables for screening purposes. In instructional approaches it is reflected in the trend toward utilizing techniques developed initially for use in other areas of endeavor. In field-related experiences it is reflected in the trend toward placing interns in a variety of non-school agencies. In student research it is reflected in the trend toward more sophisticated methodologies, most of which are borrowed from "outside" disciplines. In in-service programs it is reflected in the trend toward more frequent cooperation with various non-university organizations. Each of these trends is a relatively specific illustration of the general tendency toward expanding the scope, or "sweep," of preparatory programs for school superintendents.

8. There is a general tendency toward greater systematicness in administrative preparation programs.

This tendency is in a much more nascent state than the above expansionist movement. It is probably furthest developed in program structure wherein a trend toward increased integration, sequence, and balance among preparatory experiences is evident. It also seems to be implicit in the emergent trend toward "programmatic" student research, which might be viewed as a more efficient and effective approach to this component than a variety of disparate individual studies. In addition, examples of the tendency toward systematicness are beginning to emerge: in recruitment, wherein there is some indication that methods of identifying and attracting potential doctoral candidates are becoming more systematic; in program evaluation and development, wherein there is growing evidence that trends toward more systematic approaches to planning and assessment in many public organizations (including universities, the federal government, state departments of education, and local school districts) are beginning to be reflected in Departments of Educational Administration; and in in-service programs, wherein limited progress is apparently being made toward greater systematicness, continuity, and integration in continuing education offerings. This tendency toward greater systematicness in preparatory programs may be viewed as a tardy aspect of a broader social movement toward accountability, and there can be little doubt that it will accelerate in the years ahead.

9. There is a general tendency toward increased sophistication in administrative preparation programs.

The movement toward a more sophisticated approach to preparing educational administrators has become well established during the last decade. It is directly related to the specialization and expansionist tendencies noted above, and the movement toward increased systematicness in preparation is one rather clear illustration of its operation. The tendency toward sophistication is also evident: in program content, wherein there is a trend toward much more erudite and complex subject matter; in instructional approaches, wherein advanced technologies and techniques are being increasingly utilized to simulate reality for learning purposes; in student research, wherein students are being involved in a growing number and variety of research-related experiences and are more frequently applying in their own investigations some of the highly sophisticated methodologies developed in more advanced fields of study; in departmental functions and staffing, wherein there is a trend toward employing professors with substantial competence in cognate disciplines and expertise in a number of highly specialized content areas; and in in-service programs, wherein the development of longer-term continuing education opportunities permits more extensive and intensive examinations of complicated problems and issues confronting school superintendents. This tendency toward sophistication is facilitated by trends in requirements for graduation toward mandatory periods of full-time resident study and toward requisite course work in "outside" disciplines and data-processing.

10. There is a general tendency toward bridging the theory-practice "gap" in administrative preparation programs.

Of all the difficulties that have been encountered by program designers in connection with the above movement toward sophistication, the problem of relevance has probably been the most vexing. There appears in the data of the present study to be a developing tendency toward the resolution of this problem. In program content, an emergent trend is apparent toward the increased application of theoretical insights from a variety of disciplines to contemporary problems faced, and new skills needed, by school superintendents in "the field"; this trend is reflected as well in in-service programs. In instructional approaches, there is an established trend toward the utilization of reality-oriented materials which represent a consciously devised mechanism for bridging the theory-practice "gap." The trend toward improved quality and greater quantity of field-related experiences for prospective superintendents is another obvious reflection of this tendency, as is the emergent trend toward better balance on departmental staffs between those with discipline-based and those with practice-based expertise. It can be quite confidently predicted that, if the previously noted general need to increase the involvement of practicing administrators in the design and implementation of preparatory programs can be met, this general tendency toward bridging the theory-practice "gap" will accelerate in future years.

Implications

The collection and analysis of a rather extensive amount of data have been reported, these data have been summarized in the form of some generalizations pertaining to the main trends and needs indicated in the findings, and a number of general conclusions have been set forth in an attempt to identify the predominant themes inherent in the results of this study. The question remains: What does it all mean and where does it seem to be leading? Implicit in the conclusions presented in the preceding section are some clues on possible answers to this question. Some of the more obvious among these clues are explored in the foregoing consideration of individual conclusions. Others, however, become apparent only when the various conclusions are considered together, with some attention to possible interactions among them. The latter clues, and their implications for the future of preparatory programs for school superintendents, are the subject of the present section. The discussion that follows is limited to six such implications, the first two of which suggest some future possibilities for research on administrative preparation while the last four focus more upon possible future developments related to the design of preparatory programs. The format utilized here is the same as that for presenting the conclusions.

1. The approach employed in this study should be refined and extended so that more reliable data can be gathered for comparative purposes from several areas of professional preparation.

Many of the methodological limitations of this study are explicated in Chapter Eleven. Probably the main limitation, which was necessitated by the exploratory, information-gathering purpose of the research, inheres in the semi-structured, open-ended nature of the questionnaire. The instrument does not contain specific response categories with well defined rating scales, because sufficient information from which to structure the categories was unavailable to the investigators at the time. Consequently, responding to the questionnaire was a demanding and time-consuming effort for participants in the survey (thereby clearly limiting the number of responses received) and the analysis and interpretation of data was an arduous and unsystematic task. As a result, however, sufficient information is now available on which to base the design of a much more refined instrument--one which could be highly structured in nature, thereby facilitating easy and rapid response as well as statististically sound analysis. Such a questionnaire should be developed. It could be used to replicate the present study in order to test and further illuminate the findings reported here. It could be adapted for use in investigating preparatory programs for prospective incumbents of other administrative roles in educational organizations, on a nationwide basis. And it could be adapted for use by individual institutions as they pursue the generally neglected task of program evaluation and development. These applications of the refined instrument would produce data which would not only be interesting and significant in themselves, but would also have some important comparative value in considering the question of common and specialized learnings for educational administrators.

This methodology could also be extended, again for comparative purposes, to the examination of professional preparation programs in other fields of study. Research quite like that reported here, which resulted in somewhat similar findings, has recently been conducted on programs of preparation for the medical profession.[6] It might be fruitful to analyze with some care the results of that study in relation to those reported here. Such an analysis would be greatly facilitated if the instrumentation for both studies had been virtually identical. A number of similar potentially worthwhile comparative examinations could be projected--comparing preparatory programs in educational administration with those in other professions or in business and public administration (It is interesting to note, in this connection, that virtually all of the trends identified by Henderson--in his review of preparatory innovations under way in leading professional schools of agriculture, architecture, business administration, engineering, law, and medicine--are indicated by the data of this study to be trends in administrator preparation in education as well.[7]); comparing programs in "leading" institutions with those offered in other universities; comparing programs in this country with those for counterpart roles in other nations; or comparing programs intended to prepare school administrators with those designed primarily for prospective educational researchers. Through utilizing refined instruments, carefully developed on the basis of the present study's results, such comparative investigations could yield data of great value to the designers of preparation programs in educational administration, as well as to those in the other fields investigated.

2. Research should be conducted on the impact and future projection of the tendencies identified in this study.

Several general tendencies have been identified which appear to characterize the current stage in the development of preparatory programs for school superintendents. There is little reason to expect that these tendencies will change radically within the next few years, unless some rather drastic innovations are made in administrative preparation. Yet no-one has systematically examined the impact of these tendencies to date in terms of their effects either on preparatory institutions or upon the administration of educational organizations. Nor has anyone projected these trends into the future in an attempt to determine their likely impact in the years ahead, should they continue in their present directions and at their present intensities. The investigation of current and projected impacts of these tendencies may be essential if the quality of educational leadership is to improve commensurate with the changing nature of needs for it.

Public interest in and concern with the quality of educational leadership seem to be growing at an unprecedented rate, as reflected in increasing discussion and action directed toward schools at the local community level, greater involvement of the private sector in public education, and new federally funded programs which assign high priority to the improvement of preparation and practice in school administration. These developing forces are resulting in the exertion of greater pressures, and the allocation of more resources, for rapid advances in administrative preparation programs. It is probable that the main effect of these pressures and resources will be the acceleration of current tendencies in preparatory programs--unless substantial action is taken to redirect these tendencies. Consequently, it seems desirable that the tendencies be carefully evaluated in terms of their current and projected future impacts for, without the results of such evaluations, either the present tendencies will continue at an increasing rate without an understanding of where they are leading, or drastic changes will be made in them with little awareness of where these changes may eventuate. The current tendencies may be very healthy in terms of improvements in preparation, and should perhaps be permitted to be accelerated by external pressures and resources; but this cannot be known without adequate research. Until such research is conducted. yielding to pressures and accepting resources for change may be hazardous. Some possible projections of where current tendencies may be leading are suggested, in decreasing order of probability, in the last three implications discussed below.

3. Greater emphasis should be placed on reporting in the literature specific recent achievements, emergent innovations, and future plans related to the design of administrative preparation programs.

A conclusion recorded in the preceding section of this chapter makes note of the tendency for the literature directly related to preparatory programs in educational administration to be selective in focus, general in nature, and negative in attitude. There is relatively little extant published material on preparation programs, and what there is appears to be oriented largely to problems rather than achievements, to the present rather than the future, and to generalizations rather than specifications. Moreover, it tends to be unbalanced in focus, concentrating heavily on some program components while neglecting others. Consequently, as pointed out previously, there are several promising trends in administrative preparation that are not recognized in the literature. It seems safe to assume that there are also a number of preparatory experiments which have been conducted, and many innovative ideas related to the improvement of preparation, that remain the exclusive property of the individuals or institutions that originated them.

One of the hallmarks of a profession is the willingness of its members to share new knowledge and practices with one another. While such sharing is becoming increasingly common among those seeking primarily to advance the study of educational administration, it is largely lacking among those seeking to improve the preparation of school administrators. There is a seeming hesitancy among program designers to report their plans, innovations, and achievements; to view the study of and experimentation with preparatory programs as a legitimate area of scholarly endeavor; to be specifically critical or laudatory of one another's practices and proposals; and to address the future with any degree of conviction. The result is that the literature on administrative preparation programs does not reflect the "state of the art," nor does it contribute much of worth to those seeking to advance the "art." It is remarkable that a profession with these constraints is making any progress at all. It is essential that these constraints be removed if the profession is to meet the rising demands for substantial progress. The removal of these constraints will require that professors of educational administration come to view the study and design of preparatory programs as a legitimate scholarly endeavor, and the sharing of their plans and achievements through the literature as a worthwhile contribution to the profession.

4. Implicit in current tendencies in administrative preparation may be a movement toward preparatory programs which are differentiated both within and among universities.

Several general tendencies in administrative preparation are identified in the conclusions noted previously. Some of these tendencies are inter-related in the sense that, as the scope and sophistication of preparatory programs are increased, greater specialization and systematicness are required. Considered together, these tendencies may be viewed as components of a single comprehensive movement leading simultaneously toward both ever-increasing breadth and ever-increasing depth in preparatory experiences. Should this movement continue, it is likely that considerable differentiation among programs of preparation will result, especially if the facilitative tendency toward increased individualized flexibility is maintained.

If differentiation eventuates, it could take a variety of sequential forms. The first stage might be reflected in the development of common cores of experiences for all students, supplemented by various specialized options from which the student may select on the basis of his needs, interests, or career goals; a current trend in this direction is already evident. The second stage might be a more extensive differentiation in which a major bifurcation would be developed between programs to prepare practitioners and those to prepare researchers in educational administration; while there is no obvious trend in this direction as yet, it has been proposed in the literature and it is apparent that a few universities are experimenting with it.[8] The third developmental stage might be reflected in highly differentiated programs for those among the prospective practitioners preparing to fill specialized roles or to perform particular functions in "the field"; one or two universities are currently testing this approach with differentiated programs to prepare specialists in such areas as data-processing and systems analysis. Finally, the fourth stage in this movement might be characterized by differentiated programs for functional specialists among prospective administrators between, rather than within, universities. That is, the breadth and depth of specializations could become so extensive that no single institution could accommodate all of them, and so each would select the one (or, perhaps, a few) for which it is uniquely qualified to offer preparation and would assign major (or, perhaps, sole) priority to that task. The above developmental stages in the projected movement toward differentiated preparation programs are merely suggestions. There is no guarantee that all, or even any, of them will emerge in the ways described above or, even if they do, in the order in which they are presented. Current tendencies in administrative preparation do seem to imply, however, that some form of differentiated preparatory programs will eventuate before long.

5. Implicit in current tendencies in administrative preparation is the possibility that preparatory programs for educational administrators will be extended "downward" to include the undergraduate years.

The same general tendencies which could result in program differentiation (viz., toward increased spcialization, scope, systematicness, and sophistication) could also result in an extension of the period during which students undergo professional preparation for educational administration. This extension could be either "upward" (i.e., formal post-doctoral degree programs might be developed and required for all prospective school administrators) or "downward" (i.e., propsective school administrators might be identified and started upon their professional preparation during their undergraduate years). In the light of current trends toward the recruitment of younger candidates and toward attracting them from an increasing variety of academic disciplines, the latter alternative seems to be the more likely. This possibility has been hinted at before.[9] It is not much more difficult to identify an individual's potential for leadership at the age of twenty (or even earlier) than at the age of thirty or forty. Moreover, if the need to develop better predictive selection measures can be met, the task of earlier identification could be greatly facilitated. One can with impunity ask: If professional preparation for prospective business and public administrators can be offered at the undergraduate level, and if designers of other professional preparatory programs can maintain substantial control over what their prospective enrollees study as undergraduates (as evidenced, for example, in "pre-Law" and "pre-Medicine" programs), what makes professional preparation for educational administration so special that it can be offered only during the last two or three years of post-graduate study? Current tendencies may well force an answer to this question within the next decade, and the eventuation of "pre-Educational Administration" programs at the undergraduate level is by no means impossible.

6. Current tendencies in administrative preparation programs may lead eventually to the demise of Departments of Educational Administration as they are now constituted and to their replacement by small, generalistic, central coordinating units.

Traditionally, the advanced preparation of school administrators has been conducted almost entirely by professors who are members of Departments of Educational Administration, within Schools or Colleges of Education. These professors have taught most of the courses, served as advisers for most of the dissertations, recruited and selected most of the students, presented most of the in-service programs, and so on. They have, in other words, had almost exclusive responsibility for virtually all of the preparatory experiences in which prospective administrators are involved. It is likely, in the light of the general tendencies which are indicated by this study's findings, that this all-encompassing role of Departments of Educational Administration will become increasingly untenable. Decentralization of many of the traditional departmental responsibilities is, in fact, already occurring. As higher levels of specialization are becoming necessitated by the expanding scope and growing sophistication of administrative preparation, more and more frequently one finds students taking courses from professors in other departments, interns being placed in a variety of posts off the university campus, scholars in the social and behavioral sciences serving on dissertation advisory committees, external evaluations of preparatory programs being conducted, in-service programs being offered in cooperation with non-university organizations, and so forth. In addition, there is a generally perceived need for greater involvement of practicing school administrators in virtually all components of preparation. At the same time, competing demands on the professor's time and abilities are making it increasingly difficult for him to devote the major portion of his attention to activities directly related to the training of school administrators. Consequently, less and less of the total administrative preparatory program remains the sole responsibility of the Department of Educational Administration.

Should this movement toward decentralization continue, and should the previously noted tendency toward greater systematicness persist, it is possible that the next decade or two will witness the demise of the traditional Department of Educational Administration as the locus of most of the prospective administrator's preparatory experiences. The "new breed" professors may be assigned to other university departments, depending on their areas of disciplinary competence, while still performing their teaching and advisory duties with administrators-in-training. A Department of Educational Administration, as an organizational unit, might continue to exist, but it would no longer be the locus of most preparatory activities. Rather, it would become a small, central coordinating unit, still responsible for all of the learning experiences of the student in a facilitative or administrative sense, but directly participant in few, if any, of them. The department would "farm out," as it were, prospective administrators all over campus--in fact, all over society--so that they could receive the best available preparation from the relevant experts, wherever they may be. Thus, instead of a growing number of specialists, which seems to be the direction in which departmental staffing is immediately heading, Departments of Educational Administration in the future may be composed of a small number (perhaps only one) of eclectic and sophisticated generalists--persons who are thoroughly familiar with the availability of the vast array or resources throughout the university and society which can best meet the individual preparatory needs of each student, but who would themselves be directly involved in few or none of the preparation activities. While it may be looking well into the future, then, it is not inconceivable to envision, as a result of current tendencies in administrative preparatory programs toward increased specialization, scope, systematicness, and sophistication, the eventual replacement of today's many professors of educational administration by tomorrow's few eclectic coordinators.

Conclusion

By way of concluding this section of the report, a simple listing of the generalizations developed throughout the present chapter might be useful. Because most of these statements derive in large part from data generated by the questionnaire survey, the reader is reminded once again that each generalization must be interpreted in the light of the several methodological limitations mentioned in Chapter Eleven.

Summary

The following generalizations, organized in accordance with the ten-component framework utilized throughout this portion of the study summarize perceived trends and needs in doctoral programs for preparing public school superintendents, as reflected in the recent literature on administrative preparation in education and in the questionnaire responses of university personnel and chief school officers.

Program Content.

1. There is an established trend in program content toward the incorporation of theoretical, conceptual, and research-related material drawn largely from the social and behavioral sciences (predominantly sociology, political science, psychology, economics, anthropology, and social-psychology) and, to a lesser extent, from business and public administration.

2. There is a need to achieve greater relevance in the application of "external" content to the skills required and the problems confronted by practicing educational administrators.

3. There is an emergent trend in program content toward according increased attention to topics which deal with contemporary problems of, and new skills needed in, school administration.

Program Structure.

4. There are needs for, and established trends toward, both greater flexibility and increased internal structure in preparatory programs.

5. Implicit in the above trends and needs is a need for, and an emergent trend toward, the achievement of improved balance between flexibility and structure within preparation programs.

6. With regard to external structural arrangements, there is a

need for, and a trend toward, improved working relationships between Departments of Educational Administration and university divisions outside of the School of Education.

Recruitment and Selection.

7. There is a need for, and an emergent trend toward, more systematic and aggressive efforts to recruit talented persons into administrative preparation programs.

8. There is a need for, and an emergent trend toward, the expansion of the traditional recruitment pool for candidates for advanced preparation in educational administration.

9. There is a need in recruitment for increased financial assistance to students.

10. There is a need for greater involvement of practicing administrators in recruiting candidates for doctoral programs.

11. There is a need for more rigorous intellectual screening standards in the selection of students for advanced preparation in educational administration.

12. There is a need for selection procedures that possess greater validity in predicting successful administrative performance on the part of applicants.

13. There is a need for increased involvement of practicing administrators in selecting candidates for doctoral programs.

Instructional Approaches.

14. There is an established trend in instructional approaches away from the traditional lecture-textbook method and toward a variety of audio-visual media, reality-oriented materials, and alternative instructional strategies.

15. There is a need for the continuation and refinement of the above trend.

Field-Related Experiences.

16. There is an established trend toward increasing the quantity of field-related experiences available to doctoral students preparing for school superintendencies.

17. There is a need for, and an emergent trend toward, improving the quality of field-related experiences.

Student Research.

18. There is an established trend toward the increased sophistication of student research.

19. There is a need for, and an emergent trend toward, more "programmatic" research by teams of students (and professors).

20. There is a need for, and an emergent trend toward, making available to students increased opportunities for non-dissertation training and experience in research.

21. There is a need for, and some achievement of, increased individualized flexibility for students in the selection of research topics and methodologies.

22. There is a need for, and some achievement of, increased competence, interest, time, and assistance on the part of professors to be devoted to student research.

23. There is a need for student research by prospective superintendents to be more relevant to current problems confronting school administrators.

Requirements for Graduation.

24. There is a trend toward a period of full-time residence as a requirement for graduation.

25. There is a trend toward the elimination or reduction of foreign language competency as a requirement for graduation.

26. There are emergent trends toward requiring course work in "outside" disciplines and in statistics and research design.

27. There is a trend toward increasing the individualized flexibility of requirements for graduation.

28. There is a need to eliminate "irrelevant barriers" from requirements for graduation.

29. There is a feeling on the part of some that field-related experiences should be included among requirements for graduation for prospective chief school officers.

Program Evaluation and Development.

30. There is a need for more thorough, continuous, systematic evaluation and development of preparatory programs for school superintendents.

31. There is an emergent trend toward increased and improved evaluation and development of preparation programs in educational administration.

Departmental Functions and Staffing.

32. There is an established trend in departmental functions and staffing away from the adding of professors who are generalists with substantial previous administrative experience in schools, and toward the employment of specialists with particular competence in disciplinary or multidisciplinary areas.

33. There is a need for, and an emergent trend toward, the achievement of improved balance on departmental staffs between those with discipline-based expertise and those with practice-based expertise.

34. There is a need for more effective and efficient use of professors' time and abilities in the preparation of school administrators.

35. There is a need for special pre-service and continuing education programs for professors of educational administration.

In-Service Programs.

36. There is a need for, and a trend toward, increasing the number of in-service programs made available by universities to superintendents.

37. There is a need for, and a trend toward, greater relevance and timeliness in the content of in-service programs.

38. There is a need for, and an emergent trend toward, greater cooperation between universities and other agencies in the offering of in-service programs.

39. There is a need for, and some achievement of, longer-term residential in-service programs for superintendents.

40. There is a need for expanding the off-campus continuing education opportunities made available by universities to superintendents.

41. There is a need for greater systematicness, integration, and continuity

in in-service programs.

42. There is a feeling on the part of some that a new kind of organization, external to universities, should be created specifically to meet the continuing education needs of chief school officers.

Conclusions

On the basis of the results summarized above, the following generalizations represent conclusions drawn with reference to the study's sources of data and to the preparation of school superintendents.

Approaches.

43. Attention in the literature devoted to the preparation of school superintendents tends to be selective in focus, general in nature, and negative in attitude.

44. While there are more similarities than differences between treatments in the literature and responses on the questionnaire in regard to trends and needs in administrative preparation, the differences which do exist suggest a disproportionate de-emphasis upon trends in contrast to needs in the literature.

45. While there is a high level of agreement in questionnaire responses between the perceptions of school superintendents (as a group) and those of university personnel (as a group), the differences which do exist suggest that the former are more concerned with a variety of practice-related elements in preparatory programs than are the latter.

46. While there is general homogeneity of perception within each survey sample, a few clearly conflicting viewpoints within the superintendents' group are evident in the areas of program content, recruitment, and requirements for graduation.

47. There are some gross indications in the data that the questionnaire employed in this study possessed some degree of reliability and validity.

Findings.

48. Slow and differential progress has been achieved in recent years with regard to the various program components considered in this study, with the area of greatest need currently being program evaluation and development.

49. Although inadequacy of resources to support administrative preparation was seldom perceived as a weakness, or as a major factor in changes predicted to be desirable in the future, a need for more money, people, or knowledge is evident in a few areas.

50. There is a general need for the increased involvement of practicing administrators in several components of preparatory programs for superintendents.

51. Although university personnel are apparently aware of most of the major needs in preparatory programs and are evidently attempting to resolve them, a few needs are being neglected at present, particularly in the areas of recruitment and selection, program evaluation and development, departmental functions and staffing, and in-service programs.

52. There is a general tendency toward increased individualized flexibility in administrative preparation programs.

53. There is a general tendency toward increased specialization in administrative preparation programs.

54. There is a general tendency toward broadening the scope of "educational administration" as it is defined operationally in preparatory programs.

55. There is a general tendency toward greater systematicness in administrative preparation programs.

56. There is a general tendency toward increased sophistication in administrative preparation programs.

57. There is a general tendency toward bridging the theory-practice "gap" in administrative preparation programs.

Implications

Implications deriving from the foregoing conclusions are reflected in the following generalizations.

58. The approach employed in this study should be refined and extended so that more reliable data can be gathered for comparative purposes from several areas of professional preparation.

59. Research should be conducted on the impact and future projection of the tendencies identified in this study.

60. Greater emphasis should be placed on reporting in the literature specific recent achievements, emergent innovations, and future plans related to the design of administrative preparation programs.

61. Implicit in current tendencies in administrative preparation may be a movement toward preparatory programs which are differentiated both within and among universities.

62. Implicit in current tendencies in administrative preparation is the possibility that preparatory programs for educational administrators will be extended "downward" to include the undergraduate years.

63. Current tendencies in administrative preparation programs may lead eventually to the demise of Departments of Educational Administration as they are now constituted and to their replacement by small, generalistic, central coordinating units.

The relationships among the above generalizations and those developed in previous sections of this report are explored, in terms of their implications for the re-structuring of doctoral preparatory programs for public school superintendents, in the following chapter.

Notes

[1] Responses to the first two questions in Part II of the instrument are incorporated within the "Program Content" portion of the summary because they relate specifically to this component of preparation. Responses to the "General Comments" segment of the questionnaire are considered in the discussions of the program components to which they are most relevant.

[2] The following statement of opinion, recorded by Button in 1966, is pertinent to this trend:

> It is a hope rather than a prediction that the next doctrine of administration will be indigenous. It would rest upon "pure" knowledge as the present doctrine (school administration as applied behavioral science) does. The "pure" knowledge, however, would not be borrowed from philosophy, business management, behavioral science, or another field seen as related to administration. It would be, rather, a knowledge of schools and administration and of educational policy. Such a doctrine might lessen the sometimes painful gap between doctrine and reality. (H. Warren Button, "Doctrines of Administration: A Brief History," Educational Administration Quarterly, Vol. 2, No. 3 (Autumn, 1966), p. 223.)

On the basis of the apparent emergent trend identified here, Button might now be willing to re-state his opinion as a prediction rather than merely as a hope.

[3] It should be noted, parenthetically, that, with regard to available options, increases in both breadth and depth of specialization were predicted to become desirable by significant numbers of respondents.

[4] American Association of School Administrators, The Professional Preparation of Superintendents of Schools (Washington, D. C.: The Association, 1964), p. 29.

[5] Luvern L. Cunningham and Raphael O. Nystrand, "Toward Greater Relevance in Preparation Programs for Urban School Administrators," Educational Administration Quarterly, Vol. 5, No. 1 (Winter, 1969), pp. 11-16.

[6] "Survey of Medical Schools Urges Sweeping Changes in Content of Study and Methods of Training," The New York Times (Tuesday, November 5, 1968), p. 50.

[7] Algo D. Henderson, "Innovations in Educating for the Professions," Educational Record, Vol. 49, No. 3 (Summer, 1968), pp. 290-297.

[8] Limited evidence of this kind of differentiation is reported in Keith Goldhammer et. al., Issues and Problems in Contemporary Educational Administration (Eugene: Center for the Advanced Study of Educational Administration, University of Oregon, 1967), p. 103.

[9] See, for example: American Association of School Administrators, The Education of a School Superintendent (Washington, D.C.: The Association, 1963), p. 15; and Jack Culbertson, "Common and Specialized Content in the Preparation of Administrators," Preparation Programs for School Administrators: Common and Specialized Learnings, Eds. Donald J. Leu and Herbert C. Rudman (East Lansing: Michigan State University, 1963), p. 59.

SECTION V

CONCLUSION

Chapter Thirteen

Preparing School Superintendents for the 1970's

> It is the responsibility of the university so to arrange its affairs that the experience of its students in thinking and acting can teach them what it means to serve mankind and what it means to honor the intellect. -- Harold Taylor

Data presented in the three previous chapters indicate clearly that programs of preparation have not remained unchanged during the sixties even though universities have been somewhat more shielded from societal forces than have the public schools. However, those in universities still face basic issues and challenges in attaining the organizational adaptations necessary to equip school superintendents for the 1970's. Clearly, the need for visionary leadership is not limited to the public schools; similar leadership is required in universities to conceive and implement needed changes in preparatory programs for school superintendents.

A first question facing those concerned with the attainment of new program designs to prepare prospective school superintendents can be simply stated: What learnings should preparatory programs foster? An adequate response to this question must be informed by answers to two precedent questions: What crucial educational and social needs will or should school superintendents in the 1970's address? Given defined educational and social needs, what critical leadership behaviors must school superintendents display in responding effectively to these needs?

Content presented in Chapters Two through Nine has highlighted important forces affecting the organization and administration of public schools. Important educational challenges and issues which school superintendents are likely to face in the future are also delineated in these chapters. By drawing upon the data presented in Chapters Two through Nine, critical behaviors likely to be displayed by effective school superintendents during the 1970's can be deduced. Such behaviors should provide important bases for projecting relevant learning experiences in preparatory programs.

Critical Behaviors of Effective School Superintendents

On the basis of data presented previously, at least four general categories of behaviors can be projected as critical to the superintendency. From the general categories of behaviors more specific behaviors can be deduced. The four general categories of behaviors, along with sub-categories, are stated below:

A. Effective school superintendents will communicate a moral vision and a commitment to education larger than any given societal force or special interest. They will communicate vision and commitment by:

(1) displaying an understanding of significant societal forces, the value conflicts associated with these forces, and their implications for education and community life;

(2) establishing communication arrangements which enable differing community groups to express their aspirations for and concerns about "good" education and the "good" community;

(3) demonstrating listening ability and a capacity to understand the differing public interests in education as they are expressed through formally established and informal communication channels; and

(4) using concepts basic to "good" schools, ideas obtained from the expressed aspirations of different interest groups, and understandings of larger societal forces to take the lead in helping communities articulate clearly the role of education in the modern society and its potential for contributing to improved community life.

B. Effective school superintendents will help communities chart clear educational directions amid marked conflict and ambiguity. They will express this behavior by:

(1) exploring and assessing unmet educational needs with school personnel and with citizen representatives;

(2) identifying and describing with the help of educational and community representatives critical unmet educational needs and specifying the relationship of these needs to larger societal and community needs;

(3) achieving community understandings and workable agreements a about unmet needs;

(4) translating critical educational and social needs into school system objectives and policies; and

(5) helping establish priorities among school system objectives.

C. Effective school superintendents will help generate and implement new programs designed to achieve school system objectives and policies. This they will achieve by:

(1) establishing adaptation as an important normative standard for educational institutions;

(2) achieving greater school system planning capability and relating this capability to planning in other community and governmental agencies;

(3) helping specialized staff to achieve new program designs;

(4) establishing arrangements to facilitate program development which is tailored to the educational needs of differing attendance units and student populations;

(5) helping relate planning and programming efforts effectively to budgeting and to performance assessment; and

(6) playing a leadership role in the acquisition of needed resources to implement experimental programs.

D. Effective school superintendents will help create organizational arrangements designed to facilitate program improvement and change. They will do this by:

(1) helping develop a greater organizational capability for fostering and using educational research and development;

(2) helping develop more systematic programs for the continuing education of school personnel;

(3) helping establish new forms of organization to facilitate such functions as educational planning and evaluation;

(4) facilitating the design of more functional information systems and more systematic ways of accounting to the public; and

(5) experimenting with temporary structures, external cooperative systems, project teams, and other organizational arrangements designed to facilitate program change.

Guidelines for Program Change

The guidelines which follow are based upon (1) trends and needs in preparation as perceived by professors and school superintendents (Chapters Ten, Eleven, and Twelve) and (2) the generalizations derived from "force analyses," as presented in Chapters Two through Nine. The guidelines are organized in relation to selected basic aspects of preparatory programs. They are oriented toward the 1970's.

Recruitment and Selection

The major recruitment and selection needs, as perceived by school superintendents and professors, stem from (1) the relatively unaggressive and unsystematic arrangements currently used to identify and attract prospective superintendents into programs and (2) the questionable standards and procedures employed by universities for selecting candidates. Generalizations derived from force analyses imply other important needs bearing upon recruitment and selection: the challenges confronting educational institutions in the 1970's will be so great that society's most outstanding leaders will be needed to head these institutions; as educational research and development bring greater specialization, recruitment and selection efforts will have to be related more clearly to differing educational administration career patterns; and in order to deal more directly with racial bias and to tap a greater range of society's leadership talent, populations from which leaders have traditionally been recruited will have to be expanded. More specific guidelines related to perceived and projected needs follow:

1. During the 1970's those responsible for preparatory programs will need to concentrate more upon the non-cognitive aspects of leadership in recruitment and selection than they did during the 1960's. As already noted, professors and superintendents recognize that to rely only upon traditional cognitive measures in selecting candidates for preparatory programs is not sufficient. Such measures ignore such important leadership qualities as courage, charisma, vision, and moral fitness. In the projected environment of the 1970's which, according to previous chapters, will be filled with conflict, ambiguity, change, and risk, non-cognitive qualities in leaders such as those just noted will certainly be essential.

2. During the 1970's distinctions between those leadership behaviors which are to be sought largely through recruitment and those which are to be developed principally through programmed learning experiences during preparation will need to be made much more explicit than they are currently. Clearly, a number of kinds of behaviors significant to leadership are likely to be relatively stable by the time students enter graduate preparatory programs. Among these, for example, are the following: displaying courage; inspiring confidence in others; communicating a sense of social mission; displaying charismatic qualities; expressing a high degree of intelligence; showing a commitment to social improvement and reform; tolerating ambiguity and stress; displaying social sensitivity; and expressing marked energy

and drive. Preparatory programs are not able to affect in basic ways the kinds of behaviors just noted. At the same time, scholars would likely agree that these behaviors are intimately related to leadership. Thus, recruitment and selection procedures must do a better job of identifying and assessing the extent to which prospective school superintendents possess these behaviors before they are admitted to programs.

3. As clearer distinctions are developed between relatively stable and changeable leadership behaviors, those responsible for recruitment will need to delineate more specific situational and action indicators of stable behaviors in order to make reasonable judgments concerning whether or not candidates possess these behaviors before they enter preparatory programs. Given the list of stable behaviors just noted, how can those responsible for programs identify these behaviors in recruitment and selection activities? While it is not now possible to assess the presence or absence of these behaviors in any absolute way, improvements in current practice can be achieved. To do this, systematic efforts to develop more specific situational indicators of behaviors will be required. For example, what are the indicators of the first behavior noted above, namely, "displaying courage"? Expressions of deviant opinions in groups? Public opposition to those in positions of power and authority? The assumption of responsibility under conditions where the probability for success is limited? Perseverance in the face of marked difficulty? Taking strong positions on issues which are contrary to the majority view? Unless better specific indicators of "displaying courage" are delineated, those recruiting candidates for preparation and those studying recruitment procedures related to this particular behavior cannot proceed consistently or effectively. The same would be true for other behaviors to be sought largely through recruitment. In addition, hypotheses about interactions and interrelationships in key behaviors need to be developed. How, for example, are indicators of "displaying courage" related to "displaying social sensitivity"? Under what circumstances, if any, do these behaviors harmfully conflict?

4. Universities will need to make special efforts to identify and recruit outstanding leaders from among minority groups. Leaders from Black, Chicano, and other minority groups will need to be aggressively recruited during the 1970's. There is a need, as noted earlier, to have minority group personnel in important leadership positions in school districts to advance equality of learning opportunities and to help improve the quality of learning in ways which majority group members cannot now do in many communities, especially in relation to black constituencies. In order to recruit minority group members more effectively, universities will need to be more flexible in the use of intelligence test scores and measures of verbal abilities since these tend to discriminate against members of minority groups. They will also need to develop special communication arrangements which link university personnel and leaders of the NAACP,

the Urban League, Store Front Schools, CORE, and related organizations. Links with ad hoc community organizations will also likely be needed for effective recruitment efforts.

5. Those responsible for preparatory programs should create special arrangements for identifying and recruiting prospective educational leaders from among undergraduate college populations during the 1970's. As noted in previous chapters, there are already many visible leaders in the large undergraduate populations in higher education institutions. The large majority of these leaders are concerned about problems of public policy, including those associated with education. They probably possess as high a degree of commitment to social change as any preceding generation of undergraduates. Those concerned with leadership development in education face unprecedented challenges and opportunities in encouraging and attracting young college leaders into education. Perhaps for the first time in history education can move into a more favored position in competing with the private sector for leadership talent. Some of the actions which will need to be taken include:

(a) identifying outstanding college leaders who are liberally educated and who are concerned about societal needs and the quality of education and educational institutions;

(b) creating communication arrangements which will enable those responsible for leadership development in education to provide outstanding young persons information about educational leadership, to express strong interest in their careers, and to encourage them to pursue educational leadership careers;

(c) developing greater flexibility in program and certification requirements and in other ways diminishing perceived and/or actual barriers to leadership careers in education; and

(d) working with practicing educational administrators to help ensure that an effective transition from university preparatory programs to posts in public school districts can be made.

6. Universities should allocate more resources and devote greater staff efforts to recruitment during the 1970's. Few institutions have actually allocated special staff and resources to ensure effective recruitment efforts. This fact helps explain why professors and superintendents judge current recruitment efforts to be unsystematic and unaggressive. In the future as the quantity of school superintendents required declines, the significance of the quality of leaders entering preparatory programs will have to be recognized more clearly. When this occurs resources which have typically gone into supporting expanding numbers of students and staffs will need to be allocated to ensure effective search for fewer candidates of

higher quality.

Program Structure

Major "structure" needs perceived by superintendents and professors have to do with attaining more interrelatedness and integration in program components, on the one hand, and with achieving greater flexibility in the design of learning experiences, on the other. In other words, programs are seen as a cafeteria arrangement of courses without a gestalt conception integrating the courses and as a set of experiences constrained by requirements which hamper individual learning. Of the generalizations developed through "force analysis" at least two have important implications for program structure. First, the growth of research, development, and new management technologies is leading to a greater number of more precisely defined specializations within the field of educational administration; this is resulting in diverse bodies of knowledge and concepts and is creating a need for greater integration among program elements. Second, the theme of educational and social change, which pervaded the sixties and is likely to persist during the 1970's, will require special competence in institutional change and educational innovation on the part of school superintendents. Program flexibility which encourages prospective leaders to achieve self-initiative and self-direction in learning will be basic to the development of this competence. The first three guidelines which follow relate more to attainment of integration of program elements; the last two more to achieving flexibility in programs.

1. Departments of educational administration in the 1970's will need to differentiate more sharply than in the past between and among programs for preparing researchers, synthesizers, developers, and educational administrators, including school superintendents. The future development of educational administration is dependent upon skilled specialists who use knowledge effectively in different ways: researchers who use knowledge to create new knowledge; synthesizers who order existing knowledge in new, enlightening, and useful ways; developers who use knowledge to project and invent solutions to general administrative and leadership problems, clinicians who can use knowledge to diagnose and inform specific practices; and administrators who use knowledge to improve "everyday" decisions and to shape intermediate and long-range policies. If university programs are to develop effectively these differing skills, greater differentiation in learning experiences for personnel pursuing different specializations will have to be achieved. Differences in emphases can be illustrated with regard to programs for preparing researchers and school superintendents:

(a) Those recruiting prospective researchers should recruit individuals who demonstrate intellectual curiosity and a strong desire to acquire and communicate general knowledge about variables bearing upon or inherent in educational administration and leadership. Those recruiting prospective school superintendents should seek persons who are motivated to act and who want to change policy and improve educational practice.

(b) The central purposes of programs for prospective researchers should be (1) to enable them to acquire the skills, values, and concepts necessary to advance knowledge of educational administration and (2) to provide them opportunities to practice research skills and to use knowledge in inquiry activities; the central purposes of programs for prospective superintendents should be (1) to enable them to acquire the skills, values, and concepts relevant to administrative decision-making and policy making in educational institutions and (2) to provide them opportunities to practice skills and to use knowledge in real and simulated administrative situations.

(c) Prospective researchers should acquire depth understanding of concepts and advanced insights into modes of inquiry in one social science discipline or specialized area of study; prospective superintendents should acquire knowledge from a number of disciplines and areas of study --- knowledge selected to help them understand problems of administrative practice and policy.

(d) "Field experience" for prospective researchers should be planned principally to provide practice in research design, data gathering, and analysis; "field experience" for school superintendents should be designed to provide opportunities to observe practice and to test knowledge in school-community contexts and in situations involving changes in educational policy and practice.

(e) The internship for the researchers should be experienced under the tutelage of effective researchers; the internship for school superintendents should be experienced with outstanding leaders internal or external to school districts.

(f) For prospective researchers the culminating experience should be a doctoral dissertation designed to advance knowledge; for prospective school superintendents there should be a culminating experience different from the traditional dissertation and one that is designed to develop informed and effective administrative and leadership behavior.

(g) For both prospective researchers and administrators, including school superintendents, differentiation should begin in the second year of a three-year graduate program and should receive special emphasis in the final year.

Differences in programs for developers, clinicians, and synthesizers in the field of educational administration could also be highlighted. However, perhaps enough has been said to suggest that differentiation can provide an over-all organizing framework and a base for deducing purposes for programs. By defining the unique and differing career purposes which superintendents, researchers, developers, clinicians, and synthesizers pursue, measures for selecting, organizing, and integrating program content can be attained. Then content *consistently* designed to advance purposes of given career specializations can be selected, thus helping to avoid the practice of random "cafeteria" choices.

2. *At the same time that specialization will require greater differentiation in programs for prospective researchers, synthesizers, developers, clinicians, and administrators, there will also be a greater need for structuring program elements to ensure that programs to prepare these specialists are guided by some common objectives.* Specialization is paradoxical in the sense that it increases the need for inter-independence and communication among personnel at the same time that it encourages independence and the development of unique skills in these personnel. Programs have a special responsibility to develop common bonds of knowledge and communication so that different specialists in the field of educational administration can function effectively as colleagues. Fundamental common bonds have to do with needed understandings bearing upon the purposes of education and upon the relationships of these purposes to societal needs. In other words, all specialists need to see how their own immediate purposes are related to the larger purposes of educational institutions and the society served by these institutions. Therefore, content to highlight and illuminate the purposive aspects of education should shape core learnings for administrators, researchers, developers, clinicians, and synthesizers. More specifically, programs during the first year of preparation for prospective specialists in educational administration should be structured to achieve such common objectives as the following:

(a) To develop understandings of *selected* societal needs and problems which have special bearing upon educational purposes and which have implications for defining the characteristics of a "good" school system. Illustrative areas which could provide foci for study include: poverty; urban congestion; polluted environments; minority group relations; the changing qualities and concerns of youth; and inequalities in educational opportunities.

(b) To develop understandings of inter-governmental relationships, both vertical and horizontal, and of *selected* governmental policies which impinge upon and have implications for the purposes of educational institutions. Examples of topics which are pertinent to the relationships between educational and governmental policies are: economic growth, manpower development, technological progress, research and development, natural resource conservation, and civil rights.

(c) To acquire an understanding of and positions on basic curriculum issues affecting the attainment of educational purpose. Illustrative areas involving major issues include: "child centered" vs. "content centered" curriculum; relationships between academic and vocational education; role of technology in curriculum; strategies for changing curriculum; and curriculum evaluation.

(d) To understand the nature of learning, its role in the modern society, and technological developments which support it.

(e) To develop a sense of relationship among researchers, clinicians, administrators, developers, and synthesizers toward common educational objectives so that role perspectives reflect mutual awareness of functional interdependence.

In addition to program elements common to the preparation of all professional personnel associated with educational administration, there are other special components common to programs for administrative personnel, including superintendents. These elements, which might be featured during the second year of preparation, should be centrally concerned with organizational behavior --- both internal and external --- as it bears upon administration and leadership. Pertinent objectives in this aspect of preparation include:

(a) To understand significant forces impacting upon the organization and administration of schools (e.g., the Negro protest movement, student militancy, business-education interaction) and issues generated by these forces which have significant implications for education and leadership.

(b) To achieve some understanding of those societal trends and "futures" which are likely to affect educational organizations and leadership significantly in the years ahead.

(c) To achieve a basic understanding of decision processes associated with the "politics of education," including conflict and confrontation and the capacities to facilitate community dialogue about the ends and means of education.

(d) To acquire some understanding of such basic organizational processes as: communication, institutional change, planning, and morale development.

(e) To understand major problems and issues related to the economics and financing of education.

3. Helping prospective administrators understand values --- both their own and those of various reference groups in the schools --- represents another significant strategy for achieving integration in preparatory programs. Most components in programs should aim at developing an awareness of the changing nature of values over time, with reference to both society generally and to major interest groups specifically. Understandings should be sought about how such fundamental human values as the following evolve from and support education: individuality; independent thought; creativity; compassion; freedom; and self-renewal. Insights into how values such as those just noted can come into conflict with opposing values and forces should also be fostered: how rules and regulations can foster conformity in ways that hamper creativity; how demands and needs of the state can threaten individuality; how interdependence can interfere with independence; how hostility can curb compassion; and how tradition counters self-renewal.

Program components should develop a familiarity with the purposes, concerns, and aspirations of different public and private organizations and an understanding of the points at which these various interests are in conflict and in agreement; an awareness of the pressure impinging upon the schools as a result of value changes and conflicts; and an understanding of the changing and conflicting norms and expectations for the schools which generate these forces and pressures. Prospective administrators should also be provided opportunities to assess and change their values, if the evidence warrants such change. By focusing on values and valuing in the various aspects of program, integration of learning experiences should be encouraged.

4. Preparatory programs should be structured to do more than to foster knowledge acquisition; they should also provide prospective superintendents opportunities to demonstrate creative uses of knowledge in diagnosing and in seeking solutions to educational and societal problems. Previous chapters have documented the increasing demands on the part of dissatisfied publics for changes in school systems. Since effective school superintendents will be required to demonstrate flexible and effective uses of knowledge in projecting and in implementing strategies of change, program structure should facilitate and develop creative problem defining, problem solving, and decision-making on the part of prospective educational leaders.

There are many areas in educational administration which offer opportunities for creative work. One example is represented in the conflicting expectations and values associated with the Negro protest movement, with federal involvement in education, with teacher militancy, and with other forces impacting upon educational organization and administration. Another area has to do with the need for change in educational policy and programs, especially in the big cities. Still another has to do with inventing ways to attain greater human and financial resources to support education. If creative behavior is to be effectively expressed vis-a-vis areas such as those just noted, flexible programming which reinforces self-initiative and independent activity on the part of students will be required.

5. Specific learning experiences should vary considerably from individual to individual depending upon a student's educational background, experiences in education or in other institutions, intellectual interests, and career aspirations. Put differently, students should participate in decisions about particular learning options to be pursued and the most appropriate learning resources to be used in achieving program purposes. Let us assume, for example, that those responsible for a given program make a decision that each student should be able at given stages in his preparation to suggest clear relationships between selected societal ailments and the purposes of educational institutions. Clearly, there would be a range of societal ailments from which to select and a variety of learning resources both in the university and in field settings which students could use in studying the ailment(s) selected. These resources could be combined in many ways for individuals depending upon their previous learnings, the "societal ailments" of greatest interest to them, and their learning styles. Program structure should promote flexibility in the choice of options given students will prusue within a context of generally defined purposes. In order to achieve such flexibility, greater use will have to be made of seminars, block-of-time arrangements, field settings, and electives in structuring programs.

To achieve individualization in programs, it will be necessary to achieve a comprehensive identification and cataloguing of relevant academic offerings in universities and of the field resources which are related to the goals of superintendency preparation. Let us assume, for example, that six different societal forces were judged by a department at a given time to offer a prospective school superintendent special opportunities to understand implications such forces have for the organization and administration of educational institutions. Clearly, there would be a variety of seminars, courses, and independent study arrangements which students could pursue in a university pertinent to each of the forces. Observation and interviews in school districts and communities would provide additional options. The greater the range of options identified and the more effectively these options were understood by students, the greater the possibility for flexibility in the structuring of programs.

Flexibility of program structure can also be facilitated through the effective diagnosis of learning needs and learning achievement at various stages of program. If individual learnings are carefully assessed periodically, flexibility in program can be enhanced in two ways. First, students, because of demonstrated learnings already achieved, can forego redundant program activities. Secondly, by foregoing certain courses prospective leaders can opt for experiences which relate specifically to unique individual needs and interests at given stages of programs.

Program Content

A major issue related to program content identified in the questionnaire study is that of "relevance." For example, how is the increased use of social science content in preparatory programs related to the leadership and administrative challenges now facing school superintendents? Most all of the generalizations derived from force analysis highlight substantive issues and conflicts now confronting school superintendents which were not present in previous decades. Program content should at least in part be related to these issues and conflicts. Guidelines related to program content follow:

1. Content from the humanities designed to illuminate questions of value and purpose bearing upon education and leadership should be studied by school superintendents, especially during their first year of preparation. It is clear that science can produce knowledge but scientists are not fully competent to tell society's educational institutions how to use it. Political scientists, for example, can help educational administrators understand "power structure" concepts, but they cannot provide final judgments about the human and educational ends toward which power should be directed nor can they authoritatively delineate the most ethical uses of power. Historians, philosophers, and students of literature, on the other hand, do come to grips with basic human values which are directly related to the purposes and processes of educational institutions and to the "human conditions" affecting these institutions. They do, for example, address the values associated with freedom, the "good" man, the "good" society, compassion, humaneness, and education. They also address basic value conflicts and dilemmas affecting educational leaders: law vs. conscience; virtue vs. power, personal vs. social benefit; truth vs. manipulation; and so forth. Content from the humanities can help administrators understand, and discriminate among values and to apply these learnings in problem solving situations.

2. Content should be incorporated into preparatory programs which will enable prospective superintendents to be future-oriented and more visionary in their thinking. To fulfill this guideline, it will be necessary to draw upon content which illuminates projected trends in society and which highlights alternative educational and societal futures. A variety of courses and seminars already exist in universities which can be drawn upon by students to obtain content of this type. Special seminars or independent study arrangements can also be developed. Such seminars and study arrangements might incorporate content emerging from educa-

tional policy centers. In addition, such types of reference as the following suggest illustrative content: Toward the Year 2000 (Daedalus, Summer, 1967); Werner Hirsch (Ed). Inventing Education for the Future; and Edgar Morphet and Charles O. Ryan (Eds), Prospective Changes in Society by 1980. Not only should such content help prospective school superintendents think concretely and constructively about such matters as urban congestion, technology, governmental structures, and population growth, it should also provide them clues about how the "good" school can be effectively related to the emergent needs of society.

3. Content selected from the disciplines of political science and economics should assume greater importance in preparatory programs for school superintendents. The chapters dealing with the federal force in education, the business-education interface, and the emergent management technologies all highlight the significance of economic concepts and modes of inquiry as they relate to the leadership challenges likely to face school superintendents in the 1970's. Thus, an understanding of issues surrounding "economic rationality" vs. human relations" rationality, systems analysis, operations research, the use of technology in education, and the financing of educational enterprises are intimately related to economic thought.

That school superintendents are interacting more and more with municipal leaders and with leaders in state and federal levels of government was demonstrated earlier in this report in the Chapter "The Federal Force in Education." This fact highlights the relevance of political science concepts and research findings for helping prospective superintendents understand not only the formal structure and processes of government but also informal processes, interest groups, community communication patterns, power structure, voting behavior, and related matters.

The interaction of economic and political variables provides the administrator a basis for insight into critical questions involving the substance of educational policy and appropriate means to attain policy goals. Issues involving such questions as the relationships of desired policy ends to economic conditions and political acceptance; the economic characteristics of a school district and political strategies to gain satisfactory financial support for schools; the economic rationality of planning modes and the political realities of public policy decision-making; and political strategies and budgetary process are all infused with economics and policies. A focused analysis of concepts, theories, and modes of inquiry from both disciplines provides the administrators with an understanding that intensive study of either discipline fails to accomplish.

4. Content designed to illuminate organizational behavior and the processes in which school superintendents engage should be included in preparatory programs. There is a range of content on the processes of

administration and on organizational behavior available for use in preparatory programs. Some of the content is in the form of well-known classics. Those produced by Frederick Taylor, Chester Barnard, and Herbert Simon, for example, are illustrative. Other content on organizational behavior is found in theories and research findings produced by social scientists. Semanticists, social psychologists, psychiatrists, sociologists, mathematicians, and cybernetists, for example, have all contributed to theories of communication and to the research on which these theories are based. Still other content is found in conceptualizations produced by professors of administration in the form of articles, monographs, and textbooks. Such content should be used to help prospective leaders understand such basic processes as decision making, communication, motivation, change, and planning.

Instructional Approaches

According to the questionnaire study, a major instructional need has to do with making prospective superintendents more active in the pursuit of knowledge and more responsible for the attainment of their own learnings. More specifically, respondents felt that the trend already under way to move away from the current over-reliance on lecture-textbook and note-taking methods and toward a greater use of participatory learning experiences in programs was salutary. In addition, the capacity to understand and to act upon one's own values and insights assumes greater significance in an era when, according to the projections made above, conflict will be a constant companion of the educational administrator. In order to be able to help produce structured purposes and programs in highly ambiguous circumstances, school superintendents will need initiative and continuing learning capabilities. Preparatory programs will need to foster such qualities. Some guidelines related to instructional approaches follow:

1. Those responsible for preparatory programs should provide students special learning opportunities through the establishment and activation of "learning teams." Made up of students, "learning teams" could draw upon professors for assistance. The composition of teams could vary depending upon their purpose and focus. For example, a "learning team" could be made up of students pursuing differing educational careers related to research, development, and administration and working on common problems bearing upon these differing careers. Another approach would be to create learning teams made up of students from different professional schools in the university who were preparing for government, health, social work, business, education, or related careers. These teams could concentrate upon defining and developing alternative solutions to problems which cut across the careers of members on the teams. Still another possibility is for learning teams to be made up of teams of educational administrators (e.g., elementary principals, secondary principals, personnel administrators, and superintendents) to work on problems which cut across

these various positions in school systems.

Why the proposed emphasis on activating "learning teams"? First, it seems clear that the future will see a greater emphasis upon and use of management teams in school systems and other complex organizations. Appropriate experiences in graduate programs on the part of prospective school superintendents with persons developing differing specializations could facilitate the introduction and effective use of such teams. Second, interchange among students with different knowledge and perspectives should offer special opportunities for learning. Finally, such teams can concentrate upon cross-role and inter-organizational problems and can gain "boundary spanning" skills which will be needed by school superintendents and other administrators during the 1970's.

2. In order to encourage students to take greater responsibility for their own learning, professors should design instructional arrangements in which students can pursue their interests and motivations in situations where professors and students are co-learners. Independent study arrangements, for example, could be developed which place major responsibility on students for the structuring of their learning and, at the same time, provide professors opportunity for helping guide learning activities. Such arrangements would seem particularly appropriate in the more advanced stages of preparation. Still another approach is the seminar arrangement which can provide prospective leaders opportunities to structure and develop their own learnings in relation to more general program objectives.

There is no intent to suggest that professors should eliminate lectures as such. However, lectures need to be used more discriminatingly and effectively. When professors possess content that is not immediately available in written or non-written media, or if it is available but not organized in relation to program purposes, lectures can serve an important function. Lecturers which a professor may select from other departments or from outside the university and who are not typically available to students can also provide useful bases for learning.

3. A range of reality-oriented materials which can provide common bases for students and professors to analyze and make decisions should be developed and used by those responsible for preparing school superintendents. Cases, simulated materials, and management games can provide valuable tools not only for the exploration and understanding of values which shape decisions but also for the testing of theoretical concepts against the "facts of administrative life." Such materials can provide bases for bridging theory and practice. They can also encourage students to develop and take positions on significant issues and to articulate their assumptions about the consequences of given courses of action. In a relatively risk-free environment, they can provide opportunities for prospective leaders to practice informed decision-making and to obtain feedback on choices made.

Clearly, existing instructional materials are not sufficient for preparing school superintendents for the seventies. In addition, there is a great scarcity of materials of any type related to urban school administration. Materials are not available generally which reflect the changing economic and governmental context of educational administration. Materials are also needed which are based upon theoretical postulates to complement case materials. Professors of educational administration face a major challenge in updating readily-oriented materials to meet emergent instructional needs of programs preparing school superintendents.

Field-Related Experiences

According to the perceptions of school superintendents and professors, the major emergent need related to field experience is to improve the overall quality of internships, field visits, practicums and other opportunities already being provided. More specifically, field experience is viewed as lacking in diversity, unsystematic in its relatedness to total preparation, lacking in individualization, fragmentary in its orientation, and suffering from poor planning and supervision. The expanding character of the political environment of educational administration and the emergent management technologies described in previous chapters also suggest that prospective school superintendents need differing types of field experience than those which are now generally being made available. Guidelines bearing upon field-related experience follow:

1. Field experiences should be used throughout the period of preparation to promote interaction between theory and practice. Traditionally, internships and other kinds of field experiences have tended to come near the end of preparation programs. However, the view is offered here that preparation should not be sharply limited to academic experiences during the first part of preparation. Students should be able to go back and forth between academie and the field throughout the preparation period and explicit strategies should be developed to promote such interchange. Such strategies might serve such purposes as the following: to help motivate and focus theoretical study on the part of students; to provide opportunities to observe and examine administrative processes; to study relationships between the purposes of school systems and community needs and problems; to test and apply theory and research in leadership settings; to observe outstanding leadership behavior; and to prepare case materials.

2. Universities should experiment with options which would encourage prospective superintendents, during their last year of preparation, which would substitute special field experiences for the traditional doctoral dissertation requirement. As already noted, the major function of school superintendents is to act toward the end of improving the quality of education. Their function is not fundamentally that of producing knowledge. It logically follows, then, that culminating experiences should be designed

to improve action within a context of applied decision making. Alternatives to the dissertation for school superintendents which could be used during the last year of preparation to improve leadership actions include: (1) supervised internship programs complemented by independent study and seminar activities and (2) group development projects oriented toward defining policy problems in a selected district and toward projecting alternative strategies designed to help resolve these problems.

The recommendation that school superintendents should not be required to meet the traditional dissertation requirement does not mean that dissertations should be eliminated. They should be maintained for prospective researchers in educational administration and they should require even more sophisticated approaches to the advancement of knowledge than are currently being used. Nor does the recommendation presume that school superintendents do not need an understanding of research concepts. The point is that their learnings about research should be designed to serve the purposes of consumption rather than production. School superintendents also need to understand the growing significance of research in education and how the processes of research, development, and leadership can effectively complement one another.

3. As the number of institutions involved in education increase, multiple opportunities for learning about leadership can and should be provided in field situations. Illustrations of opportunities which have become more visible during the last decade and which suggest learning opportunities are: private-sector sponsored and managed learning activities; research and development activities in school districts; new types of educational institutions such as are represented in the "street academies", for example; situations in which leaders are involved in controversial decisions and in confrontation activities; and so forth.

Special opportunities are also available in local, state, and federal government agencies. "Rotating" internships now being used in some institutions to provide students learning experiences in different agencies at various levels of government offer promise in the preparation of school superintendents. For example, in one full year of a "rotating" internship one quarter might well be spent in the office of a city planner, another in the division of planning in a state education department; and a third in the U. S. Office of Education.

Selected internship experiences could also be developed in agencies concerned with such functions as welfare, model cities programs, poverty programs, and other activities which are clearly related to education. "Living in" experiences in agencies concerned with minority group education (e.g., the NAACP and the Urban League) also offer potential for advancing learning.

Departmental Functions and Staffing

According to the perceptions of professors and school superintendents, there is a need to achieve a better balance in departmental staffing in universities between those with discipline-based expertise and those with practice-based expertise. Another perceived need is for professors with specialized knowledge in significant problem areas (e. g., teacher militancy) which are directly related to the setting of the school superintendency. These needs are supported through the findings of force analysis. In addition, it seems clear that if prospective school superintendents are to comprehend the forces impacting upon educational administration and acquire the behaviors described earlier in the chapter related to purpose setting of educational institutions, preparatory programs will need to draw upon staff resources throughout the university. Some guidelines in this area follow:

1. In helping students plan learning experiences designed to enable them to understand societal needs and the implications of these needs for educational purposes and programs, professors will need to draw upon the total resources of the university. Content, especially during the first year of preparation, should help prospective school superintendents develop competence in purpose setting. Social scientists in a variety of departments can provide content on the emergent needs and problems of society which have significant implications for education and its purposes. Humanists throughout the university and students of educational philosophy are concerned with important perennial and emergent value issues which face man and society. Representatives from among these scholars can help prospective leaders understand these issues and their implications for the purposes and processes of educational institutions. If school superintendents are going to be social and educational leaders, they will need to study with outstanding professors in different departments of the university. Only in this way will they be able to develop the broad perspective needed to function in an increasingly specialized and pluralistic society.

2. Professors of educational administration will need to develop the depth specializations needed to illuminate organizational dynamics and leadership processes bearing upon and inherent in educational administration. Professors of educational administration are needed who have a depth of understanding of the politics of education. The same would be true for the economics of education, including issues of school finance. Others are needed who can illuminate the dynamics of organization, especially as organizational dynamics are expressed through the process of pattern maintenance and institutional change. Specialists are also needed to guide learning *vis-a-vis* such important group interaction and such basic processes as decision making, morale building, communication, and planning. Finally, professors who can illuminate important internal forces (e.g., student militancy) and administrative technologies (e.g., systems analysis) are also needed.

3. As departments of educational administration achieve differentiated programs for researchers, developers, and administrators, they will need to achieve differentiated staffing patterns. Professors in the future will not only need to acquire different substantive bodies of knowledge but it is also clear that they will need to learn how to use the knowledge in specialized ways. Knowledge about the politics of education, for example, can be used to produce new knowledge; to provide bases for broad syntheses of knowledge in textbooks; to help invent solutions to problems of educational politics which are found generally in applied contexts; to resolve political problems specific to a given educational organization; and to help practicing and prospective educational administrators to consume knowledge in ways that will affect their behavior in every-day political decision making. Since few, if any, professors can span all these specializations, there is a need on the part of professors to acquire a smaller range of competencies in greater depth. Clearly, there is a special need for "clinical" professors with recent experience in urban educational settings. Such personnel are needed to provide better links between academie and the city schools.

4. If outstanding researchers, developers, administrators, clinicians, and synthesizers are to be prepared to staff departments, a much higher degree of institutional specialization on the part of universities will be necessary. Departments of educational administration traditionally have sought to prepare all types of personnel without a careful assessment of major institutional strengths and without cost-benefit analysis. In the future such practice will have to give way if a range of specialists of high quality are to be produced. Some universities, for example, may choose to concentrate on researchers in the politics of education, others on the preparation of synthesizers in an area such as education and race or the economics of education; others on developers who will specialize in the design management information and communication systems; and so on. A strategy of institutional specialization among universities which would deploy resources in effective and targeted ways, coupled with substantial recruitment efforts, could have a major impact upon the field of educational administration.

Conclusion

In this study two major bodies of data have been analyzed and reported. Generalizations and implications deriving from these data have been set forth concerning needed changes in doctoral programs to prepare public school superintendents. One set of generalizations was based primarily upon inductively determined conclusions from the perceptions of "occupational experts"; these generalizations are reported in Chapter Twelve according to a conceptual framework of ten interrelated components comprising preparatory programs. The other set of generalizations was based primarily upon deductively determined conclusions from the examination of significant societal forces impacting upon education; these generalizations are reported in the preceding portion of this chapter according to those aspects of the ten-component framework to which they apply most directly. An important task remaining is to examine the relationships between these two separately determined sets of generalizations. More specifically, it is necessary to consider the question: To what extent do "occupational experts" recognize the needs for changes in preparation that are indicated by the force analyses, and what evidence is there of attempts on the part of program designers to satisfy these needs? It is to this task that this final portion of the report is devoted.

Relationships between the inductively and deductively derived needs for program changes are of three primary types. One concerns those needs identified from the survey of "occupational experts" that are not reflected in the results of the force analyses. The force analyses did not produce data related directly, primarily, or exclusively to the preparatory components of student research, requirements for graduation, program evaluation and development, or in-service programs. This was due largely to the nature of the data yielded by the force analyses. While this does not negate the validity of the inductively derived needs, it does render meaningful comparisons between the two sets of generalizations impossible. Consequently, the reader is referred back to Chapter Twelve for a review of needed program changes that fall into this category.

Two other kinds of relationships, on the other hand, can be scrutinized. One relates to those needed program changes indicated by the force analyses that are now being addressed by "occupational experts." The other concerns those needed program changes indicated by the force analyses that are apparently not being addressed at present by "occupational experts." Both of these kinds of relationships are considered on the following pages, although the emphasis is upon the latter -- on the needs not well recognized by program designers -- for it is these needs that have implications for the most drastic (but not necessarily the most important) changes in preparation programs. Following these analyses, some remarks about constraints to change in universities conclude the report.

Needed Changes Reflected in Both Inductively and Deductively Derived Generalizations

There is some comfort in the fact that the following needed program changes indicated by the force analyses are currently being addressed (at least to some extent) by program designers in leading universities. Nevertheless, lest complacency set in, it must be remembered that these changes are indicated (in both sets of generalizations) as needed, not as achieved. It is apparent, though, that in these areas, program designers are on the right tracks. It is the limited speed of their progress along these tracks that may be cause for some concern. The changes are classified below according to the program components to which they relate most directly.

Program Content. Three needs identified on the basis of force analyses are, according to survey results, recognized by "occupational experts"; moreover, preparation trends are apparent toward satisfying all of these needs. One is a need for content that will enable prospective superintendents to be future-oriented and more visionary in their thinking. Respondents to the questionnaire survey agreed that considerable (largely mandatory) coverage is accorded concepts and technologies of planning in current preparatory programs. (One suspects, however, that while various methodologies of planning are being increasingly addressed, substantive considerations of the future still tend to be relatively neglected.) The second is a need for content selected from the disciplines of political science and economics. Survey data indicate that the social sciences are receiving substantial and increasing attention in administrative preparation and that, among the six most commonly used disciplines, political science and economics rank second and fourth, respectively, in terms of frequency of coverage. The third need is for content designed to illuminate organizational behavior and the processes in which school superintendents engage. There is, according to survey data, an established trend toward the incorporation of theoretical, conceptual, and research-related material drawn largely from the social and behavioral sciences. While "occupational experts" recognize a need to achieve greater relevance in the application of such content to administrative behavior in education, an emergent trend toward resolving this need is evident. The above trends must be encouraged and accelerated during the seventies.

Program Structure. Force analyses yield evidence of both a need for greater integration among diverse, increasingly specialized preparatory program elements and a need for program flexibility and individualization to develop special competence in institutional change and educational innovation on the part of school superintendents. The survey results indicate not only that "occupational experts" recognize these needs but also that established trends toward meeting them are evident. These trends must be encouraged and accelerated during the seventies.

Instructional Approaches. The results of this study's force analyses emphasize the desirability of increased individualized flexibility in preparation programs (achieved through such arrangements as independent study and seminars) and of greater use of such reality-oriented techniques as cases, simulations, and games. Survey findings indicate an established trend in these directions within current preparation programs. However, this trend must be refined, according to the force analyses, with special emphasis accorded to developing reality-oriented materials related to urban school administration and to the changing economic and governmental context of educational administration. While the need for these refinements is recognized by "occupational experts" efforts to satisfy the need are only beginning to emerge. These efforts must be increased and facilitated during the seventies.

Field-Related Experiences. A need clearly indicated by the force analyses is for prospective superintendents to have field experiences in a variety of public and private educational organizations, in education-related departments at all levels of government, and in various social agencies and community organizations concerned directly or indirectly with education. Survey findings indicate that "occupational experts" recognize this need and that there is an emergent trend in this direction, as reflected in the growing incidence of "rotating internships." This trend must be encouraged and accelerated during the seventies.

Departmental Functions and Staffing. Two needs related to the staffing of programs for preparing superintendents are indicated by the force analyses and, according to the survey results, are being addressed at present. One is a need for program developers to draw upon the total resources of the university in providing students learning experiences designed to enable them to understand societal needs and the implications of these needs for educational purposes and programs. Survey data indicate that this need is recognized by "occupational experts" and that a trend toward its satisfaction is evident. The second need is for increased specialization among professors of educational administration according to different substantive bodies of knowledge. An established trend in this direction is evident in the survey findings. Continuation of these trends must be encouraged during the seventies.

Needed Changes Not Being Addressed By Program Designers

Five main kinds of change in superintendent preparation are indicated on the basis of force analyses but are apparently not being addressed at present by those designing preparatory programs. While, in a few cases, the survey results indicate limited recognition of these needs by program designers, there is no convincing evidence that efforts are underway to resolve them. Consequently, although these needed changes may not be the most important ones called for in this report, they are probably the most drastic. In what follows, each needed change as it emerged from the force analyses is defined in summary fashion, related survey findings are reviewed, a recommendation that efforts be launched to implement the needed change is offered, and the program components likely to be affected by implementing the recommendation are identified. The needed changes are presented in the order of their treatment in the preceding section of this chapter.

Placing Greater Emphasis on Non-cognitive Qualities in Recruiting and Selecting Students for Administrative Preparation. While the survey data indicate an awareness among "occupational experts" of the need for considering non-cognitive traits in selection, evidence of attempts to meet this need is sparse. Nor is a trend toward an emphasis upon the characteristics of charisma in selection apparent. Yet, on the basis of force analyses conducted in this study, an increase in the incidence of such qualities as courage, confidence, sense of mission, and vision is postulated as essential to effective educational leadership in the seventies. Accordingly, it is recommended that those preparing school superintendents mount a new thrust directed at the identification of the non-cognitive characteristics essential to leadership, and that it be determined which of these characteristics must be achieved through recruitment and selection (as opposed to those that can be developed through training). Efforts must then be launched to design ways of assessing the degree to which individuals possess the desired characteristics, to discover those talent pools in which individuals possessing these characteristics are most likely to be found (including minority groups and college undergraduates), to develop strategies whereby such individuals may be motivated to enter careers in educational administration, and to create means for facilitating entry of these individuals into preparatory programs and, subsequently, into careers in educational administration.

Basic to this recommendation is a need for changes in both the methods and the criteria employed by universities in selecting doctoral students of educational administration. It must be noted, moreover, that the implementation of this recommendation has ramifications for program components other than recruitment and selection. The encouragement of individuals with non-cognitive leadership qualities to enter preparation programs in educational administration will undoubtedly require adaptations in program content and structure, instructional approaches, field-related experiences, student research, requirements for graduation, and departmental functions and staffing, in order that programs may become more attractive and functional to such individuals. Ways must be found, as well, to permit the rapid progression of these persons into positions of educational leadership on completion of their professional preparation. This will require adaptations in typical requisites of prior experience and in traditional advancement patterns in school districts. Policy changes at both the local and state levels of educational governance are clearly indicated. And at the federal level, increased appropriations for student support are mandatory.

Drawing upon the Humanities to Develop Understandings of Values and Skills in Purpose Definition. The results of force analyses presented in this report indicate the critical importance of the superintendent's ability to see both beneath and beyond the conflict and ambiguity he confronts daily. He must see beneath conflict and ambiguity in that: he must recognize and understand the basic values motivating the conflicting and ambiguous behavior of individuals and groups holding expectations for the schools; he must be aware of changes in values that are occurring within these individuals and groups over time; and he must be familiar with differences in values between and among the various individuals and groups. He must see beyond conflict and ambiguity in that: he must develop personal commitment to a view of the "good" community, a view of the purposes of education in helping achieve the "good" community, and a view of the "good" school that can accomplish these purposes; he must be aware of his own values underlying his personal commitment, of how his values relate to those of various reference groups of the school, and of how he may most effectively communicate his values and commitment to the school's reference groups; and he must be capable of either exploiting the conflict and ambiguity among the school's reference groups to achieve the educational purposes to which he is committed, or of adapting his own values and definition of purpose if such adaptation is warranted by an assessment of his values in the light of those of the school's reference groups.

The force analyses generate the suggestion that, in seeking to illuminate these critical issues of values and purpose, prospective school superintendents should study content from the humanities. However, survey data indicate that, while limited awareness of the importance of the humanities exists among "occupational experts" and while a few program designers have experimented with the use of humanities in administrative preparation, the need for such content is not generally recognized and there is no clear trend toward satisfying this need. Accordingly, it is recommended that those preparing school superintendents mount a new thrust directed at the development of relevant criteria for selecting content from the humanities and the design of effective strategies for incorporating such content into administrator preparation. It must be noted that this recommendation, while relating directly to program content, has ramifications as well for recruitment and selection, instructional approaches, and departmental functions and staffing.

Establishing "Learning Teams" to Promote Individual Initiative and Interchange among Students. Deriving from the force analyses is the recognition of a need to provide students special learning opportunities through the establishment and activation of "learning teams." These teams would be made up of students but could draw upon professors for assistance. They might consist of students pursuing different administrative roles within school systems, differing educational careers, or administrative careers within various kinds of organizations. Among the purposes of such teams would be to help prospective superintendents develop: the capacity to understand and to act upon their own values and insights; initiative in continuing learning capabilities; familiarity with cross-role and inter-organizational problems; alternative solutions to problems which cut across the differing careers or positions of team members; and understandings of the potential inherent in management teams for school systems.

While survey data indicate a general tendency toward increased individualized flexibility in preparation, and a need for (as well as an emergent trend toward) more "programmatic research" by student teams, there is no evidence that the desirability of "learning teams" (for purposes other than student research) is either recognized by program designers or reflected in current preparation. Accordingly, it is recommended that those preparing school superintendents mount a new thrust directed at the establishment of "learning teams" to promote individual initiative and interchange among students with differing career goals. Implementation of this recommendation will have ramifications not only for instructional approaches but also for program content and structure, recruitment and selection, field-related experiences, student research, and departmental functions and staffing.

Employing Field Experiences throughout the Period of Preparation and Using Them to Replace Dissertation Research for Prospective Superintendents. According to survey results, the desirability of field-related experiences is generally recognized by "occupational experts" and there is an established trend toward increasing such opportunities. There is, moreover, a generally recognized need to improve the quality of field-related experiences, and an emergent trend in this direction. However, despite the advances being made, field-related experiences continue generally to constitute a particular, isolated portion of the total preparatory experience -- typically taking the form of an internship toward the end of the program.

The disadvantages of this artificial separation of campus and field experiences are illuminated by the force analyses, which indicate a need for constant interchange between the university and school system contexts throughout the superintendent's preparation. Moreover, it is suggested, on the basis of the force analyses, that prospective superintendents develop a consumption-orientation rather than a production-orientation toward research, and that the typical dissertation be replaced as a culminating activity in their programs with effective field-related experiences. While a general tendency is evident toward bridging the "theory-practice gap" in current preparation programs, the promising strategy of achieving this end through constant campus-field interchange has not been implemented to any significant degree. Accordingly, it is recommended that those preparing school superintendents mount a new thrust directed at the design and implementation of specific strategies to permit frequent periods of experience in the field for students throughout their entire program of preparation, including the substitution of field experiences for the dissertation as a culminating activity. While directly related to field-related experiences and student research, implementation of this recommendation will have ramifications as well for program content and structure, instructional approaches, and departmental functions and staffing.

Promoting Specialization According to Different Modes of Knowledge Utilization within and among Departments of Educational Administration.

A need indicated by the force analyses is for preparatory programs that are differentiated according to the specialized modes of knowledge utilization that students are preparing to employ (e.g., research, synthesis, development, or administration). While this need is apparently not recognized by "occupational experts" and no discernible trend is evident in this particular direction, the survey findings imply that such differentiation in preparatory programs will eventually emerge, both within and among universities. The force analyses suggest a concomitant need to train and employ professors in Departments of Educational Administration who possess these kinds of specializations. Although the survey data indicate a clear trend toward the employment of professors who specialize according to substantive bodies of knowledge, there is little evidence of systematic efforts to employ professors who specialize according to differing modes of knowledge utilization.

Accordingly, it is recommended that those designing preparation programs in educational administration mount a new thrust directed at the differentiation of preparatory experiences, both within and among universities, according to specialized modes of knowledge utilization, and at the training and employment of professors possessing these kinds of specializations. Clearly, the implementation of this recommendation will have ramifications not only for program structure and departmental functions and staffing, but also for program content, recruitment and selection, instructional approaches, field-related experiences, student research, and requirements for graduation.

Factors Constraining Change in Preparatory Programs

The focus of this chapter -- and, indeed, of the entire study reported in this volume -- has been upon needed change in doctoral programs for chief school officers. A wide range of innovations has been noted as necessary if the superintendent is to be adequately prepared to provide leadership for public schools in the seventies. Movement in the direction of many of these changes is evidently underway in a number of instances.

In other cases, substantial new thrusts have been recommended as being necessary.

In concluding this report, it must be recognized that change does not automatically occur simply because a need for it is indicated -- regardless of how convincing the evidence is supporting the need. Numerous constraints to innovation exist, and these must be carefully identified and skillfully surmounted. This is especially true of changes in university programs, for universities possess a unique constellation of characteristics that place them among society's most non-innovative institutions.

Several of these constraining characteristics have been recorded by Clark and Guba.[1] Noting that attempts to effect change in universities, when they occur, tend to be "ad hoc, part-time, poorly supported efforts which hardly represent a planned program of intra-institutional change," they conclude that "the posture of the higher education community today in regard to systematic, planned change is neither logical, sound, nor tolerable." Contrary to what appears to be popular opinion, Clark and Guba state that lack of resources may be a contributing cause to this condition, but it is not the ultimate cause. More basic, they suggest, is the question of "accounting for the curious allocation decisions which effectively deprive the process of planned change in institutions of higher education of requisite resources." They contend that these decisions derive from "peculiar cultural factors in the university setting from which have grown a set of operating abuses which foster, if not force, decisions inimical to institutional self-improvement."

Among these cultural factors, Clark and Guba focus upon three: "the professor as expert," "academic freedom," and "identification with professional reference groups." Deriving from these cultural factors are four kinds of anti-innovative behaviors: (1) "defense of expertise," which causes scholars to be "easily threatened by any development that would make their expertise less secure"; (2) "lack of role differentiation," which results in programs intended to produce staff improvements being thought of as "presumptuous and patronizing"; (3) "insulation from administration," which results in administrators' attempts to provide leadership being viewed as overstepping their own limits of competence and imposing "an unreasonable burden"; and (4) "goal displacement," which produces the perception of efforts at any change as "assaults on the veritable bastions of academic honor and integrity."

Related to these four kinds of culture-derived behaviors are four "behavioral types" in higher education: (1) "cultural manipulators," who "use the cultural imperatives and their derivative ways of behaving to prevent any changes from occurring"; (2) "cultural parasites," who "do not wish to be bothered and want things to stay as they are"; (3) "cultural prototypes," who are "visible and productive scholars who epitomize the kind of staff that the culture was designed to nourish," but who are "rarely concerned with local policies or problems, preferring to maintain their focus on professional issues"; and (4) "cultural progressives," who "constantly raise questions, pose problems, or illuminate issues," but who are "usually easily defeated by the cultural manipulators." Nevertheless, Clark and Guba emphasize that these primarily anti-innovative behavioral types in universities must be exploited for change purposes, not passively accepted as insurmountable obstacles to innovation. The change agent, they say, must "harness and channel the progressives, interest the prototypes, muzzle the manipulators, and awaken the parasites."

Other constraints, including some external to universities, have been noted by Henderson as impeding change in professional preparation programs. He points out, for example, that

> It is highly important for professional schools to be fully accredited; and the standards of accrediting agencies relate to the past and present and take little account of the future.... Ways must therefore be found to take advantage of "equivalents," and to work with the licensing agencies in the effort to secure some liberalization of the professions.[2]

With specific reference to professional preparation in educational administration, Nagle has identified several barriers to program change.[3] In addition to some of those noted above, he cites "the paucity of research evidence that can be called upon to support the inclusion of various aspects of the preparation program." Hopefully, the results of the present study may help to overcome this barrier. In addition, Nagle mentions that

> Programs are often over-enrolled by part-time students and under-enrolled by full-time students, reducing significantly the kinds of change which can be made. And, regardless of their enrollments, programs are almost invariably understaffed -- at least understaffed if the time-consuming tasks of planning and evaluating program changes are to be seriously executed.

There is, to put it mildly, no lack of challenge for program designers who would seek to implement needed changes in the preparation of school administrators.

Despite the obstacles to innovation cited above, it is the position of the authors of this report that they are not insurmountable and that the needed changes identified in this study are sufficiently critical to warrant immediate and substantial efforts to overcome the barriers to innovation. At least three strategies toward this end seem worthy of serious exploration. One, identified by Clark and Guba,[4] is the permanent establishment of "invention teams, not committees," within colleges and universities. Previously reported survey results indicate that such teams now exist in a very few universities, but that no discernible trend in this direction is yet evident. Secondly, external sources of innovation should be more frequently and systematically employed. Clark and Guba have noted, for example, the effectiveness of institutes and seminars sponsored by the University Council for Educational Administration as change stimuli.[5] Nevertheless, external resources (when used) typically serve to evaluate a program according to certain minimum standards, not to recommend changes required for maximal effectiveness; and even when such recommendations are offered, the work of the external unit usually ceases at this point and the needed innovations remain filed. Finally, the potential for change inherent in temporary systems should be realized. Several advantages of such structures have been identified by Miles.[6] Temporary systems can be created internally and/or externally to the target program staff. A current UCEA project, designed to apply systems concepts to the introduction of change in selected program components within certain universities through the combined efforts of internal and external teams created specifically for this purpose, exemplifies an approach which draws upon both inside and outside resources in establishing temporary systems to effect innovation.

There are, then, some potentially fruitful strategies for overcoming the factors constraining change in preparatory programs for school administrators. It is essential that these strategies be implemented in a substantial and committed fashion. Some objectives to which they should be directed have been identified in this report. Unless such strategies are addressed to the achievement of these objectives, there is a very real risk that the gap between training needs and training opportunities for educational leaders will become wider in the seventies than it was in the sixties.

References

1 David L. Clark and Egon G. Guba, "Effecting Change in Institutions of Higher Education," *Educational Administration: International Perspectives* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1969), pp. 223-248 *passim.*

2 Algo D. Henderson, "Innovations in Educating for the Professions," *Educational Record,* Vol. 49, No.3 (Summer, 1968), p. 297.

3 John M. Nagle, "Preparing Leaders for Education," *trend,* Vol. VI, No. 1 (Fall, 1969), p.26.

4 Clark and Guba, *op cit.*, p. 248.

5 *Ibid.*, pp. 236-237.

6 Matthew B. Miles, "On Temporary Systems," *Innovation in Education*, ed. Matthew B. Miles (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1964), p.485.

APPENDIXES

I. **Pre-test Instrument and Letter**

II. **Letters Requesting Lists of Superintendents**

III. **Superintendents' Version of Questionnaire and Letters**

IV. **Universities' Version of Questionnaire and Letters**

APPENDIX I

Pre-test Instrument and Letter

University Council for Educational Administration
29 WEST WOODRUFF AVENUE, COLUMBUS, OHIO 43210
TELEPHONE (614) 293-2564

June 24, 1968

Robin Farquhar wrote to you recently about the study, funded by the U. S. Office of Education, which is being conducted by the UCEA Central Staff in an attempt to develop generalizations designed to be of use to those re-structuring preparation programs for school administrators. He mentioned that one phase of this study would involve a questionnaire survey in which information and opinions would be sought, from dep rtments of educational administration in all UCEA member universities and from public school superintendents, concerning trends and needs in preparation programs for school administrators.

I am enclosing herewith several copies of the universities' version of the questionnaire we have developed for this purpose. It is our hope that you will have one copy completed and returned to us in the stamped and addressed envelope which is provided. The remaining copies are for the information of your colleagues whom you may want to consult in the process of responding to the instrument.

I would like to make one further request of you. Your institution is one of six in UCEA which were randomly selected to participate in a pre-test of the questionnaire, and we would appreciate very much your taking the extra few minutes required to answer the questions on the attached sheet and return it to us along with your completed questionnaire. I can assure you that, whether or not this pre-test indicates needed changes in the instrument, we shall ask to receive a completed questionnaire from your university only this once.

As this is a pre-test of the instrument which we hope to administer soon to all other UCEA member universities, it would be helpful if you could respond no later than July 15. We shall be most grateful for your assistance in this endeavor.

The very best wishes to you.

Cordially yours,

Jack Culbertson
Executive Director

JC:mt
Enc.

PRE-TEST FOR UNIVERSITIES' VERSION OF QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Did you find the structure of the instrument and the formulation of the questions to be clear, meaningful, and conducive to response?

2. Do you feel that the responses which you were able to give are truly indicative of trends in program elements at your university and of your department's dominant opinions concerning strengths, weaknesses, and future changes in your program?

3. Do you think it is realistic to expect that most UCEA member universities will complete the questionnaire?

4. Would you suggest any changes in the content or format of the questionnaire? (If so, what changes would you suggest?)

5. Approximately how long did the completion of your questionnaire take?

6. How many professors were involved in completing your questionnaire?

APPENDIX II

Letters Requesting Lists of Superintendents

University Council for Educational Administration
29 WEST WOODRUFF AVENUE, COLUMBUS, OHIO 43210
TELEPHONE (614) 293-2564

TO: Plenary Session Representatives in UCEA Member Universities

FROM: Robin Farquhar, Associate Director

SUBJECT: Conduct of UCEA Study Supported by U. S. Office of Education

DATE: June 19, 1968

As has been reported in the UCEA Newsletter and in the Minutes of the UCEA Board of Trustees meetings, the UCEA Central Staff is currently involved in a study, funded by the U. S. Office of Education, in which an attempt will be made to develop generalizations designed to be of use to those re-structuring preparation programs for school administrators. This project is viewed as being relevant to present efforts toward developing a UCEA plan for 1969-74.

As one phase of this study, we hope to collect come data relating to recent and current trends in advanced preparation programs for school administrators and to examine perceptions concerning present and projected needs for changes in these programs. In this portion of the project, we shall limit our concern to in-service and pre-service doctoral programs which are experienced by prospective and practicing public school superintendents at UCEA member universities.

To facilitate the collection of these data we have developed a questionnaire, of which there are two versions. One (the universities' version) will be administered by mail to all UCEA member institutions; we hope that the Plenary Session Representative will be able, with the assistance of his colleagues, to respond to the various questions from the perspective of his department of educational administration. The other (the superintendents' version) we hope to administer by mail to all current superintendents of public schools who have received doctorates in educational administration from UCEA member universities within the past five years.

According to the usual procedure in conducting such surveys, we shall guarantee anonymity to all persons, places, and institutions involved. This means that the responses from both universities and superintendents will be held in the strictest confidence. We shall, however, make available the final report of our findings to all UCEA member universities. We expect this report to be ready by the end of this year.

In order to administer the superintendents' version of our questionnaire, it is necessary that we receive from each UCEA member university a list of the names and current mailing addresses of all present public school superintendents who have received doctorates in educational administration from the university within the past

Contd. /

five years (i. e., during and since 1963-64). Could you compile such a list for your institution and send it to the UCEA Central Office within the next week or so?

We are hopeful that our project will result in some meaningful and significant generalizations which will be of considerable assistance to university personnel who are interested in re-structuring advanced preparation programs for school administrators, particularly with an eye to the next five-to-ten-year period. To achieve this end, however, it is essential that all UCEA member institutions participate in the questionnaire phase of the project. We shall appreciate very much your completion of the universities' version of the instrument when you receive it (sometime during the next month) and your sending us within the next week or so the list of superintendents requested above.

Let me thank you in advance for your cooperation in this endeavor.

University Council for Educational Administration
29 WEST WOODRUFF AVENUE, COLUMBUS, OHIO 43210
TELEPHONE (614) 293-2564

July 24, 1968

Five weeks ago, we wrote to each UCEA member university requesting a list of the names and addresses of all current public school superintendents who have received the doctorate in educational administration from the respective institutions within the past five years (i. e., during and since 1963-64). We mentioned that we wanted this information so that we could mail a questionnaire to those listed, as part of a USOE-funded study in which the UCEA Central Staff is seeking to develop generalizations designed to be of use to those re-structuring preparation programs for school administrators. As stated in our June 19 memorandum to UCEA Plenary Session Representatives, we shall guarantee anonymity to all persons, places, and institutions involved in this survey.

We have now received the requested lists from a number of UCEA member universities, and we have proceeded with the survey to the extent made possible by these responses. To date, however, we have not received a list from your institution. As the validity of our survey is dependent to a considerable extent upon the degree to which we can sample the products of all UCEA member universities, we are anxious to receive your list. If you find it impossible to develop a comprehensive listing, even a representation would be helpful.

We would appreciate very much whatever you could do to respond to this request as soon as possible.

Best wishes to you.

Yours sincerely,

Robin H. Farquhar
Associate Director

RHF:mt

APPENDIX III

Superintendents' Version of Questionnaire and Letters

University Council for Educational Administration

29 WEST WOODRUFF AVENUE, COLUMBUS, OHIO 43210
TELEPHONE (614) 293-2564

The UCEA Central Staff recently received a grant from the Bureau of Research, U.S. Office of Education, to develop generalizations designed to be of use to those re-structuring preparation programs for school administrators. One kind of data which we view as essential to the development of meaningful generalizations consists of the perceptions of practitioners who have recently completed preparation programs concerning selected aspects of the programs which they experienced, strengths and weaknesses of these programs, and predicted changes likely to be needed in them within the next decade.

Consequently, we have asked professors in all UCEA member universities to provide us with the names and addresses of current public school superintendents who have completed doctoral programs at these universities within the past five years. Your name was among those which we received.

In order to obtain the information needed, we have designed a questionnaire, a copy of which is enclosed. It is our hope that you can complete this instrument and return it to us within the next three weeks. We can assure you that the identities of all persons, places, and institutions involved will be kept strictly confidential.

We shall appreciate very much whatever help you can provide in this project. Your cooperation will be of great assistance to us as we seek, through the inter-institutional mechanism of UCEA, to improve advanced preparation in educational administration.

Cordially yours,

Jack Culbertson
Executive Director

JC/mt
Enc.

University Council for Educational Administration
29 WEST WOODRUFF AVENUE, COLUMBUS, OHIO 43210
TELEPHONE (614) 293-2564

A REMINDER

TO: Selected Public School Superintendents
FROM: Robin H. Farquhar, Associate Director
SUBJECT: Improvement of Preparation Programs in Educational Administration
DATE: September 12, 1968

Some time ago, Jack Culbertson wrote to you requesting that you respond to a questionnaire on "Trends and Needs in Preparation Programs for Educational Administrators." This questionnaire comprises an important part of a study, supported by the U. S. Office of Education, which is being conducted by the UCEA Central Staff to develop generalizations designed to be of use to those restructuring preparation programs for school administrators. The questionnaire has been mailed to all current public school superintendents who have received doctorates in educational administration from UCEA member universities within the past five years, as indicated by professors in the institutions concerned.

We have now received a number of responses and we'll soon begin to analyze the information, but we have not yet heard from you. It is possible that you questionnaire was lost in the mail, or that you were away on vacation when we sent it to you, so I am taking the liberty of contacting you again in this regard. It is important to the usefulness of the preparatory improvements which we shall project that we have the benefit of your insights as we seek to interpret our data.

Consequently, I am enclosing another copy of the questionnaire, along with a stamped return envelope for your convenience. We would be most grateful to you if you could complete the instrument and send it back to us within the next two or three weeks. Please inform us of your intent in this regard by checking the appropriate blank on the enclosed form and mailing it to us immediately. The names of all respondents, school districts, and universities involved will, of course, be kept strictly confidential.

Many thanks for your assistance in this endeavor.

P.S. It is possible that your questionnaire has been completed but has not yet reached us. If so, please accept our thanks and ignore this reminder.

Mail to: University Council for Educational Administration
29 West Woodruff Avenue
Columbus, Ohio 43210

Name:____
University from which Doctorate was received:__________________

Check one:

______________I plan to complete and return the questionnaire by September 30.

______________I plan to complete and return the questionnaire at a later date. (Please specify:________________)

______________I do not plan to complete and return the questionnaire.

Remarks:____
____
____

TRENDS AND NEEDS IN PREPARATION PROGRAMS FOR EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATORS: A QUESTIONNAIRE

(Superintendents' Version)

Name of superintendent providing information (confidential):_______________

In what public school system are you now superintendent (confidential)?_______________

Name of university from which doctorate was received (confidential):_______________

During what year(s) did you complete your doctoral residence requirement?_______________

This questionnaire survey constitutes a part of a study being conducted by the UCEA Central Staff with the support of a grant from the Bureau of Research, U. S. Office of Education.

The questionnaire is designed to provide information to the UCEA Central Staff concerning (1) your perceptions of certain aspects of the preparation program in educational administration offered at the university from which you received your doctorate, (2) your opinions about the strengths and weaknesses of the preparation program which you experienced, and (3) your predictions as to changes which will likely become desirable within the next five-to-ten years in the preparation program which you experienced. We are interested specifically in your reactions to the doctoral program which you completed and to the same university's in-service programs in which you have participated. We would like you to respond from your present perspective as a public school superintendent.

* * * * * *

Part I. Please respond to each of the two questions in Part I with reference to the following ten categories related to preparatory programs (note that all but the last refer to pre-service programs):

(1) Program Content -- the knowledge to which you were exposed during your doctoral program

(2) Program Structure -- the organization (e.g., core, sequence, duration) of the various elements (mandatory and optional) which comprised your doctoral program

(3) Recruitment and Selection -- the identification of potential candidates (prospective superintendents) for your doctoral program and the bases (including previous education and experience requirements) on which actual enrollees were chosen from this pool

(4) Instructional Approaches -- the methods (e.g., seminars, laboratories) and materials (e.g., case studies, simulations) through which content was presented in your doctoral program

(5) Field-Related Experiences -- the kinds of contacts, if any, which enrollees in your doctoral program were required or encouraged to have with administrative practice "on the firing line" (e.g., internships, participation in surveys)

(6) Student Research -- the nature of problems selected for dissertation study, the investigative approaches employed (e.g., empirical, experimental, statistical, historical, biographical, philosophical), and the integration (if any) with other research projects

(7) Requirements for Graduation -- the aspects of your doctoral program which were requisite to completion of the degree (e.g., residence period, foreign language, minimum semester hours, research or development projects, field-related experiences, required courses)

(8) Program Evaluation and Development -- the means (i.e., techniques, frequency) by which attempts were made to determine the success of your doctoral program in preparing "good" superintendents and to revise the program on the basis of such assessments

(9) Departmental Functions and Staffing -- the various specialties (in terms of competencies possessed and tasks performed) represented by the professors of educational administration who participated in the doctoral-level preparation of superintendents at the university from which you received your degree

(10) In-Service Programs -- the nature (i.e., content, methods, duration, participants, frequency) of continuing education experiences offered for practicing superintendents at the university from which you received your doctorate

Questions:

A. In your opinion, what are the major strengths and weaknesses of the program which you experienced, with reference to the above categories?

(1) Program Content --

(2) Program Structure --

(3) Recruitment and Selection --

(4) Instructional Approaches --

(5) Field-Related Experiences --

(6) Student Research --

(7) Requirements for Graduation --

(8) Program Evaluation and Development --

(9) Departmental Functions and Staffing --

(10) In-Service Programs --

B. If you anticipate that future changes (additions, deletions, or alterations) in the program which you experienced are likely to be needed during the next five-to-ten years, in any of the above categories, what would you predict these changes will be (if none, leave blank)?

(1) Program Content --

(2) Program Structure --

(3) Recruitment and Selection --

(4) Instructional Approaches --

(5) Field-Related Experiences --

(6) Student Research --

(7) Requirements for Graduation --

(8) Program Evaluation and Development --

(9) Departmental Functions and Staffing --

(10) In-Service Programs --

Part II. The three sets of questions in Part II are intended to elicit specific information about selected content aspects of the doctoral program which you experienced. Please answer them as explicitly as you can.

Questions:

A. Content utilization from fields of study external to Education:

(1) How was "outside" content incorporated into your doctoral program (e.g., by professors of educational administration, by inter-disciplinary teams of professors, by professors from other areas offering courses specifically for students in your program, by students in your program going "across campus" to take courses)?

(2) Please specify the "outside" areas (disciplines or fields of study) to which each of the approaches which you have identified above applied.

B. Coverage of selected topics:

Listed below are ten topics which may or may not have been covered in the doctoral program which you experienced. For each topic, please indicate whether it was covered thoroughly (i.e., in an entire unit or course), slightly, (i.e., in a class or two), or not at all in your program, and whether exposure to it was mandatory or optional for you. Please feel free to elaborate upon your responses with any comments you may wish to offer.

(1) systems analysis (including operations research)

thorough, slight, or no coverage? ____________________

mandatory or optional? ____________________

Comment: ____________________

____

____

____

(2) use of the computer for management and information-processing purposes (as opposed to instructional or research purposes)

thorough, slight, or no coverage? ____________________

mandatory or optional? ____________________

Comment:

(3) concepts and technologies of planning in education

thorough, slight, or no coverage?

mandatory or optional?

Comment:

(4) federal-state-local relationships in education

thorough, slight, or no coverage?

mandatory or optional?

Comment:

(5) involvement of business and industry in education

thorough, slight, or no coverage?

mandatory or optional?

Comment:

(6) metropolitan problems and education (including such issues as race, poverty, cultural deprivation, urbanization, unemployment, unequal educational opportunity, community pressure groups)

thorough, slight, or no coverage? ______________________________

mandatory or optional? ______________________________

Comment: ____________________________________

____

____

____

(7) teacher militancy (including collective negotiations)

thorough, slight, or no coverage? ______________________________

mandatory or optional? ______________________________

Comment: ____________________________________

____

____

____

(8) student unrest (including demonstrations, walkouts)

thorough, slight, or no coverage? ______________________________

mandatory or optional? ______________________________

Comment: ____________________________________

____

____

____

(9) local inter-agency cooperation in education (including community groups, nonpublic schools, the home, the church, welfare and police organizations, city government departments, businesses and industries)

thorough, slight, or no coverage? ______________________________

mandatory or optional?

Comment:

(10) administration of schools in other countries

thorough, slight, or no coverage?

mandatory or optional?

Comment:

C. General comments:

In the space below please write any additional remarks you wish expressing your views in regard to the pre-service and in-service preparation programs in educational administration offered at the university where you took your doctorate, especially in terms of the appropriateness of these programs to the public school superintendency of today and tomorrow.

* * * * * *

Thank you very much for your time and effort in completing this questionnaire. Your responses will be most helpful in the development of some generalizations toward improving preparation programs for school administrators.

Please return this document to the UCEA Central Office in the stamped and addressed envelope which is provided.

APPENDIX IV

Universities' Version of Questionnaire and Letters

University Council for Educational Administration

29 WEST WOODRUFF AVENUE, COLUMBUS, OHIO 43210
TELEPHONE (614) 293-2564

I am writing to you as the UCEA Plenary Session Representative for your university. As you know, the UCEA Central staff has received a grant from the Bureau of Research, U.S. Office of Education, to develop generalizations designed to be of use to those re-structuring preparation programs for school administrators.

One kind of data which we view as essential to the development of meaningful generalizations consists of information on recent and current trends in preparation programs and the views of those in departments of educational administration across the country concerning perceived strengths and weaknesses in present programs and predicted changes likely to be needed in these programs within the next decade. In order to obtain these data we have designed a questionnaire, several copies of which are enclosed. It is our hope that the Plenary Session Representative in each UCEA member university will ensure that one copy of the questionnaire is completed and returned to the UCEA Central Office within the next three weeks.

Most of the questions in the instrument are factual in nature. You will probably want to consult with some of your colleagues in responding to these questions; consequently, we have enclosed some extra copies of the questionnaire which you may wish to distribute to your colleagues for their information in assisting you. A few of the questions (notably IB, IC, and IIC) are more judgmental in nature. In your responses to these questions, we would like you to reflect as accurately as possible the dominant views of the department of educational administration as a whole in your university. With some of these questions, we have asked you to indicate briefly how you arrived at your responses.

We would appreciate it very much if we could receive the completed questionnaire from your university within the next three weeks. We can assure you that the identities of all persons, places, and institutions involved will be kept strictly confidential. Thank you for whatever help you can provide in this project.

The very best wishes to you.

Cordially yours,

Jack Culbertson
Executive Director

JC:mt
Enc.

University Council for Educational Administration

29 WEST WOODRUFF AVENUE, COLUMBUS, OHIO 43210
TELEPHONE (614) 293-2564

A REMINDER

TO: Plenary Session Representatives in Selected Universities
FROM: Robin H. Farquhar, Associate Director
SUBJECT: Improvement of Preparation Programs in Educational Administration
DATE: September 13, 1968

On July 31, Jack Culbertson wrote to you requesting that your institution respond to a questionnaire on "Trends and Needs in Preparation Programs for Educational Administrators." This questionnaire comprises an important part of a study, supported by the U. S. Office of Education, which is being conducted by the UCEA Central Staff to develop generalizations designed to be of use to those re-structuring preparation programs for school administrators. This project is viewed as quite relevant to the planning currently being undertaken throughout the UCEA network, and several copies of the questionnaire have been mailed to each UCEA member university.

We have received a number of responses and we'll soon begin to analyze the information, but we have not yet heard from your institution. It is likely that mid-summer was not a very good time for faculty members in your department to address themselves to this task, and we can certainly appreciate the reasons which may have delayed your response. Most professors are probably back on campus now, so I am taking the liberty of contacting you again in this regard. It is important to the usefulness of the generalizations which we shall develop that we have the benefit of your department's collective wisdom.

Consequently, to refresh your memory, I am enclosing another copy of the questionnaire, along with a stamped return envelope for your convenience. We would like you, as Plenary Session Representative, to try and reflect the dominant opinions of your department of educational administration as a whole in your responses. Because we hope to report at least the initial results of this survey during the UCEA regional meetings to be held later this fall, we would be most grateful if you could have a single copy of the instrument completed and returned to us within the next two or three weeks. Please inform us of your intent in this regard by checking the appropriate blank on the enclosed form and mailing it to us immediately. The names of all persons, places, and universities involved will, of course, be kept strictly confidential.

Many thanks for your assistance in this endeavor.

P.S. It is possible that your questionnaire has been completed but has not yet reached us. If so, please accept our thanks and ignore this reminder.

Mail to: University Council for Educational Administration
29 West Woodruff Avenue
Columbus, Ohio 43210

University:____

Check one:

__________We plan to complete and return the questionnaire by September 30.

__________We plan to complete and return the questionnaire at a later date. (Please specify:_____________________)

__________We do not plan to complete and return the questionnaire.

Remarks: ____

____

____

TRENDS AND NEEDS IN PREPARATION PROGRAMS FOR EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATORS: A QUESTIONNAIRE

(Professors' Version)

Name of university (confidential): ____

This questionnaire survey constitutes a part of a study being conducted by the UCEA Central Staff with the support of a grant from the Bureau of Research, U. S. Office of Education. The study is viewed as being particularly relevant to current efforts toward developing a UCEA plan for 1969-74.

The questionnaire is designed to provide information to the UCEA Central Staff concerning (1) certain aspects of the preparation program in educational administration which is offered at your university, (2) changes which have been implemented in your preparation program during the past five years, (3) your department's opinions about the strengths and weaknesses of your current preparation program, and (4) your department's predictions as to changes in your preparation program which will likely become desirable within the next five-to-ten years. We are interested specifically in the doctoral pre-service program and the in-service programs through which your university prepares public school superintendents.

* * * * * *

Part I. Please respond to each of the three questions in Part I with reference to the following ten categories related to preparatory programs (note that all but the last refer to pre-service programs):

(1) Program Content -- the knowledge to which your pre-service program exposes prospective superintendents

(2) Program Structure -- the organization (e.g., core, sequence, duration) of the various elements (mandatory and optional) which comprise your pre-service program

(3) Recruitment and Selection -- the identification of potential candidates for your pre-service program and the bases (including previous education and experience requirements) on which actual enrollees are chosen from this pool

(4) Instructional Approaches -- the methods (e.g., seminars, laboratories) and materials (e.g., case studies, simulations) through which content is presented in your pre-service program

(5) Field-Related Experiences -- the kinds of contacts, if any, which enrollees in your pre-service program are required or encouraged to have with administrative practice "on the firing line" (e.g., internships, participation in surveys)

(6) Student Research -- the nature of problems selected for dissertation study, the investigative approaches employed (e.g., empirical, experimental, statistical, historical, biographical, philosophical), and the integration (if any) with other research projects

(7) Requirements for Graduation -- the aspects of your pre-service program which are requisite to completion of the doctorate (e.g., residence period, foreign language, minimum semester hours, research or development projects, field-related experiences, required courses)

(8) Program Evaluation and Development -- the means (i.e., techniques, frequency) by which attempts are made to determine the success of your pre-service program in preparing "good" superintendents and to revise the program on the basis of such assessments

(9) Departmental Functions and Staffing -- the various specialties (in terms of competencies possessed and tasks performed) represented by the professors in your department of educational administration who participate in the pre-service preparation of superintendents

(10) In-Service Programs -- the nature (i.e., content, methods, duration, participants, frequency) of continuing education experiences offered by your university for practicing superintendents

Questions:

A. If changes (additions, deletions, or alterations) in any of the above categories have been incorporated within the past five years into the doctoral program by which public school superintendents are prepared in your university, what are these changes (if none, leave blank)?

(1) Program Content --

(2) Program Structure --

(3) Recruitment and Selection --

(4) Instructional Approaches --

(5) Field-Related Experiences --

(6) Student Research --

(7) Requirements for Graduation --

(8) Program Evaluation and Development --

(9) Departmental Functions and Staffing --

(10) In-Service Programs --

B. According to the dominant opinion of your department of educational administration, what are the major strengths and weaknesses of the present doctoral program by which public school superintendents are prepared at your university, with reference to the above categories?

(1) Program Content --

(2) Program Structure --

(3) Recruitment and Selection --

(4) Instructional Approaches --

(5) Field-Related Experiences --

(6) Student Research --

(7) Requirements for Graduation --

(8) Program Evaluation and Development --

(9) Departmental Functions and Staffing --

(10) In-Service Programs --

Upon what bases were your responses to the above question arrived at (e.g., Plenary Session Representative's interpretation of his department's dominant opinion, consultation with individual professors, deliberations of the department as a whole, department head's opinion)?

C. If, in the dominant opinion of your department of educational administration, future changes (additions, deletions, or alterations) in any of the above categories are likely to be needed within the next five-to-ten years in the doctoral program by which public school superintendents are prepared at your university, what are these changes predicted to be (if none, leave blank)?

(1) Program Content --

(2) Program Structure --

(3) Recruitment and Selection --

(4) Instructional Approaches --

(5) Field-Related Experiences --

(6) Student Research --

(7) Requirements for Graduation --

(8) Program Evaluation and Development --

(9) Departmental Functions and Staffing --

(10) In-Service Programs --

Upon what bases were your responses to the above question arrived at (e.g., Plenary Session Representative's interpretation of his department's dominant opinion, consultation with individual professors, deliberations of the department as a whole, department head's opinion)?

Part II. The three sets of questions in Part II are intended to elicit specific information about selected content aspects of the pre-service doctoral program experienced by prospective superintendents at your university. Please answer them as explicitly as you can.

Questions:

A. Content utilization from fields of study external to Education:

(1) How is "outside" content incorporated into the pre-service doctoral program experienced by prospective superintendents prepared at your university (e.g., by professors of educational administration, by interdisciplinary teams of professors, by professors from other areas offering courses specifically for your students, by sending students "across campus" to take courses)?

(2) Please specify the "outside" areas (disciplines or fields of study) to which each of the approaches which you have identified above applies.

B. Coverage of selected topics:

Listed below are ten topics which may or may not be included in the content experienced by prospective superintendents in the pre-service doctoral program at your university. For each topic, please indicate whether it is covered thoroughly (i.e., in an entire unit or course), slightly (i.e., in a class or two), or not at all in your program, and whether exposure to it is mandatory or optional for students. Please feel free to elaborate upon your responses with any comments you may wish to offer.

(1) systems analysis (including operations research)

thorough, slight, or no coverage? ______________________

mandatory or optional? ______________________

Comment: ______________________

____

____

____

(2) use of the computer for management and information-processing purposes (as opposed to instructional or research purposes)

thorough, slight, or no coverage? ______________________

mandatory or optional? ______________________

Comment: ______________________

____

____

____

(3) concepts and technologies of planning in education

thorough, slight, or no coverage? ______________________

mandatory or optional? ______________________

Comment: ______________________

____

____

____

(4) federal-state-local relationships in education

thorough, slight, or no coverage? ______________________________

mandatory or optional? ______________________________

Comment: ______________________________

____

____

____

(5) involvement of business and industry in education

thorough, slight, or no coverage? ______________________________

mandatory or optional? ______________________________

Comment: ______________________________

____

____

____

([illegible]) metropolitan problems and education (including such issues as race, poverty, cultural deprivation, urbanization, unemployment, unequal educational opportunity, community pressure groups)

thorough, slight, or no coverage? ______________________________

mandatory or optional? ______________________________

Comment: ______________________________

____

____

____

(7) teacher militancy (including collective negotiations)

thorough, slight, or no coverage? ____________________

mandatory or optional? ____________________

Comment: ____________________

(8) student unrest (including demonstrations, walkouts)

thorough, slight, or no coverage? ____________________

mandatory or optional? ____________________

Comment: ____________________

(9) local inter-agency cooperation in education (including community groups, nonpublic schools, the home, the church, welfare and police organizations, city government departments, businesses and industries)

thorough, slight, or no coverage? ____________________

mandatory or optional? ____________________

Comment: ____________________

(10) administration of schools in other countries

thorough, slight, or no coverage?________________________

mandatory or optional?______________________________

Comment:____________________________________

____

____

____

C. General comments:

In the space below please write any additional remarks you wish expressing your department's views in regard to the doctoral pre-service and in-service preparation programs in educational administration which are offered at your university, especially in terms of the appropriateness of these programs to the public school superintendency of today and tomorrow.

* * * * * *

Thank you very much for your time and effort in completing this questionnaire. Your responses will be most helpful in the development of some generalizations toward improving preparation programs for school superintendents.

Please return this document to the UCEA Central Office in the stamped and addressed envelope which is provided.

ERIC REPORT RESUME

Title: Preparing Educational Leaders for the Seventies

Authors: Jack Culbertson, Robin H. Farquhar, Alan K. Gaynor, and Mark R. Shibles

Institution: University Council for Educational Administration

Date: December, 1969

Project No.: 8-0230

Grant No.: OEG-0-8-080230-2695(010)

Abstract:

This study was designed to develop generalizations of use to university personnel seeking to re-structure doctoral programs for school superintendents. Six currently significant societal forces were examined to determine their salient features, their likely future nature, their recent and projected impacts upon educational organization and leadership, and the implications of their projected impacts for preparation of superintendents in the seventies. The forces selected for investigation were: (1) the federal thrust in education, (2) the Negro protest movement, (3) the changing character of the "business-education interface," (4) the increase in teacher militancy, (5) the diffusion of special management technologies into education, and (6) the growth of research and development in education.

In addition, the literature on administrative preparation was reviewed and a questionnaire survey was administered to a sample of 180 chief school officers and personnel in 46 UCEA member universities to determine the characteristics of current preparatory programs, the changes in preparation implemented within the past five years, perceived strengths and weaknesses in the programs, and changes in preparation viewed as becoming desirable within the next decade.

Data from both the "force analyses" and the survey of "occupational experts" were analyzed to determine the major changes needed in programs to prepare superintendents for the seventies. Finally, recommendations about needed changes were developed for such preparatory components as program content and structure, recruitment and selection, instructional approaches, field-related experiences, program evaluation and development, and departmental functions and staffing.